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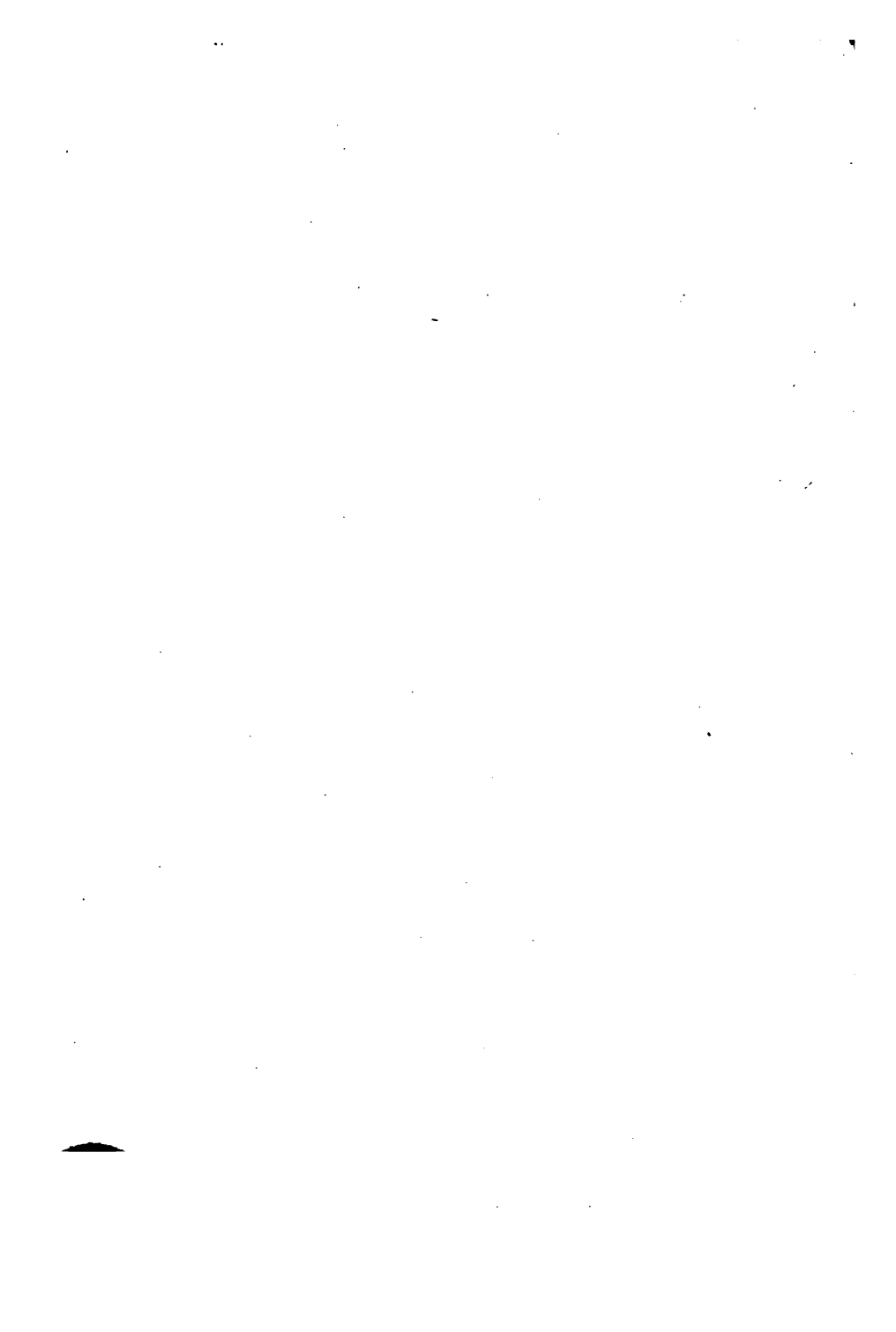
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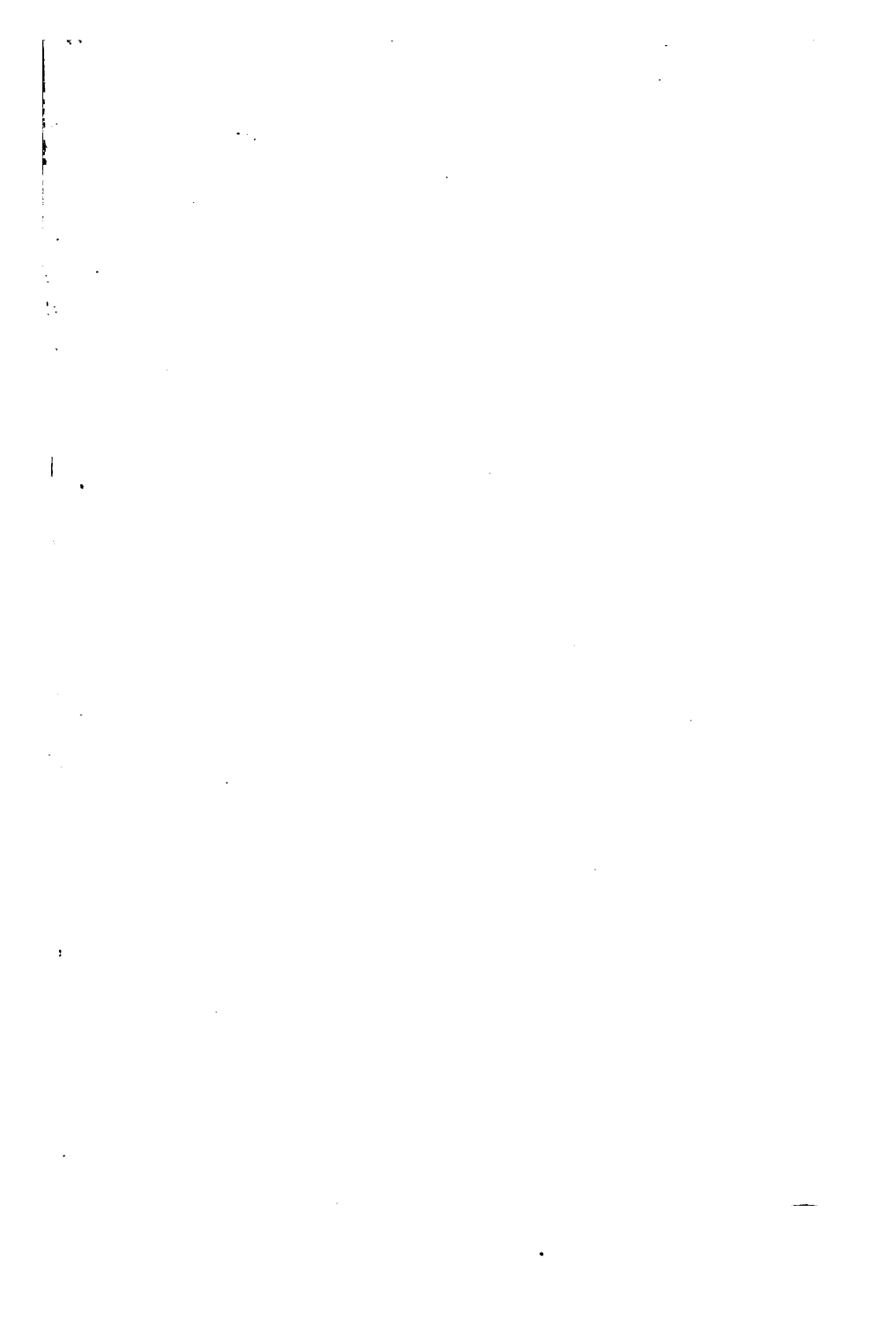
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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

C. McMurtry

COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN MDCCLXXXIX

TO THE

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

IN MDCCCXV

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART.

F. R. S. E.

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY TO THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY.—SEPT. 14, 1791.—AUG. 10, 1792.

1. UNIVERSAL suffrage, or a low qualification for electors, has, in every age of democratic excitement, been the favourite object of the people. All men, it is said, are by nature equal; the superior privileges enjoyed by some are the growth of injustice and superstition, and the first step towards rational freedom is to restore the pristine equality of the species. This principle had been acted upon, accordingly, by the Constituent Assembly. They had given the right of voting for the national representatives to every labouring man of the better sort in France; and the Legislative Assembly affords the first example, on a great scale, in modern Europe, of the effects of a completely popular election.

2. If property were equally divided, and the object of government were only the protection of persons from injury or injustice, and nothing except danger to them were to be apprehended from the disorders of society, and every man, in whatever rank, were equally capable of judging on political subjects, there can be no question that the claims of the lower orders to an equal share with the higher in the representation would be well founded, because every man's life is of equal value to himself. But its object is not less the protection of property than that of persons; and

from this double duty arises the necessity of limiting the right of election to those interested in the former as well as in the latter of these objects. In private life, men are never deceived on this subject. If a party are embarked on a boat on a stormy sea, there is no need to take any peculiar care of the safety of any of the number. The poor sailor will struggle for his life as hard as the wealthy peer. But very different precautions are required to protect the palace of the latter from pillage, from what are found necessary in the cottage of the former. In the administration of any common fund, or the disposal of common property, it never was for a moment proposed to give the smallest shareholder an equal right with the greatest—to give a creditor holding a claim for twenty shillings, for example, on a bankrupt estate, the same vote as one possessed of a bond for £10,000; or to give the owner of ten-pound stock in a public company the same influence as one holding ten thousand. The injustice of such a proceeding is at once apparent. The interests of the large shareholders would run the most imminent risk of being violated or neglected by those whose stake was so much more inconsiderable. Universally it has been found, by experience, to be indispensable to make the amount of

influence in the direction of any concern be in some degree proportional to the amount of property of which the voter is possessed in it.

3. In the political world, the supposed or immediate interests of the great body of the people are not only different, but adverse to those of the possessors of property. To acquire is the interest of the one; to retain, that of the other. Agrarian laws, and the equal division of property, or measures tending indirectly to that result, will, in every age, be the wish of the unthinking multitude, who have nothing apparently to lose, and everything to gain, by such convulsions. Their real and ultimate interests, indeed, will in the end inevitably suffer, even more than those of the holders of property, from such changes; because, being dependent for their subsistence on the wages of labour, they will be the greatest losers by the intermission of labour from the effects of such a convulsion. But that is a remote consequence, which never will become obvious to the great body of mankind. In the ordinary state of society, the superior intelligence and moral energy of the higher orders give them the means of effectually controlling this natural but dangerous tendency on the part of their inferiors. But universal suffrage, or a low franchise, levels all barriers, and reduces the contests of mankind to a mere calculation of numbers. In such a system, the vote of Napoleon or Newton, of Bacon or Burke, has no more weight than that of an ignorant mechanic. Representatives elected under such a system are in reality nothing more than delegates of the least informed and most dangerous, but at the same time most numerous portion of the people. Government, constructed on such a basis, is a mere puppet in the hands of the majority. It is the tyranny of mediocrity over talent: for the vast majority of men are always mediocre, and the mediocre are invariably jealous of ability, unless it is subservient to themselves. The contests of party in such circumstances resolve themselves into a mere strife of contending interests, in which the wishes of the majority, how-

ever it may be composed, speedily become irresistible. In periods of tranquillity, when interest is the ruling principle, this petty warfare may produce only a selfish system of legislation; in moments of agitation, when passion is predominant, it occasions a universal insurrection of the lower order against the higher.

4. The truth of these observations was signally demonstrated in the history of the Legislative Assembly. By the enactments of its predecessor, the whole powers of sovereignty had been vested in the people. They had obtained what almost amounted to universal suffrage and biennial elections; their representatives wielded despotic authority; they appointed their own magistrates, judges, and bishops; the military force of the state was in their hands; their delegates commanded the national guard, and ruled the armies. In possession of such unrestricted authority, it was difficult to see what more they could desire, or what pretence could remain for insurrection against the government. Nevertheless, the legislature which they had themselves appointed became, from the very first, the object of their dislike and jealousy; and the history of the Legislative Assembly is nothing more than the preparations for the revolt which overthrew the monarchy. "This," says the republican historian Thiers, "is the natural progress of revolutionary troubles. Ambition, the love of power, first arises in the higher orders; they exert themselves, and obtain a share of the supreme authority. But the same passion descends in society; it rapidly gains an inferior class, until at length the whole mass is in movement. Satisfied with what they have gained, all persons of intelligence strive to stop; but it is no longer in their power, they are incessantly pressed on by the crowd in their rear. Those who thus endeavour to arrest the movement, even if they are but little elevated above the lowest class, if they oppose its wishes, are called an aristocracy, and incur its hatred."

5. Two unfortunate circumstances contributed, from the outset, to injure the

formation of the Assembly. These were, the king's flight to Varennes, and the universal emigration of the nobles during the period of the primary elections. The intelligence of the disappearance of the royal family was received in most of the departments at the very time of the election of the delegates who were to choose the deputies. Terror, distrust, and anxiety, in consequence seized every breast; a general explosion of the royal partisans was expected; foreign invasion, domestic strife, universal suffering, were imagined to be at hand. Under the influence of these alarms, the primary elections, or the nomination of the electoral colleges, took place. But before these delegates proceeded to name the deputies, the panic had in some degree passed away; the seizure of the king had dissipated the causes of immediate apprehension; and the revolt of the Jacobins in the Champ de Mars had opened a new source of disquietude. Hence the nomination of the deputies was far from corresponding, in all instances, with the wishes of the original electors: the latter selected, for the most part, energetic, reckless men, calculated to meet the stormy times which were anticipated; the delegates strove to intersperse among them a few persons who might have an interest in maintaining the institutions which had been formed—the one elected to destroy, the other to preserve. The majority of the deputies were men inclined to support the constitution as it was now established; the majority of the original electors were desirous of a more extensive revolution, and a thorough establishment of republican institutions.

6. But there was one circumstance worthy of especial notice in the composition of this second Assembly, which was its almost *total separation from the property of the kingdom*. In this respect it offered a striking contrast to the Constituent Assembly, which, though ruled by the Tiers Etat after the pernicious union of the orders, yet numbered among its members some of the greatest proprietors and many of the noblest names in the kingdom. But in the Legislative Assembly there were not

fifty persons possessed of £100 a-year. The property of France was thus totally unrepresented, either directly by the influence of its holders in the elections, or indirectly by sympathy and identity of interest between the members of the Assembly and the class of proprietors. The Legislature was composed almost entirely of presumptuous and half-educated young men, clerks in counting-houses, or attorneys from provincial towns, who had risen to eminence during the absence of all persons possessed of property, and recommended themselves to public notice by the vehemence with which, in the popular clubs, they had asserted the principles of democracy. The extreme youth of the greater part of its members was not the least dangerous of its many dangerous qualities. When the Assembly met, the first impression was, that the whole grey hairs had disappeared. When the president, to form one of the committees, desired the men under twenty-six years of age to present themselves, sixty youths, the most of them of still earlier years, stepped forward. It was easy to see, from the aspect of the faces, that the Assembly was composed of a new generation, which had broken with all the feelings of the past. These young men had, in general, talent sufficient to make them both arrogant and dangerous, without either knowledge profound enough to moderate their views, or property adequate to steady their ambition. So great was the preponderance of this dangerous class in the new Assembly, that it appeared at once in the manner in which the debates were conducted. The dignified politeness which, amidst all its rashness and crimes, the Constituent Assembly had displayed, was no more. Rudeness and vulgarity had become the order of the day, and were affected even by those who had been bred to better habits. Such was the din and confusion, that twenty deputies often rushed together to the tribune, each with a different motion. In vain the president appealed to the Assembly to support his authority, rang his bell, and covered his face with his hat, in token of utter despair. Nothing could control the vehement and vulgar major-

city. If a demon had selected a body calculated to consign a nation to perdition, his choice could not have been made more happily to effect his object.*

7. This deplorable result was, in part at least, owing to the flight of the nobility, so prolific of disaster to France in all the stages of the Revolution. The continued and increasing emigration of the landholders contributed in the greatest degree to unhinge the public mind, and proved perhaps, in the end, the chief cause of the subsequent miseries of the Revolution. The number of these emigrants amounted by this time, with their families, to nearly one hundred thousand, of the most wealthy and influential body in France. All the roads to the Rhine were covered by haughty fugitives, whose inability for action was equalled only by the presumption of their language. They set their faces from the first against every species of improvement; would admit of no compromise with the popular party; and threatened their adversaries with the whole weight of European vengeance, if they persisted in demanding it. Coblenz became the centre of the anti-revolutionary party; and, to men accustomed to measure the strength of their force by the number of titles which it contained, a more formidable array could hardly be imagined. But it was totally deficient in the real weight of aristocratic assemblies—the number and spirit of their followers. The young and presumptuous nobility, possessing no estimable quality but their valour, and their generous adherence to royalty in misfortune, were altogether unfit to cope with the moral energy and practical talent which had arisen among the middle orders of France. The corps of the emigrants, though always forward and gallant, was too deficient in discipline and subordination to be of much

importance in the subsequent campaigns, while their impetuous counsels too often betrayed their allies into unfortunate measures. Except in La Vendée, rashness of advice, and inefficiency of conduct, characterised all the military efforts of the Royalist party in France, from the commencement to the termination of the Revolution.

8. In thus deserting their country at the most critical period of its history, the French nobility manifested equal baseness and imprudence: baseness, because it was their duty, under all hazards, to have stood by their sovereign, and not delivered him in fetters to a rebellious people; imprudence, because, by joining the ranks of the stranger, and combating against their native country, they detached their own cause from that of France, and subjected themselves to the eternal reproach of bringing their country into danger for the sake of their separate and exclusive interests. The subsequent strength of the Jacobins was mainly owing to the successful appeals which they were always able to make to the patriotism of the people, and to the foreign wars which identified their rule with a career of glory; the Royalists have never recovered the disgrace of having joined the armies of the enemy, and regained the throne at the expense of national independence. How different might have been the issue of events, if, instead of rousing fruitless invasions from the German states, the French nobility had put themselves at the head of the generous efforts of their own country; if they had shared in the glories of La Vendée, or combated under the walls of Lyons! Defeat, in such circumstances, would have been respected, success unsullied; by acting as they did, overthrow became ruin, and victory humiliation.

9. The new Assembly opened its sittings on the 1st of October. An event occurred at the very outset which demonstrated how much the crown had been deprived of its lustre, and which interrupted the harmony between them and the king. A deputation of sixty members was appointed to wait on Louis; but he did not receive them, as

* "The Legislative Assembly was elected by crowds of men without avowed opinions, wandering from town to country, selling their votes for a dinner or a flask of wine. The Legislative body was full of men of this stamp, Royalists or Republicans according to the wave of fortune; and it must be confessed, to the disgrace of the Revolution, that in these were found the elements of the 10th of August."—*FRUCHOT, Crimes de la Révolution*, iv. 116, 118

the ceremonial had not been expected, and merely sent intimation by the minister of justice that he would admit them on the following day at twelve o'clock. The meeting was cold and unsatisfactory on both sides. Shortly after, the king came in form to the Assembly; he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. His speech was directed chiefly to conciliation and the maintenance of harmony between the different branches of the government. But in the very outset Louis experienced the strength of the republican principles, which, under the fostering hand of the Constituent Assembly, had made such rapid progress in France. They first decreed that the title of Sire and Your Majesty should be dropped at the ensuing ceremonial; next, that the king should be seated on a chair similar in every respect to that of the president. When the monarch refused to come to the Assembly on these conditions, they yielded that point, but insisted on sitting down when he sat, which was actually done at its opening. The king was so much affected by this circumstance, that when he returned to the queen he threw himself on a chair, and burst into tears. He was deadly pale, and the expression of his countenance so mournful that the queen was in the greatest alarm. "All is lost: ah! madam, and you have beheld that humiliation. Is it this you have come into France to witness?"

10. Though not anarchical, the Assembly was decidedly attached to the principles of democracy. The court and the nobles had exercised no sort of influence on the elections; the authority of the first was in abeyance, the latter had deserted their country. Hence the parties in the Legislative Assembly were different from those in the Constituent. None were attached to the royal or aristocratical interests; the only question that remained was, the maintenance or overthrow of the constitutional throne. "Et nous aussi, nous voulons faire une révolution," said one of the revolutionary members shortly after his election; and this, in truth, was the feeling of a large proportion of the electors, and a consider-

able portion of the deputies. The desire of novelty, the ambition of power, and a restless anxiety for change, had seized the minds of most of those who had enjoyed a share in the formation of the first constitution. The object of the original supporters of the Revolution had already become, not to destroy the work of others, but to preserve their own. According to the natural progress of revolutionary changes, the democratic part of the first Assembly was the aristocratic of the second. And this appeared, accordingly, even in the places which the parties respectively occupied in the Assembly; for the *Côté droit*, or friends of the constitution, was composed of men holding views identical with those who had formed the *Côté gauche*, or democrats, in the Constituent Assembly; and the *Côté gauche* of the New Assembly consisted of a party so republican that, with the exception of Robespierre, and a few of his associates in the Jacobin Club, they were unknown in the first.

11. The members of the right, or the friends of the constitution, were called the *Feuillants*, from the club which formed the centre of their power. Lameth, Barnave, Duport, Damas, and Vaublanc, formed the leaders of this party, who, although for the most part excluded from seats in the legislature, by the self-denying ordinance passed by the Constituent Assembly, yet, by their influence in the clubs and saloons, in reality directed its movements. The national guard, the army, the magistrates of the departments, in general all the constituted authorities, were in their interest. But they had not the brilliant orators in their ranks who formed the strength of their adversaries; and the support of the people rapidly passed over to the attacking and ultra-democratic party. Their principal strength consisted in the extraordinary talents, and powerful influence in the intellectual circles of Paris, of a young woman who had already become interwoven with the history of France. The daughter of M. Necker, and his not less gifted wife, the first love of Gibbon, Madame de Staël had inhaled the breath of genius, and lived in the society of

talent, from her very earliest years. From her infancy she had heard the conversation of Rousseau, Buffon, d'Alembert, Diderot, and St Pierre. But it was from nature, not education, that she derived her transcendent powers. Her genius was great, her soul elevated, her feelings impassioned—masculine in energy, but feminine in heart. She was impelled into the career of intellect by the denial by nature of what, she confessed, she would more have prized—the gift of beauty. By her family she was connected with the popular party; by her talents, with the aristocracy of intellect; by her father's rank as minister, and her own predilections as a woman, with that of rank. In the abstract, her principles were entirely for the advocates of freedom; but, like most other women, her partialities inclined strongly to the elegance of manners, and elevation of mind, which in general is to be found only in connection with ancient descent. Her genius resembled the chorus of antiquity, where all the strong voices and vehement passions of the drama united in one harmonious swell. Her thought was inspiration, her words eloquence, her sway irresistible, to such as were capable of appreciating her powers. Her views of society, and the progress of literature, are more profound than ever, with a few exceptions, were formed by men; but nevertheless it was not in them that she felt her chief interest, nor in their development that her greatest excellence has been attained. It was in the delineations of the inmost recesses of the heart that she was unrivalled, because none felt with such intensity the most overpowering of its passions. Her great works on Germany and the French Revolution will live as long as the French language; but the time will never come, in any country, that "Corinne" will not warm the hearts of the generous, and refine the taste of the most cultivated.

12. The Girondists, so called from the district near Bordeaux called the Gironde, from whence the most able of their party were elected, comprehended the republicans of the Assembly, and represented that numerous and enthusiastic body in the state who longed

for institutions on the model of those of antiquity. Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, Isnard, and Brissot, were the splendid leaders of that party, and, from their powers of eloquence and habits of declamation, rapidly rose to celebrity. Brissot was at first the most popular of these, from the influence of his journal, the *Patriote*, in which he daily published to France the ideas which his prodigious mental activity had the preceding evening developed in the meetings of the municipality, in the National Assembly, or in the club of the Jacobins. Condorcet exercised the ascendancy of a philosophic mind, which gave him nearly the place which Siyès had held in the Constituent Assembly; while Pétion, calm and resolute, and wholly unfettered by scruples, was the man of action of his party, and rapidly acquired the same dominion in the municipality of Paris, of which he was a member, which Bailly had obtained over the middle classes in the commencement of the Revolution. They flattered themselves that they had preserved republican virtue, because they were neither addicted to the frivolities, nor shared in the expenses or the vices of the court; forgetting that the zeal of party, the love of power, and the ambition of popularity, may produce consequences more disastrous, and corruption as great, as the love of pleasure, the thirst of gold, or the ambition of kings. They were never able, when in power, to get the better of the reproach continually urged against them by the popular party, that they had abandoned their principles; and now, yielding to the seductions of the court, they not only embraced the doctrines, but occupied the very places, which had been hitherto held by their antagonists in the Revolution. They fell at last under the attacks of a party more revolutionary and less humane than themselves, who, disregarding the graces of composition and the principles of philosophy, were now assiduously employed in the arts of popularity, and becoming adepts in the infernal means of exciting the multitude.

13. A passion for general equality, a repugnance for violent governments, distinguished the speeches of the Giron-

dists. Their ideas were often grand and generous, drawn from the heroism of Greece and Rome, or the more enlarged philanthropy of modern times; their language was ever flattering and seductive to the people; their principles were those which gave its early popularity and immense celebrity to the Revolution. But yet from their innovations sprang the most oppressive tyranny of modern times, and they were at last found joining in many measures of flagrant iniquity. The dreadful war which ravaged Europe for twenty years was provoked by their declamations; the death of the king, the overthrow of the throne, the Reign of Terror, flowed from the insurrections which they fomented, or the principles which they promulgated. They were too often, in their political career, reckless and inconsiderate. Ambition and self-advancement were their ruling motives; and hence their eloquence and genius only rendered them the more dangerous, from the multitudes who were influenced by the charm of their language. But they were by no means insensible to less worthy motives, and we have the authority of Bertrand de Molleville for the assertion, that Vergniaud, Brissot, Isnard, Guadet, and the Abbé Fauchet, had all agreed to sell themselves to the court for 6000 francs a month (£240) to each; and that the agreement only broke off from the crown being unable or unwilling to purchase their services at so high a price.*

14. Disappointed thus in their hopes of advancement from the court, the Girondist leaders threw themselves without reserve into the arms of the people, and their influence in that quarter ere long proved fatal both to the king and

to themselves. Powerful in raising the tempest, they were feeble and irresolute in allaying it; invincible in suffering, heroic in death, they were destitute of the energy and practical experience requisite to avert disaster. The democrats supported them as long as they urged forward the Revolution, and became their bitterest enemies as soon as they strove to allay its fury. They were constantly misled, by expecting that intelligence was to be found among the lower orders, that reason and justice would prevail with the multitude; and as constantly disappointed by experiencing the invariable ascendant of passion or interest among their popular supporters—the usual error of elevated and generous minds, and which so generally unfits them for the actual administration of affairs. Their tenets would have led them to support the constitutional throne, but they were too ambitious to forego elevation for the sake of duty: unable to stem the torrent of democratic fury which they themselves had excited, they were compelled, to avert still greater disasters, to concur in many cruel measures, alike contrary to their wishes and their principles. The leaders of this party were Vergniaud, Brissot, and Roland—men of powerful eloquence, generous philanthropy, and Roman firmness; who knew how to die, but not to live; who perished, because they had the passions and ambition to commence, and wanted the audacity and wickedness requisite to complete, a Revolution.

15. The Girondists had no point of assemblage, like the well-disciplined forces of their adversaries; but their leaders frequently met at the parties of Madame Roland,† where all the ele-

* "This same *Sieur Durant* had been intrusted by *M. de Lessart*, towards the end of November 1791, to make pecuniary proposals to the deputies *Brisot*, *Isnard*, *Vergniaud*, *Guadet*, and the *Abbé Fauchet*; and they had all consented to sell to the Ministry their influence in the Assembly for an allowance per head of 6000 francs a month. But *M. de Lessart* thought this paying too dear for their services; and as they would not abate their demands, the negotiation went off, and only served still further to inflame these five deputies against the Ministry."—*Mémoires de Bertrand de Molleville*, ii. 355, 356.

† *Manon Jeanne Philipon*, afterwards *Madame Roland*, was born in Paris in 1754, the daughter of an obscure engraver. She received, nevertheless, like many other women in her rank of life at that period in France, a highly finished education; at four years of age she could read with facility, and she soon after made rapid progress in drawing, music, and history. From the very first she evinced a decided and energetic character, refused to embrace dogmas which did not convince her reason, and hence became early sceptical on many points of the Romish faith in which she was brought up. She never,

gance which the Revolution had left, and all the talent which it had developed, were wont to assemble. Impassioned in disposition, captivating in manner, unrivalled in conversation, but masculine in ambition, and feminine in temper, this remarkable woman united the graces of the French to the elevation of the Roman character. Born in the middle ranks, her manners, though without the ease of dignified birth, yet conferred distinction on an elevated station; surrounded by the most fascinating society in France, she preserved unsullied the simplicity of domestic life. She had as much virtue as pride, as much public ambition as private in-

tegrity. But she had all a woman's warmth of feeling in her disposition, and wanted the calm judgment requisite for the right direction of public affairs. Her sensitive temperament could not endure the constant attacks made on her husband at the tribune. She interfered too much with his administration, and replied, often with undue warmth, by articles in pamphlets and public journals, which bore his name. An ardent admirer of antiquity, she wept, while yet a child, that she had not been born a Roman citizen. She lived to witness misfortunes greater than were known to ancient states, and to bear them with more than Roman constancy.*

however, became irreligious, and retained to the close of life a devout sense both of an all-powerful Creator, and of the fundamental principles of Christianity. Her ardent mind, deeply imbued with liberal principles, at first reverted with enthusiasm to the brilliant pictures of antiquity contained in the ancient writers. She wept that she had not been born a Greek or Roman citizen, and carried Plutarch's Lives, instead of her breviary, to mass. Religious ardour soon after got possession of her mind; and she entreated her mother to be allowed to take the veil in a convent in the Faubourg St Marceau. Though this was not acceded to by her parents, she entered the convent as a pensionary, and returned from it with a mind enlarged and a heart softened. The elevated reasoning of Bossuet, as she has herself told us, first arrested her attention, and roused her reason; the eloquence of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* soon after captivated her imagination. Indefatigable in study, ardent in pursuit, she devoured alternately books on theology, philosophy, oratory, poetry, and romance, and became successively a Cartesian, a Jansenist, and a Stoic. She even wrote an essay on a question proposed by the academy of Besançon. In 1780, at the age of twenty-six, she married M. Roland, then an inspector of arts and manufactures at Rouen, who subsequently became Minister of the Interior. She was now in possession of wealth and independence; and though her marriage with him was a union founded on esteem only, as he was twenty-four years her senior, yet she proved a faithful and affectionate wife. Partly in the line of his profession, and to gain information on the manufactures of foreign countries, partly for pleasure, she travelled much with him in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and England; and she there entered warmly into her husband's pursuits, and gave him not a little assistance in them by her skill in drawing. He was inspector at Lyons when the Revolution broke out, and, in common with Madame Roland, immediately and warmly embraced its principles. It was the general indignation of the class of society to which they belonged

at the invidious exclusions to which they were subjected—exclusions which they were conscious were undeserved—which gave that convulsion its early and irresistible strength. The first occasion on which she openly espoused the popular cause, was in a description of the Federation of Lyons on 30th May 1790, which, from its energy and talent, acquired great celebrity. Attracted by the Revolution, she came to Paris in 1791, and immediately became a constant attender of the debates of the Assembly and at the Jacobin club. Four times a week a small circle of liberal deputies, consisting of Brissot, Pétion, Buzot, Barbaroux, and others, met at her house, and there, as at cabinet dinners in English administrations, the whole measures of their party were arranged. It was chiefly owing to the sway she thus acquired among the Girondists that her husband was soon after made minister of the interior. Her influence over the minister, however, then appeared excessive, and exposed him to ridicule, her to obloquy. "If you send an invitation," said Danton, "to Monsieur, you must also send one to Madame: I know the virtues of the minister; but we have need of men who can see otherwise than by the eyes of their wives."—*ROLAND'S Memoirs*, i. 272; and *Biographie Universelle*, xxxviii. 460-463.

* She was too active and enterprising for a statesman's wife. "When I wish to see the minister of the interior," said Condorcet, "I can never get a glimpse of anything but the petticoats of his wife."—*Hist. de la Convention*, i. 38. It is a curious proof of the manners of the times, that though Madame Roland's deportment as a woman was never suspected, and she died the victim of conjugal fidelity to her husband, who was twenty-four years older than herself, she has left in her memoirs, written in prison, and in the hourly expectation of death, details of her feelings and desires when a young woman—"les besoins," as she called it, "d'une physique bien organisé,"—with which, as Sir Walter Scott has justly observed, a courtesan of the higher class would hardly season her private conversation to her most favoured lover.—*ROLAND'S Mem.*, i. 78.

16. This remarkable woman, by the concurring testimony of all her contemporaries, exercised a powerful influence over the fortunes of her country. More than her husband, even when he was minister of the interior, she directed the royal counsels while he held office, and led the bright band of gifted intellects which assembled in her saloons. The fire of her genius, the warmth of her feelings, the eloquence of her language, enabled her to maintain an undisputed ascendancy even over the greatest men in France. But she was by no means a perfect character. The consciousness of talents tempted her to make too undisguised a use of them; her obvious superiority to her husband led her to assume, too openly, the lead of him in the direction of political affairs. Vehement, impassioned, and overbearing, she could not brook contradiction, and was often confirmed in error by opposition. Her jealousy of the queen was extreme, and she often expressed herself in reference to her fall and sufferings in terms of harsh and unfeeling exultation, unworthy alike of her character and situation. Hence she was more fitted, as women eminent in talent generally are, for adversity than for prosperity, and owes her great celebrity chiefly to the extraordinary heroism of her last moments. She lived to lament the crimes perpetrated in the name of liberty, and died a victim to her conjugal fidelity; evincing, in the last hour, a degree of intrepidity rarely

paralleled even in the annals of female heroism, and which, had it been general in the men of her party, might have stifled the Reign of Terror in its birth.

17. Vergniaud* was the most eloquent speaker of the Gironde, but he had not the vigour or resolution requisite for the leader of a party in troubled times. Passion, in general, had little influence over his mind: he was humane, gentle, and benevolent; difficult to rouse to exertion, and still more to be convinced of the wickedness, either of his adversaries, or of a large portion of his supporters. Indolence was his besetting sin, an ignorance of human nature his chief defect. But when great occasions arose, and the latent energy of his mind was roused, he poured forth his generous thoughts in streams of eloquence which never were surpassed in the French Assembly. His eloquence was not, like that of Mirabeau, broken and emphatic, adapted to the changing temper of the audience he addressed; but uniformly elegant, sonorous, and flowing, swelling at times into the highest strains of impassioned oratory. That such a man should have been unable to rule the Convention, only proves how unfit a body elected as they were is to rule the destinies of a great nation, or a man of such elegant accomplishments to sustain the conflict with a rude democracy.

18. But the one of all the Girondist party who took the most decided lead in the Assembly was BRISOT.† Unlike

* Pierre Victorin Vergniaud was born at Limoges in 1759; so that in 1791 he was only thirty-two years of age. His father was an advocate in that town, and bound his son to the same profession, designing him to succeed him in his business there; but young Vergniaud, being desirous of appearing on a more important theatre, repaired to Bordeaux, where his abilities and power of speaking soon procured him a brilliant reputation, though his invincible indolence prevented him from succeeding in the more thorny, but lucrative branches of his profession. Like all the young barristers of his province, he at once, and with the utmost ardour, embraced the principles of the Revolution; and he was even remarkable among them for the vehemence of his language, and the impassioned style of his eloquence. He was, however, indolent in the extreme; fond of pleasure, and, like Mirabeau, passionately desirous of enjoyment; but when roused, either by his feelings or necessity, he

rivalled that great man in the power and influence of his oratory. He had little ambition for himself, but lent himself to the designs of others who were consumed with the desire to raise themselves to the head of affairs. He was chosen one of the deputies for Bordeaux, in 1791, for the Legislative Assembly, and soon rose to eminence by his remarkable oratorical powers. — *Biographie Universelle*, xlviii. 192, 193 (VERGNIAUD).

† Jean Pierre Brisot was born at Duarville, near Chartres, on the 14th January 1754. His father was a pastrycook, but gave his son a college education, and before he left the seminary where he received it, he had already become an author. A pamphlet he published on the inequality of ranks, in 1775, procured for him a place in the Bastille, from which he was liberated by the influence of Madame Genlis, one of whose maids he soon after married. From thence he was sent to England, on a secret mission from the French police, and

Vergniaud, he was activity itself; and poured forth the stores of an ardent but ill-regulated mind with a profusion which astonished the world, even in those days of universal excitement and almost superhuman exertion. But he was neither a speaker nor a writer of distinguished talent. His style in the Assembly, as well as in his pamphlets, was verbose and monotonous; his information often scanty or inaccurate; and he was totally destitute either of philosophic thought or elevation of sentiment. He owed his reputation, which was great, and his influence, which for a considerable time was still greater, to his indefatigable industry, to the prodigious multitude of his pamphlets and speeches, which, by the sheer weight of number, kept him continually before the public; to his ultra-revolutionary zeal, which rendered him ever foremost in supporting projects of innovation or spoliation; and to his continual denunciation of counter-revolutionary plots in others, which rendered his journals and pamphlets always an object of curiosity. Like the rest of his party, he was irreligious, with all the political fanaticism which then supplied the place of religion. Calm and imperturbable in manner, he was full of hatred and envenomed feeling in character. Consumed by revolutionary passions, he was superior to the vulgar thirst for money; and though he had many opportunities of making a fortune, he left afterwards went to America, vainly seeking for some fixed employment; but no sooner did the Revolution break out in France in 1788, than he returned to that country, and immediately began to take an active part in promoting republican principles. After commencing with the publication of several pamphlets, he set up a journal entitled "*Le Patriote Français*," which continued to be issued for two years, and acquired a great reputation. This procured for him, on occasion of the Revolution of 14th July, a place in the municipality of Paris—a body then, and still more afterwards, of not less importance than the National Assembly itself. In conjunction with Laclos, of the Orleans faction, he drew up the famous petition of the Champ de Mars, which demanded the dethronement of the king after the journey to Varennes, which procured him a place in the Legislative Assembly, where he became an ardent opponent of Lafayette and the Constitutional party. — BRISSOT, *Mémoires*, i. 9-213; and *Biog. Univ.* v. 624, 625 (BRISSOT).

his wife and children, when brought to the scaffold by Robespierre, in a state of poverty. He was weak in constitution, ungainly in figure, with a pale countenance, and an affectation of Jacobin simplicity or rudeness of attire. Like many other men of passing celebrity, he was always beneath his reputation, which was in a great degree owing to the abilities of Secretary Girey Dupry, who wrote the best articles in his journals, and shared his fate on the scaffold.

19. Guadet was more animated than Vergniaud: he seized with more readiness the changes of the moment, and preserved his presence of mind more completely during the stormy discussions of the Assembly. Gensonné, with inferior talents for speaking, was nevertheless looked up to as a leader of his party, from his firmness and resolution of character. Barbaroux, a native of the south of France, brought to the strife of faction the ardent temperament of his sunny climate; resolute, sagacious, and daring, he early divined the bloody designs of the Jacobins, but was unable to prevail on his associates to adopt the desperate measures which he soon foresaw would be necessary, to give them anything like an equality in the strife. Isnard, Buzot, and Lanjuinais, were also distinguished men of this illustrious party, who became alike eminent by their oratorical talents and the heroism which they evinced in the extremity of adverse fortune. The elevated feelings, generous character, and pleasing manners of Barbaroux, won the heart, though they never shook the virtue, of Madame Roland. But what they and all the leaders of their party wanted, and which rendered them alike unfit to rule or contend with the Revolution, was a feeling of duty or rectitude on the one hand, and true knowledge of mankind on the other. The want of the first induced them, under the impulse of selfish ambition, to engage in a treasonable conspiracy against the throne, which led to its destruction; the want of the latter disqualified them from contending, after their common victory, with the associates whom they had summoned up for that criminal enterprise, and at once

conducted themselves to the scaffold, and destroyed the last remnants of freedom in France.

20. Very different was the character of the JACOBINS, that terrible faction whose crimes have stained the annals of France with such unheard-of atrocities. Their origin dates back to the struggles in 1789, when, as already noticed, a certain number of deputies from the province of Brittany met in the convent of the Jacobins, formerly the seat of the assemblies of the league, under the name of the "Club Breton." The popularity of this club soon attracted to it the most audacious and able of the democratic party. They seemed to have inherited from their predecessors in the Roman Catholic Church at once their tyrannical disposition and their arrogant exclusiveness.* The nave of the church was transformed into a hall for the meeting of the members; and the seat of the president made of the top of a Gothic monument of black marble, which stood against the walls. The tribune, from whence the orators addressed the assembly, consisted of two beams placed across each other, in the form of a St Andrew's cross, like a half-constructed scaffold; behind it were suspended from the walls the ancient instruments of torture, the unregarded but fitting accompaniments of such a scene; numbers of bats at night flitted through the vast and gloomy vaults, and by their screams augmented the din of the meeting. Such was the strife of contending voices, that muskets were discharged at intervals to produce a temporary cessation of the tumult. A great number of affiliated societies, in all the large towns of France, early gave this club a decided preponderance: the eloquence of Mirabeau thundered under its roof; and all the principal insurrections of the Revolution were prepared by its leaders. There the revolts of the 14th July, the 20th June, and the 10th August, were openly discussed long be-

fore they took place; there were rehearsed all the great changes of the drama which were shortly afterwards to be acted in the Assembly. The massacres of 2d September alone appear to have been unprepared by them; their infamy rests with Danton and the municipality of Paris.

21. As usual in democratic assemblies, the most violent and outrageous soon acquired the ascendancy; the mob applauded those who were loudest in their assertion of the sovereignty of the people. The greater part of its members consisted not of the mere ignorant rabble; had it been so, it never could have acquired its fatal ascendancy. It was for the most part composed of the most ardent and ambitious of the middle class, to whom the privileges of the highest were most obnoxious, and who were most desirous to occupy their place,—the advocate, for example, who was devoured with anxiety to crush the magistrate who had long insulted him by his pride—the attorney—the village surgeon, anxious to rise to the station of the physician—the priest, who envied the professor or the bishop. The Jacobin Club, at the outset, comprised the quintessence of the professional ambition and talent of France—thence its early and lasting influence. By degrees, however, as the Revolution rolled on—and serious crimes marked its progress—it acquired a darker character, and became distinguished chiefly by the violence of its proceedings, and the concourse from all parts of France of all who were actuated by the fervour, or compromised by the crimes of the Revolution. Fifteen hundred members usually attended its meetings; a few lamps only lighted the vast extent of the room; the members appeared for the most part in shabby attire, and the galleries were filled with the lowest of the populace. In this den of darkness were prepared the bloody lists of proscription and massacre; the meetings were opened with revolutionary songs, and shouts of applause followed each addition to the list of murder, each account of its perpetration by the affiliated societies. Never was a man of honour—seldom a man of virtue—admitted

* "They adopted boldly the old dogma—'Apart from us there is no salvation!' Except the Cordeliers, with whom they temporised, and mentioned as little as possible, they persecuted the other clubs, even the most revolutionary."—MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 412.

within this society; it had an innate horror of every one who was not attached to its fortunes by the hellish bond of committed wickedness. A robber, an assassin, was certain of admission—as sure as the victim of their violence was of rejection. The well-known question put to the entrants, “What have you done to be hanged if the ancient régime is restored?” exemplifies at once the tie which held together its members. The secret sense of deserved punishment constituted the bond of their unholy alliance. Their place of meeting was adorned with anarchical symbols, tricolor flags, and busts of the leading revolutionists of former times. Long before the death of Louis XVI., two portraits, adorned with garlands, of Jacques Clément and Ravallac, were hung on the walls: immediately below was the date of the murder which each had committed, with the words, “He was fortunate; he killed a king.”

22. Inferior to their adversaries in learning, eloquence, and taste, they were infinitely their superiors in the arts of acquiring popularity; they succeeded with the mob, because they knew by experience the means of moving the mass from which they sprang. Reason, justice, humanity, were never appealed to: flattery, agitation, and terror, constituted their never-failing methods of seduction. Incessant fabrications or denunciations of counter-revolutionary plots, and fearful pictures of the dangers to which, if successful, they would expose the whole revolutionary party, were their favourite engines for moving the popular mind. They embraced, and established over all France, a system of espionage as widespread as that of Fouché under the imperial régime—more searching than that of the Inquisition in the plenitude of papal tyranny. Mutual surveillance, public watching, private denunciation, constituted their constant methods of intimidation. More even than Italy in the days of Tiberius, France was, by their agency, overspread with a host of informers, who were only the more formidable that they were at once the accusers, the judges, the jury, and the gainers by denunciation. As strongly as Napoleon himself, and for

a similar reason, they felt that conquest was essential to existence; they were all aware, and constantly maintained, that the Revolution must advance and crush its enemies, or it would recoil and crush themselves. The extreme of democracy was the form of government which they supported, because it was most grateful to the indigent class on whom they depended; but nothing was farther from their intentions than to share with others the power which they so strenuously sought for themselves. The greatest levellers in theory, they became the most absolute tyrants in practice; having nothing to lose, they were utterly reckless in their measures of aggrandisement; restrained by no feelings of conscience, they reaped for a time the fruits of audacious wickedness. The leaders of this party were Danton, Marat, Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, St Just, and Collet d'Herbois—names destined to acquire an execrable celebrity in French annals, whose deeds will never be forgotten so long as the voice of conscience is heard in the human heart—who have done more to injure the cause of freedom than all the tyrants who have preceded them.

23. Danton was born at Arcis-sur-Aube on the 28th October 1759. His father was a small proprietor in its neighbourhood, who cultivated his little domain with his own hands, but had sufficient property and intelligence to give his son a good education. He died early, and Danton's mother married M. Recorder, a humble manufacturer, who completed his stepson's education by sending him to Troyes. There his talents were so great, his indolence so invincible, that his companions called him Catiline. Nature seemed to have expressly created him for the terrible part which he played in the Revolution. His figure was colossal, his health unbroken, his strength extraordinary: a countenance ravaged by the small-pox, with small eyes, thick lips, and a libertine look, but a lofty commanding forehead, at once fascinated and terrified the beholder. A commanding air, dauntless intrepidity, a voice of thunder, soon gave him the ascendancy in any assembly which he addressed. He

was bred to the bar, but never got any practice; and was already drowned in debt when the Revolution in 1789 drew him to Paris, as the great centre of attraction for towering ambition and ruined fortunes. Mirabeau there early discerned his value, and made use of him, as he himself said, "as a huge blast-bellows to inflame the popular passions." In July 1789 he was already a sort of monarch in the markets; and he was chosen, on its institution, president of the club of the Cordeliers, which gave him a durable influence. This celebrated club, which at first rivalled that of the Jacobins in fame and influence, held its sittings in a chapel opposite to the Ecole de Medicine, now used as a museum of surgical preparations and dissecting-rooms. The interior of the chapel was low in the roof, dark, and supported on massy columns. This situation was selected on account of its central situation in the midst of a vast concourse of the working classes, by whom the club was chiefly frequented. It had been built by the monastic order of the Cordeliers, from whence its name was derived; and in the vaults below the chapel Marat's printing-press had for some time been established. The Cordeliers was a club of Paris, however, and of Paris alone: it had no correspondence in the provinces; it was not, like the Jacobins, a Revolutionary committee for the direction of all France. Thence its influence, though superior at first, was not so wide-spread or durable as that of its great and better organised rival. Danton's commanding voice and ready elocution early gave him the entire command in its debates; but it had many powerful writers and journalists among its members, who exercised a great, and in the end fatal influence on the fortunes of the Revolution. Marat, Camille Desmoulins, Fréron, Fabre d'Eglantine, Robert, and Hébert, were the most remarkable; and from their incessant flattery of the people, and excitement of their passions, their influence was at first greater with the multitude than that of the Jacobin Club. No precaution was adopted at the Cordeliers against the admission of unaffiliated members; the doors were

open to all; and the language ever used by the orators was the re-echo, in exaggerated terms, of the popular passions at the moment. But it wanted the solid support in affiliated societies which rendered the Jacobins so powerful, and in the end gave them the entire command of France.* Danton then attached himself to Marat, and, in conjunction with him and Brissot, drew up the famous petition of the Champ de Mars, which prayed for the dethronement of the king.

24. He was the first leader of the Jacobins who rose to great eminence in the Revolution. Born poor, he had received, as he himself said, no other inheritance from nature than "an athletic form, and the rude physiognomy of freedom." He owed his ascendancy not so much to his talents, though they were great, nor to his eloquence, though it was commanding, as to his indomitable energy and dauntless courage, which made him rise superior to every difficulty, and boldly assume the lead when others, with perhaps equal abilities, were beginning to sink under apprehension. As was said of Lord Thurlow, self-confidence, or, in plainer language, impudence, was the great secret of his success.† At first ambition was the main-spring of his actions, individual gratification the god of his idolatry: situated as he was, he saw that these objects were to be gained only by a zealous and uncompromising support of the popular party, and hence he was a Revolutionist. But he was ambitious, not philanthropic; a voluptuary, not a fanatic: he looked to the Revolution as the means of making his fortune, not of elevating or improving the human race. Accordingly, he was quite willing to sell himself to the court, if it promised him greater advantages than the popular

* MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 389, 342.

† "A moderate merit with a large share of impudence is more probable to be advanced than the greatest qualifications without it. The first necessary qualification of an orator is impudence, and, as Demosthenes said of action, the second is impudence, and the third is impudence. No modest man ever did, or ever will, make his fortune in public assemblies."—LADY M. WORTLEY MONTAGUE, in *Southey's edition of Cowper*, v. 254.

side; and at one time he received no less than a hundred thousand crowns (£25,000) from the royal treasury, to advocate measures favourable to the interest of the royal authority—an engagement which, as long as it lasted, he faithfully kept.* But when the cause of royalty was evidently declining, and a scaffold, not a fortune, promised to be the reward of fidelity to the throne, he threw himself without reserve into the arms of the democracy, and advocated the most vehement and sanguinary measures.

25. Yet Danton was not a mere blood-thirsty tyrant. Bold, unprincipled, and daring, he held that the end in every case justified the means; that nothing was blamable provided it led to desirable results; that nothing was impossible to those who had the courage to attempt it. A starving advocate in 1789, he rose in audacity and eminence with the public disturbances; prodigal in expense and drowned in debt, he had no chance, at any period, even of personal freedom, but in constantly advancing with the fortunes of the Revolution. Like Mirabeau, he was the slave of sensual passions; like him he was the terrific ruler, during his ascendancy, of the leading class—though he shared the character, not of the patricians who commenced the Revolution, but of the plebeians who consummated its wickedness. "I have never," said Madame Roland, "seen anything which characterised so completely the ascendant of brutal passions and unbridled audacity, scarce veiled by an affectation of joviality and bonhomie. My imagination constantly represented Danton with a poniard in his hand, exciting a troop of assassins; or calling them, like Sardanapalus, to

the infamous orgies which were to be the reward of their crimes." But he had no fanaticism in his character; he was not impelled to evil in the search of good. Self-elevation was his object throughout; when that was secured, he was not inaccessible to better feelings. Inexorable in general measures, he was indulgent, humane, and even generous, to individuals; the author of the massacres of the 2d September, he saved all those who fled to him, and spontaneously liberated his personal adversaries from prison. Individual elevation, and the safety of his party, were his ruling objects—a revolution appeared a game of hazard, where the stake was the life of the losing party; the strenuous supporter of exterminating cruelty after the 10th August, he was among the first to recommend a return to humanity, after the period of danger was past. He was so extravagant during the period of his greatness that he added nothing to his fortune, and left to the two sons whom he left by his first marriage nothing but the humble inheritance of their father at Arcis-sur-Aube. These sons, terrified, like Cromwell's, at the celebrity and fate of their father, retired after his death to their paternal estate, which, like their forefathers, they cultivated with their own hands. They are still unmarried, and the posterity of Danton, like that of many other eminent men, is likely soon to become extinct.

26. Marat was the worst of this band.†

* "Danton had received through the Sieur Durand more than 100,000 crowns, to propose or support different motions at the club of the Jacobins; he fulfilled these engagements with sufficient fidelity, reserving always to himself the right of employing the means he thought best adapted to insure the carrying of his motions; and his ordinary method was to season his propositions with the most violent declamations against the Court and the Ministers, to avoid the suspicion of being sold to them."—BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, *Mémoires*, i. 354; LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, i. 139.

† Jean Paul Marat was born in 1744, at Boudry, in the principality of Neuchâtel. He was sprung of Calvinistic parents, and bred to medicine, which he studied at the university of Edinburgh, and in 1774 he published in English, in that city, a pamphlet entitled "The Chains of Slavery." Subsequently he removed to Paris, where he established himself in practice; but he never succeeded in his profession, and he was soon obliged to accept a humble situation as veterinary surgeon in the stables of the Count d'Artois, which he held for twelve years. He left that service in 1789, and was living in obscure lodgings and great poverty in that city when the Revolution broke out. His learning, however, was considerable, his information extensive, and he had, before that convulsion brought him into notice, already published a great variety of works in different departments of knowledge, which indicated the extent and variety of his studies. Literature, science, philosophy, criticism, had

Nature had impressed the atrocity of his character on his countenance; hideous features, the expression of a demon, revolted all who approached him. His talents were considerable, his reading extensive, his industry indefatigable; and, previous to the Revolution, he had been known by a great variety of writings on different subjects. But that convulsion at once roused all the dark and malignant passions of his nature; and to such an extent did they obtain the mastery of him, and so strongly was he convinced that they afforded the only passport to success, that he was careful to depict himself in his compositions as worse than he really was. For more than three years his writings incessantly stimulated the people to cruelty; buried in obscurity, he revolved in his mind the means of augmenting the victims of popular passion. So complete a fanatic had he become, in this respect, that he scrupled not to recommend *torture* to captives, burning at the stake, and branding with red-hot iron, as a suitable

alternately occupied his pen, and attested at once his talents and his perseverance. But from the moment that popular passions got possession of the public mind, he directed the whole force of his intellect to the inflaming of them; and he rapidly became, in consequence, one of the most powerful as well as dangerous agents of the Revolution. In July 1789 he began his celebrated journal *L'Ami du Peuple*, which he continued to publish daily till his death in 1793, and which now forms nineteen volumes, one of the most curious monuments of those fearful times. He soon made himself remarkable in the primary assemblies which everywhere arose in Paris after the insurrection of 14th July, by the vehemence of his language, and the bloody proscriptions which he from the first, and in the most undisguised manner, advocated. So early as August 1789 he was found there maintaining, that the Revolution would retrograde unless eight hundred deputies in the Assembly were hung on eight hundred trees in the garden of the Tuilleries, with Mirabeau at the head of them, as he had ventured to propose that the army should be disbanded, and reconstituted on a new principle. The minister, Malouet, proposed he should be prosecuted for this; but Mirabeau said, such sallies merited only contempt, and prevailed on the Assembly to pass to the order of the day. The municipality of Paris afterwards ordered him to be arrested, and Lafayette invested his house; but Danton furnished him with the means of escape. Undeterred by these dangers, Marat continued, without intermission, his infernal agitation in his journal, ever keeping a little

means of satisfying the public indignation.* The violence of his language on all occasions was such as would be incredible, if his printed works did not remain an enduring and damning monument to attest it. "When a man," said he, "is in want of everything, he has a right to tear from his neighbour his superfluities; rather than perish of famine, he has a right to murder and devour his quivering flesh. Whatever disorder such acts may create, it does not more disturb the order of nature than when a wolf tears in pieces a sheep. Pity is entirely a fictitious sentiment: if you never speak to a man of gentleness or mildness, he will never know what they are."† Nor was falsehood awanting to support these atrocious suggestions; on the contrary, it was constantly made use of by him, to work the people up to such a state of frenzy as to be ready for their adoption. There was nothing too absurd for him to say, or them to believe, provided it fell in with the prevailing passion of the moment.‡

in advance of the popular feeling, and leading the people on to commit atrocities, by previously accustoming them to hear of them. At first he was hooted down, and hissed at the doors of the clubs and primary assemblies, when he had concluded his sanguinary harangues; but he went on without being deterred either by danger or obloquy, well knowing that the progress of a revolution is ever onward; and ere long his demands for proscriptions were received with thunders of applause.—*Biographie Universelle*, xxvi. 556, 560 (MARAT); and MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 389, 392.

* "It is not merely a severe judgment, an exemplary punishment, that Marat invoked upon those he accused; death could not satisfy him. His imagination revels in the idea of punishments; he would require wholesale slaughters, conflagrations, horrible mutilations. Brand them with hot iron, cut off their thumbs, split their tongues." &c.—MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 377, (an ultra-republican writer). See for an entire confirmation of these remarks, *L'Ami du Peuple*, No. 327, p. 3, 1st Jan. 1791; No. 351, p. 3, 25th Jan. 1791; No. 305, p. 7, 9th Dec. 1790; No. 325, p. 4, 30th Dec. 1790.

† *Projet d'une Constitution*, p. 7; MARAT, *Sur l'Homme*, i. 165.

‡ "Lafayette has caused to be made in the Faubourg St Antoine 15,000 snuff-boxes with his portrait. I entreat all good citizens who may get a hold of them to destroy them. There will be found the key to the grand conspiracy."—*L'Ami du Peuple*, No. 319, Dec. 23, 1790. "Louis XVI. weeps scalding tears for the follies that the Austrian causes

In vain repeated accusations were directed against him; flying from one subterraneous abode to another, he still continued his infernal agitation of the public mind. Terror was his constant engine for attaining his objects. His principle was, that there was no safety but in destroying the whole enemies of the Revolution; he was repeatedly heard to say, that there would be no security to the state till two hundred and eighty thousand heads had fallen. He was not vernal: inveterate fanaticism, the lust of power, the thirst for blood, were his motives of action. The Revolution produced many men who carried into execution more sanguinary measures, none who exercised so powerful an influence in recommending them. He had that nervous irritability of constitution, which in troubled times often produces at once pity for individual suffering and inexorable general cruelty. He said himself, that "he could not, without pain, see an insect suffer; but he could without scruple annihilate a world."* It was the same with Napoleon and Danton: it is the nature of all fanaticism, whether in religion or politics, to engender such a character. But more than all his compeers, Marat trusted to, and advocated blood as the remedy for all evils, the means of overthrowing all opposition, and thence his prodigious and fatal influence. Death cut him short in the midst of his relentless career; the hand of female heroism prevented his falling a victim to the savage exasperation which he had so large a share in arousing.

27. ST JUST was born at Decize, in the Nivernois, in 1768, the son of a chevalier of St Louis, but not noble, who lived near Noyon. He received the elements of his education at Soissons, and was early distinguished by his intense application, and the vehement him to commit.—No. 320. "The queen has given away so many white cockades that the price of white ribbon has risen three sous a yard. This fact is certain—Marat has it from the girl Bertin, milliner to the queen."

—No. 321, p. 4.

* "En présence de la nature et de la douleur, Marat devenait très faible; il ne pouvait, dit-il, voir souffrir un insecte, mais seul avec son écritoire, il éût anéanti le monde." —MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, II. 346.

ardour with which he pursued whatever he undertook. Ambitious of distinction, he embraced the principles of the Revolution, though still a youth, the moment that it broke out; and so desirous was he of entering on the career of public life that he introduced himself by stealth, in 1791, when under the legal age, to the Electoral Assembly of Chaunay, from which he was expelled as soon as the deception was discovered. He afterwards was elected, from the violence of his democratic principles, adjutant-major in a legion of the national guard, and in 1792 was chosen deputy to the Convention for the department of the Aisne. From that time he became an intimate friend of Robespierre, and adopted more thoroughly the principles of that remarkable man than any other member of the Convention.

28. At once an ardent fanatic and a sanguinary despot, St Just, in conjunction with Robespierre, directed his whole efforts to two objects—the destruction of all the enemies of democracy, and the centralisation of all its powers in the hands of a few. He trusted nothing to reason among the people, still less to virtue in public men; but constantly urged the necessity of destroying all the enemies of the Revolution. Terror was his engine, as the only means either of private safety or national regeneration; death the means by which it was to be produced. He always maintained, that abuses would never cease as long as the king and a single man of the noblesse lived. "I insist," said he, "that the whole Bourbons should be banished, except the king, who should be kept, *you know why*. Let hatred of kings mingle with the blood of the people." To excite their rage, he fabricated the most audacious lies, as that in 1783 Louis XVI. had massacred eight thousand victims in Paris alone, and hanged fifteen thousand smugglers, and that the bodies found every morning in the Seine were those of the persons who had been strangled the preceding night in prison by the king's orders. Falsehood to excite his adherents, death to intimidate his adversaries, were his two weapons, as they are those of all men in

the last stages of religious or political fanaticism. Wrapt up in ambition, he was above the sordid desire of wealth, but not insensible to other passions. He loved women, had an elegant figure, and affected the ancient polish of manners; but a dark melancholic countenance, and a profusion of lank black hair, revealed at once to the spectator the unrelenting fanatic of the nineteenth century.

29. But all the leaders of the Jacobins sink into insignificance before their ruler and despot, FRANCIS MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE. This extraordinary man, whose name will never be forgotten, was born at Arras in 1759, the son of an obscure procurator in that town, who, being ruined by dissipation, had fled to Cologne to avoid his creditors, where he set up a French school; and who removed from thence to America, where he was never more heard of. His mother, Marie Josephine Caneau, the daughter of a brewer, died when Maximilien was only nine years of age, leaving her young family totally destitute. Young Robespierre was succoured in this extremity by the Bishop of Arras, who procured for him a bursary at the College of Louis le Grand at Paris, and paid for his board there, while the Abbé Proyart, its principal, received him in the kindest manner. His progress in classical knowledge was respectable, and he is marked, from the year 1772 to 1775, as one of the most promising students of the college. On leaving that seminary he studied law, and set up as an advocate in his native town of Arras; but his success was not remarkable, as the turn of his mind was always towards principle and speculation rather than business. Ardent in the pursuit of these, his earliest expedition from college was to make a pilgrimage on foot of thirty miles to see Rousseau, at Ermonville, then the object of his most enthusiastic admiration. Having been appointed a member, by the bishop, of the criminal tribunal of Arras, he suffered so much pain on being obliged to condemn an assassin to death, that he resigned the situation.

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30. His first appearance in public was still more remarkable, considering the career which ultimately awaited him. The academy of Metz having, in 1784, proposed a prize for the best essay on an existing law in France, which affixed to his whole family the infamy of a criminal's condemnation to the scaffold, Robespierre engaged in the competition, and carried off a prize of four hundred francs for his composition. He was strongly urged to try his fortune by a young friend destined to future celebrity, and who afterwards became his colleague in the Committee of Public Salvation—Carnot.* Carried away by the philanthropic feelings then so generally prevalent, which ushered in, in such deceitful colours, the dawn of the Revolution, Robespierre went a step further, and eloquently contended for the total abolition of capital punishments in all cases. Thus the most sanguinary despot known in modern times owed his education, and preservation from destitution, to the benevolence of two kind-hearted ecclesiastics; he made his first pilgrimage as a youth to see the celebrated philanthropist, J. J. Rousseau; he resigned his first judicial appointment from the pain he suffered on pronouncing sentence of death on a murderer; and made his first appearance in life by an essay in which he eloquently contended for the abolition, in all cases, of capital punishments.†

* “‘Write, to me’ said he (Carnot), ‘with all the ardour of thy patriotic soul; trace in letters of blood the truths which thou art about to tell thy fellow-citizens; and save at least one victim from this frightful prejudice—you will be well rewarded.’”—*Mémoires de ROBESPIERRE*, I. 239.

† Robespierre's motto for this Essay was the line of Virgil—

“Quid hoc genus hominum? quæve hunc tam
barbara morem
Permittet patria?”

Lauretelle wrote an article in the *Mercur de France* on this composition when it appeared, in which he bestowed on it the highest commendations. “His work,” said he, “will be read with interest, and attract merited attention. It is full of sound views and touches of simple eloquence, showing true and felicitous ability. Still higher hopes will be formed of the author, when it is known that he is an advocate engaged in

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31. The first cause in which Robespierre gained any distinction was one against the sheriffs of St Omer, in which he pronounced a glowing eulogium on the virtues and patriotism of Louis XVI., of whom he was hereafter to be the cruelest enemy; and soon after he acquired a great reputation with the popular party, by a violent memorial against the superior council of Artois. This procured for him a place in the States-General in 1789, from which period his biography is written in the annals of France. When he first entered the Assembly, however, he had so little the command of language, that it was with difficulty he could put a few words together. The Abbé Maury on one occasion made the whole members laugh by the ironical proposal that his speech should be printed. It was only by indomitable and indefatigable perseverance that he surmounted these defects, and at length acquired the power of ready elocution. In those days he was miserably poor, lodged in an obscure room in the Rue du Saintonge in the Marais, and dined at sixpence a-day. The Assembly having ordered a general mourning for the death of Franklin, the future dictator of France had no resource but to borrow a coat so much too large for him that the whole Assembly burst into laughter when he appeared in it.* Still he adhered to his repugnance to the shedding of blood, and was found in 1791 warmly and eloquently supporting, in the National As-

sembly, a proposal for the total abolition of capital punishments, [chap. vi. § 75.] He was not re-elected into the Legislative Assembly, in consequence of the self-denying ordinance, which he himself had passed; but he was an active member of the Jacobin Club during all the time of its sitting, and in that way exercised an unseen, but most effective control, both over the proceedings of that Assembly, and the dreadful catastrophe which at its close overturned the throne.

32. Of all the characters which the Revolution produced, Robespierre was by far the most remarkable, and without the details now given of his previous life, his character would be altogether inexplicable. No one has been so much disfigured in representation and description by contemporary analysts of every shade of opinion—a peculiarity not to be wondered at, considering that he nearly destroyed them all, and had well-nigh succeeded, before his fall, in guillotining the greatest and most eminent men of all parties in France. But a calm retrospect of his career will at once show to what his extraordinary rise and long-continued power was owing, and reconcile the otherwise incomprehensible contradictions of his character.

33. Robespierre was a great, nay, in some respects, he was a good man; but he was a sanguinary bigot, a merciless fanatic. His talents were of the very highest order; his eloquence, after by

his first cause when he wrote this essay."—*Mercure de France*, Sept. 29, 1784, in *Mémoires de ROBESPIERRE*, i. *Pièces Just.* B, p. 229.

In this essay Robespierre observed, speaking of the family of a condemned criminal: "With their innocence, they have still the most touching claims to the commiseration of their fellow-citizens. Imagine, for example, a distressed family, from whom their head and support is torn, to be dragged to the scaffold; it seems to be thought that they would be too happy if they had only this misfortune to bewail—they themselves are devoted to eternal infamy. The unfortunate! possessing all the sensibilities of honest hearts, they are forced to endure all the weight of that horrid stigma, which the criminal alone can sustain. They no longer dare to raise their eyes, lest they read contempt in the looks of all around them: all despise them; all associations repulse them; all families dread to stain themselves by their

alliance; society abandons and leaves them in a frightful solitude. Friendship even cannot exist for them. In fine, their position is so terrible that it inspires pity even in its authors: we pity them for the contempt we feel, and yet continue to brand them; we plunge the knife into the hearts of these innocent victims, but cannot hear their cries without emotion. The mother's cry, the prayers of innocence, the supplications of beauty, the touching voice of friendship, services, virtues, talents—all that can stir the heart of man, works against the course of justice. We are more shocked at the vengeance than at the crime. Whence spring such great anomalies? It is that the punishment is more to be dreaded than the crime."—*Essai de ROBESPIERRE*, 1784; *Mémoires de ROBESPIERRE*, ii. 320, 331.

* "Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se Quam quod ridiculos homines facit."

JUVENAL, iii. 154.

practice and perseverance he had acquired the command of language, was condensed, his reasoning powerful, his intellect cool, his sagacity great, his perseverance unconquerable. His disposition was of that peculiar kind which affords the only sure foundation for lasting popularity with the people. He adhered steadily to principle, and constantly appealed to it. There was no shuffling or tergiversation about him; he was ever the same. His doctrines were simple, flattering to the many, and perfectly adapted to every capacity. He maintained that the multitude can do no wrong: "que le peuple est toujours bon, le magistrat toujours corruptible;"* that they are the fountain of all power, and that by their delegates alone it should ever be exercised. It was to effect this object that he strove to destroy all the higher classes of society, because he was convinced it would not be attained otherwise; but his ultimate object was equality and social happiness. Philosophers and statesmen will probably be inclined to dispute these first principles, and deduce many arguments against them from his own career; but none can deny to Robespierre the merit of having steadily adhered to them in his reasonings, and followed them out with invincible constancy in his conduct. Adopting the prevailing doctrine of the day, that the end will justify the means, he went steadily on destroying every one who thwarted the popular will—of which he considered himself, and with reason, as the true incarnation—till he had well-nigh annihilated the whole intellect and virtue of France. Napoleon did not prosecute savage warfare, for the external glory of the republic, with more vigour and perseverance than Robespierre did internal massacre, to exterminate its domestic enemies; and the extraordinary success and long-continued power of both proved that each had rightly judged the popular mind in his own day—that they both marched, as Napoleon said, "with the opinion of five millions of men." No man in troubled times ever rose to lasting great-

* His own words.—BUONABOTTI, *Conspiration de Babeuf*, i. 273.

ness but by steady and courageous adherence to principle. In this view Robespierre's character and career possess an interest and an importance far beyond what can belong to any individual, how eminent soever. He was the incarnation of a principle, the touchstone of a system. And that principle was the natural innocence of man—that system, to do evil that good may come.

34. Although, however, the public career of Robespierre was thus the manifold assertion of a principle, and its results a *reductio ad absurdum* of its doctrines, yet a close examination reveals in him, in addition to his unrelenting cruelty, many of the weaknesses, some of the littlenesses, of humanity. Unlike Mirabeau and Danton, he owed nothing to physical strength, or the ascendant of manner. Ungainly in appearance, with a feeble voice and vulgar accent, he owed his elevation chiefly to the inflexible obstinacy and dauntless moral courage with which he maintained his opinions, at a time when the popular cause had lost many of its supporters. But under the mask of patriotism was concealed the working of other and less worthy feelings. Vanity, terror, and revenge, exercised a powerful influence over his mind. His hatred was implacable; it fell with unmitigated fury on his nearest and dearest relations.† Cautious in conduct, slow but implacable in revenge, he avoided the perils which proved fatal to so many of his adversaries, and ultimately established himself on their ruin. Insatiable in his thirst for blood, he disdained the more vulgar passion for money: no bribes from the court ever sullied his hands; at a time when he disposed of the life of every man in France, he resided in a small apartment, the only luxury of which consisted in images of his figure, and the number of mirrors which in every direction reflected his form. While the other leaders of the

† "How frightful must this passion of hatred be, since it misleads you to the point of defaming me to my friends. Your hatred to me is too furiously blind not to extend to any one who takes an interest in me."—*La Citoyenne ROBESPIERRE à son frère*, 13 Mess. Ann. II. *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*, II. 114.

populace affected a squalid dress and dirty linen, he alone appeared in elegant attire. His countenance had something in it which was repulsive; he was pale, inclining to a livid hue, and was deeply marked by the smallpox. His smile was painful, and at times satanic; a convulsive quiver of the lips, whenever he was strongly agitated, often gave a frightful expression to his countenance. An austere life, a reputation for incorruptibility, a total disregard of human suffering, preserved his ascendancy with the fanatical supporters of liberty, even though he had little in common with them, and though there was an elevation of purpose in his cruelty to which they were strangers. He had great designs in view in the reconstruction of the social edifice, after three hundred thousand heads had fallen. His visions were of an innocent republic, with equal fortunes arising out of the sea of blood. But it was in general measures only that he was philanthropic; to individuals he was merciless and cruel in the extreme. He was more consistent than Danton, but less humane: he never abandoned a principle, but he never saved a friend. It was hard to say whether his supporters, or his enemies, fell fastest beneath the scythe of his ambition. His terrible career is a proof how little, in popular commotions, even domineering vices are ultimately to be relied on; and how completely indomitable perseverance, and a steady adherence to popular principles, can supply the want of all other qualities. The approach of death unveiled his real weakness; he was the perfection of moral courage, but not equally distinguished by personal firmness. When success was hopeless, his boldness deserted him; and the assassin of thousands met his fate with a vacillation that could hardly have been expected from his previous career.

35. The leaders of the Jacobins in the Legislative Assembly were Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin; but it was not there that their real influence lay. The clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers were the pillars of their authority: in the first, Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, ruled with absolute

sway; the latter was under the domination of Danton, Carrier, Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Églantine. Robespierre was excluded from the Assembly by the self-denying ordinance which he himself had proposed; but he had acquired an omnipotent sway at the Jacobins', by the extravagance of his opinions, the condensed energy of his language, and his reputation for integrity, which had already acquired for him the surname of the Incorruptible. The extensive galleries, erected round the hall of the Assembly, gave the most unruly and violent of their body constant access to the legislature, where they never failed to cheer on their own partisans as loudly as they drowned by clamour the few remaining friends of order or regular government. In the Faubourg St Antoine, the brewer Santerre, well known in the bloodiest days of the Revolution, had obtained an undisputed ascendancy; while the municipality of Paris, elected according to the new system, by the universal suffrage of the inhabitants, had fallen, as might have been anticipated, into the hands of the most violent and least respectable of the demagogues. The importance of this body was not at first perceived; but possessing, as it did, the means of rousing at pleasure the strength of the capital, it soon acquired a preponderating influence, and was enabled to enthrall a government which the armies of Europe sought in vain to subdue.

36. It is admitted by the republican writers, that at this period the king and queen were sincerely inclined to support the constitution. In truth, Louis had great hopes of its success; and though he was not insensible to its faults, and desired its modification in several particulars, yet he trusted to time, and the returning good sense of the nation, to effect these changes, and was resolved to give it a fair trial. The queen participated in the same sentiments, and, from the comparative tranquillity of the last year, began to entertain sanguine hopes that the anarchy of the nation might at length be stilled. The establishment of the Constitutional Guard, eighteen hundred strong, for the service of the palace, since the king had

accepted the constitution, gave them the shadow at least of independence. Louis's ministers were far, however, from entertaining such sanguine sentiments; and Bertrand de Molleville, in particular, strongly expressed to him his opinion in private, that the royal prerogative was so abridged, under the new constitution, that it could not possibly exist for any length of time.—“M. Bertrand,” replied the simple-hearted monarch, “there are many things in the constitution which I have endeavoured to prevent—which I would wish to see altered; but the time for that is past: I have sworn to maintain it, and maintain it I will. Nay, I am convinced that a sincere and honest endeavour to abide by it, in all respects, is the best way to open the eye of the nation to its defects. Courage, M. Bertrand!—all may yet be well.”

37. The constitution having vested in the king the power of forming a guard for the protection of his person and family, he commenced, soon after the meeting of the Legislative Assembly, the formation of it. This was a matter of extreme delicacy, for both the national guard and the people of Paris were excessively jealous of the influence, all but unbounded, which they had long enjoyed by the possession of the king's person, and viewed with undisguised aversion any measures which might even tend to render him independent of them. In the hope of reconciling all difficulties, and at the same time taking advantage of the revived sentiments of loyalty which had been awakened in the rural districts, especially of the south and west of France, Louis determined to have the National and Constitutional Guards always in equal numbers in the service of the palace, and to choose the latter from the provinces, in the proportion of three or four from each department. This plan was well-conceived in appearance, from the obvious justice on which it was founded; but, like all other conciliatory measures attempted during a period of general excitement, it discontented both parties. It was soon discovered that, though it contained several violent revolutionists, sent from the

departments having that tendency, the great majority of the Constitutional Guard was faithful to the king; and old Marshal Brissac, its commander, was so in a remarkable degree. It excited, in consequence, from the very first, the most violent jealousies in the national guard of Paris, insomuch that an insurrection among the latter would infallibly have broken out, if the king had not constantly admitted them to the interior service of the palace, and used his utmost efforts with the officers on both sides to preserve a good understanding between them. But the reconciliation was seeming only, and the discord ere long broke out, with fatal effects to the king and the whole royal family.

38. The first serious contest of the New Assembly was with the emigrants and the clergy. By one flagrant act of injustice, the Constituent Assembly had left the seeds of permanent discord between the revolutionary party and the church. The sufferers naturally were indefatigable in their endeavours to rouse the people to support their cause. The bishops and priests exerted all their influence to stimulate the country population; and they succeeded, especially in the western provinces, in producing a most powerful sensation. Circular letters were despatched to the curés of the parishes, and instructions generally transmitted to the people. The constitutional clergy were there represented as irregular and unholy; their performance of the sacraments impious and nugatory; marriage by them as nothing but concubinage; divine vengeance as likely to follow an attendance on their service. Roused by these representations, the rural population in the districts of Calvados, Gévaudan, and La Vendée, broke into open disturbances.

39. Brissot proposed to take instant and vigorous measures with the dissident clergy and refractory emigrants. “Every method of conciliation,” said Isnard, “with these classes is useless: what effect has followed all your former indulgence towards them? Their audacity has risen in proportion to your forbearance; they will never cease to injure till they lose the power of doing so.

They must either be conquerors or conquered—matters have fairly come to that; and he must be blind indeed who does not see this in the clearest light." "The right of going from one country to another," said Brissot, "is one of the inherent rights of man; but the right ceases when it becomes a crime. Can there be a more flagrant offence than that of emigrating, for the purpose of bringing on our country the horrors of foreign war? What other object have the crowds who now daily leave France? Hear their menaces, examine their conduct, read their libels, and you will see that what they call honour is what the universal voice of mankind has condemned as the height of baseness. Can we be ignorant that at this moment the cabinets of Europe are besieged by their importunity, and possibly preparing to second their entreaties? Confidence is every day sinking; the rapid fall of the assignats renders nugatory the best devised plans of finance. How is it possible to put a curb on the factions of the interior, when we suffer the emigrants to escape with impunity, who are about to bring the scourge of foreign war upon all our homes?"

40. The constitutional party could not deny the justice of these alarms, but they strove to moderate the severity of the measures which were proposed to be adopted against the emigrants. "We are about," said Condorcet, "to put the sincerity of the king to too severe a trial, if we require him to adopt measures of severity against his nearest relations. Foreign powers can hardly be convinced that he really enjoys his freedom; and is it by his consenting to such an act that their doubts are to be removed? What will be the effect of the extreme measures which are proposed? Are they likely to calm the passions, soothe the pride, or heal the wounds which have been inflamed? They will bring back few of the absent, irritate many of the present. Time, distress, the frigid hospitality of strangers, the love of home, a sense of our justice, must be the means of restoring the love of their country in their bosoms: by the proposed measures you will extinguish it. The Constituent Assembly, more wise than our-

selves, beheld with contempt those assemblages of discontented spirits on the frontier, who would be more truly formidable if exercising their spleen at home. A signal of alarm so sounded by us will at once excite the jealousy of all the European powers, and really bring on those foreign dangers which would never have arisen from the supplications of our nobility. The pain of confiscation is odious in the most tyrannical states; what must it be considered in a nation exercising the first rights of freedom? Are all the emigrants culpable in an equal degree? How many has fear rendered exiles from their country? Are you now to proclaim to the world that these fears were well founded, to justify their desertion of France, and to demonstrate to mankind that the picture they have drawn of our government is nowise overcharged? Let us rather prove that their calumnies were unfounded, and silence their complaints by pursuing a conduct diametrically opposite to that which they anticipate."

41. The Assembly, influenced by the pressing dangers of emigration, disregarded all these considerations. Two decrees were passed, the first of which commanded the king's brother, the heir-apparent to the regency during the minority of the dauphin, to return to France, under pain of being held to have abdicated his eventual right to the regency; while the second declared all the French without the kingdom engaged in a conspiracy against the constitution; and subjected all those who should not return before the 1st of January to the penalty of *death, and confiscation of their estates*, under reservation of the rights of their wives, children, and creditors. This proceeding on the part of the French Assembly cannot be better characterised than in the words of the eloquent author of the *Vindicia Gallica*, who cannot be suspected of undue prejudice against the Revolution. "Examples of this kind," says Sir James Mackintosh, "are instances of that reckless tyranny which punishes the innocent to make sure of including the guilty, as well as of that refined cruelty which, after rendering

home odious, perhaps insupportable, pursues with unrelenting rage such of its victims as fly to foreign lands."

42. The disposal of the refractory clergy was the next question which occupied the Assembly: it excited debates more stormy than those on the emigrants, in proportion as religious rancour is more bitter than civil dissension. "What are you about to do?" exclaimed the advocates of the clergy. "Are you, who have consecrated the freedom of worship, to be the first to violate it! The Declaration of the Rights of Man places it on a basis even more solemn than the constitution; and yet you seriously propose to subvert it! The Constituent Assembly, the author of so much good to France, has left this one schism as a legacy to its successors: close it, for God's sake; do not widen the breach. To refuse an oath from a sense of duty can never be blamable; to take it from a desire of gain is alone disgraceful. Shall we deprive those, who decline from conscientious scruples, of the slender subsistence which they enjoy? Destroyers of political inequality, shall we re-establish a distinction more odious than any, by crushing to the dust a meritorious class of men? Who shall guarantee ourselves from similar spoliation, if we reduce to beggary the earliest supporters of the Revolution, those who first joined our standard after the immortal oath in the Tennis Court? Beware of driving to desperation a set of men still possessing extensive influence over the rural population. If you are dead to every sentiment of justice, yet pause before you adopt a measure so likely to awaken the flames of civil war among ourselves."

43. But the days of reason and justice were past. The leaders of the popular party all declared against the priests. Even Condorcet, the advocate of freedom of worship, was the first to support the violent measures proposed against them. It was decreed that all the clergy should be ordained instantly to take the oath to the constitution, under pain of being deprived of their benefices, and declared suspected of treason against the state. They were ordered to be moved from place to place, to prevent

their acquiring any influence over their flocks, and imprisoned if they refused to obey. On no account were they to exercise any religious rites in private. Such was the liberty which the Revolution had already bestowed upon France—such its gratitude to its first supporters. The adoption of these severe and oppressive enactments was signalised by the first open expression of irreligious or atheistical sentiments in the Assembly. "My God is the Law—I acknowledge no other," was the expression of one of the opponents of the church. The remonstrance of the constitutional bishops had no effect. These and similar expressions were loudly applauded, and the decree was carried in the midst of tumult and acclamation.

44. When these acts were submitted, agreeably to the constitution, to the king for his consideration, he sanctioned the first decree against his brother, but put his veto upon the last, and the one against the priests. He had previously and openly censured his brother's desertion of the kingdom, and his disapproval of the general emigration of the noblesse was well known to all parties, for on the 14th October he had issued a pressing proclamation, urging them, in the strongest manner, to return;* but he was unwilling to give his sanction to the extreme measures which were now meditated against them. It was proposed in the council that, to pacify the people, whom it was well known the exercise of the veto would exasperate, the king should dismiss all his religious attendants, excepting those who had taken the oaths to the constitution; but to this Louis, though in general so flexible, opposed an invincible resistance, observing, that it would ill become those who

* "Frenchmen who have abandoned your country, return to her bosom; there is the post of honour: true honour consists in serving your country and defending the laws. Come and lend them the aid due to them by all good citizens; they, in turn, will give you that calm and happiness which you will seek in vain in a foreign land. Return, then, and let this heart cease to be distracted between sentiments of love which are the same for all, and the duties of royalty, which attach it principally to those who obey the law."—*Proclamation de Louis XVI. aux Emigrés*, October 14, 1791; *Hist. Parl.* xii. 160, 162.

had declared the right of every subject in the realm to liberty of conscience, to deny it to the sovereign alone. In acting thus firmly, he was supported by a large portion of the constitutional party, and by the directory of the department of Paris; and he stood much in need of their adhesion, in thus coming to open rupture with the people and the legislature. The announcement of the king's refusal was received with very different feelings by the different parties in the Assembly. The republicans could not disguise their satisfaction at a step which promised to embroil him still further with the nation, and to give to their ambitious projects the weight of popular support. They congratulated the ministers in terms of irony on the decisive proof they had now given of the freedom of the throne. On the following morning, a severe proclamation from Louis appeared against the emigrants. The *Feuillants* animadverted upon it, as an unconstitutional stretch of prerogative; the *Jacobins*, as too indulgent in its expressions.

45. The choice of a mayor for the city of Paris, in the room of Bailly, whose period of holding that dignity had expired, shortly after occupied the attention of the capital. Lafayette had retired from the command of the national guards, and was a candidate for that dignity. He was supported by the constitutionalists; while Pétion, the organ of the now united Girondists and Jacobins, was the favourite of the people. The court, jealous of Lafayette, who had never ceased to be an object of dislike, especially to the queen, since the 5th October, had the imprudence to throw the influence of the crown into the scale for Pétion, and even to expend large sums of money for that purpose. "M. Lafayette," said the queen, "aspires to the mayoralty, in the hope of soon becoming a mayor of the palace; Pétion is a Jacobin and a republican, but he is a fool, incapable of rendering himself the head of a party." Pétion accordingly was elected, and threw the whole weight of his influence into the scale of the Revolution. The majority which Pétion obtained on this occasion, by the coalition of the whole democratic party,

was immense, and showed in a decisive manner the vast preponderance which the democrats, who were carrying on the Revolution, had already acquired over the constitutionalists who commenced it; for Pétion had 6708 votes—Lafayette only 3125.

46. Meanwhile, the king's ministers were daily becoming more unpopular, from the decided resistance he had at length made to the iniquitous measures sought to be forced on him by the Assembly. The Jacobin and Cordelier clubs thundered against them, night after night, in the most violent and indignant strains; and the general misery of the country, which in reality was owing to the Revolution, was universally ascribed to their factious resistance to it.* The emigration of the nobles, and universal distrust or actual bankruptcy of the capitalists, had destroyed almost entirely the home trade of France. Manufactures of every sort were at a stand, and the workmen employed in them, destitute of bread, added everywhere to the formidable and seditious groups which menaced the public tranquillity. This distress, which was universal, was fearfully aggravated by its immediately succeeding the unbounded hopes of general felicity which had been formed at the commencement of the Revolution.†

* "Cæsar and Paulinus were no more than nominal generals. They were in fact superseded; serving no other purpose but that of screening the folly of others, and bearing the blame of blunders not their own. The tribunes and centurions could render no effectual service, while ignorance and insufficiency were preferred, and real talents lay neglected. The common men presented an air of alacrity, but more disposed to cavil with their generals than to execute their orders."—TACITUS, *Hist.* ii. 89.

† "We have noted externals, the journals, the clubs. But under this sounding surface lies the unfathomable voiceless depth, the *infinitude of suffering*—Suffering ever increasing, aggravated morally by the bitterness of great hopes disappointed, aggravated materially by the sudden disappearance of all resources. The first result of violence was to cause the flight, not only of the nobles, but also of many men rich or in easy circumstances, not at all enemies of the Revolution, but who became alarmed. Those who remained, feared to move, to transact business, to buy or sell, to manufacture, or to expend. Money, alarmed, stuck to the bottom of the purse; all speculation, all work was arrested. The workman, silent and gloomy, dismissed from

A contemporary writer, of the republican party, has left the following picture of the state of France at this period: "In truth, the real evils of France at this period were such that they could hardly be exaggerated, even by the most malignant ambition. Two parties, equally inveterate in their animosities, equally rancorous in their hatred, divided the country from one end to the other. The Jacobins reproached the Feuillants with labouring in secret for the restoration of the old régime; the Feuillants retorted on the Jacobins that they had organised, by means of their affiliated clubs, the most infernal despotism that had ever oppressed mankind. The constitution for which the nation had so ardently panted, and which it was fondly hoped would prove a remedy for every evil, was finished, and yet the public miseries were augmented. Every day saw fresh crimes against persons and property committed, and all with impunity. The public peace was in no degree re-established; the laws were powerless, the magistrates impotent. It had been expected that the public tranquillity would be effectually restored by the Juges de Paix, elected by the people, and therefore possessing their confidence; but they had proved totally powerless. Public and private credit had alike perished amidst the general convulsions. Specie had disappeared from the circulation. The assignat had fallen to a third of its value, and occasioned such an amount of ruin to private fortunes that numbers already wished for a return to the ancient régime, and were doing their utmost to promote it. Famine, the usual attendant on public calamities, had appeared, and its pangs were aggravated by their being felt in the midst of abundance. The peasants, tenacious of their property, everywhere refused the assignats, to the

his workshop, walked about with folded arms, wandered all day, listened to the conversation of the excited groups, filled the clubs, the tribunals, and the avenues of the Assembly. Every disturbance, hired or not hired, gained in the streets an army of workmen exasperated by misery, of labourers weary of listlessness and inaction, too happy to find work in one way or other for one day at least."—MICHELLET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, II. 410.

fall of which no limit could be assigned, and the purchasers in towns had nothing else to offer. Thus sales could not be effected: both parties were in despair, and poverty was universal, though there was plenty in the land. In this extremity, crowds of famishing citizens threw themselves on the barnyards of the farmers, and took grain by force; while the rural populations sounded the tocsin in their villages, and forced the municipal officers to put themselves at their head to resist this violence, or retaliated by pillaging the boroughs; and the law, equally trampled under foot by both parties, was alike impotent to repress or punish the violence of either. This was the state of France during the whole winter." Such is the picture of France at this period, drawn by two ardent supporters of the Revolution.

47. One branch of the public service had in an especial manner fallen into disorder, from the confusion consequent on the Revolution—and this, from its subsequent importance during the war, deserves particular notice. The NAVY had in a few years become so disorganised, that hardly a vestige of the noble fleet which Louis XVI. had nursed up with so much care, to counterbalance that of England, could be said to remain. The ships indeed were there, the arsenals were full, but discipline and subordination were at an end. The national riches were dried up in their sources by the destruction of credit and capital during the Revolution: St Domingo, the most important colony of France, was in a state of insurrection or discord; the marine was discontented; the dockyards, the vessels, the arsenals, presented a frightful picture of insubordination, license, and neglect. "The cause of these evils," says Bertrand de Molleville, the minister of marine, "was evident. Those who should obey had everywhere assumed the direction; those who should direct, being deprived of all authority, were overwhelmed with impunity by outrages and abuse. In truth, there was not a single instance of a mutiny in the ports, or on board the royal vessels, in which the mutineers had been punished. The most legitimate and necessary acts of

authority were deemed insults, by men who had suddenly passed from a state of necessary subjection to one of absolute independence. Clubs of all sorts, incorporations a thousand times more dangerous and powerful than those which the constitution had destroyed, and which set every species of authority at defiance, were established in every port, and proscribed, outraged, or put to flight their superiors. These facts are notorious—no words can exaggerate them."

48. While the royal navy was in this deplorable state of disorganisation and mutiny, the noblest colony of France, which singly sustained the colossus of its maritime power, had fallen, from the effects of the Revolution, into a series of disasters the most dreadful recorded in history. The slaves in that flourishing colony, agitated by the intelligence which they received of the levelling principles of the Constituent Assembly, had early manifested symptoms of insubordination. The Assembly, divided between the desire of enfranchising so large a body of men, and the evident dangers of such a step, had long hesitated as to the course they should adopt, and were inclined to support the rights of the planters. In the debate which ensued, decisive evidence was afforded of the length to which the Jacobins were inclined to push their principles, and the total disregard of human suffering in carrying them into practice, by which they were distinguished. "Perish the colonies," said Moreau de St Méry, "rather than that one principle be sacrificed!" "Perish the colonies," added Robespierre, "rather than affix a stain to your happiness, your glory, your liberty! Yes, I repeat it. Perish the colonies, rather than let them, by their menaces, compel us to do what is most loudly called for by their interests!" Pressed by the dangers clearly depicted on one side, and the clamour as loudly expressed on the other, the Assembly steered a middle course, by decreeing that all persons of colour, born of free parents, should have the right of entering the colonial Assemblies; but declaring that beyond that they would

not go, unless the colony itself took the initiative.

49. But these steps were too slow for the revolutionists. The passions of the negroes were excited by the efforts of a society, styled "The Society of Friends of the Blacks," of which Brissot was the leading member; and the mulattoes were induced, by their injudicious advice, to organise an insurrection. They trusted that they would be able to control the ferocity of the slaves even during the heat of a revolt; they little knew the dissimulation and cruelty of the negro character. A universal revolt was planned and organised, without the slightest suspicion on the part of the planters, and the same night fixed on for its breaking out over the whole island. Accordingly, at midnight on the 30th of September the insurrection began. In an instant, twelve hundred coffee and two hundred sugar plantations were in flames; the buildings, the machinery, the farm-offices were reduced to ashes; the unfortunate proprietors hunted down, murdered, or thrown into the flames by the infuriated slaves. Ere long a hundred thousand rebels were in arms, who committed everywhere the most frightful atrocities. The horrors of a servile war universally appeared. The unchained African signalled his ingenuity by the discovery of new and unheard-of modes of torture. An unhappy planter was sawed asunder between two boards; the horrors inflicted on the women exceeded anything known even in the annals of Christian ferocity. The indulgent master was sacrificed equally with the inhuman; on all alike, young and old, rich and poor, the wrongs of an oppressed race were indiscriminately wreaked. Crowds of slaves traversed the country with the heads of white children affixed on their pikes; they served as the standards of these furious assemblages. In a few instances, only, the humanity of the negro character resisted the contagion of the time; and some faithful slaves, at the hazard of their own lives, fed in caves their masters, or the children of these, whom they had rescued from destruction.

50. The intelligence of these disasters excited an angry discussion in the Assembly. Brissot, the most vehement opponent of slavery, ascribed them all to the refusal of the blessings of freedom to the negroes; the moderate members, to the inflammatory addresses circulated among them by the Anti-Slavery Society of Paris. At length it was agreed to concede to the men of colour the political rights for which they contended; and in consequence of that resolution the blacks were at once emancipated, and St Domingo obtained the nominal blessing of freedom. But it is not thus that the great changes of nature are conducted; a child does not acquire the strength of manhood in an hour, or a tree the consistency of the hardy denizens of the forest in a season. The hasty philanthropists who conferred upon an ignorant slave population the precipitate gift of freedom, did them a greater injury than their worst enemies. The black population remain to this day, in St Domingo, a memorable example of the ruinous effect of precipitate emancipation. Without the steady habits of civilised society; ignorant of the wants which reconcile to a life of labour; destitute of the support which a regular government might have afforded, they have brought to the duties of cultivated, the habits of savage life. To the indolence of the negro character they have joined the vices of European corruption; profligate, idle, and disorderly, they have declined both in number and in happiness; from being the greatest sugar plantation in the world, the island has been reduced to the necessity of importing that valuable produce; and the inhabitants, naked and voluptuous, are fast receding into the state of nature from which their ancestors were torn, two centuries ago, by the rapacity of Christian avarice.*

51. An internal disaster, attended

* The details of this dreadful insurrection, with a full account of the subsequent history of St Domingo, will be given in a succeeding chapter, which treats of the expedition sent by Napoleon to recover that island. It is not the least important incident of the eventful era.—Vide chap. xxxvi.

with circumstances of equal atrocity, though not on so great a scale, occurred in Avignon. This city, belonging to the Pope, had been the theatre of incessant strife and bloody events ever since the project had been formed, in 1790, by its ardent democrats, to procure its severance from the Ecclesiastical States, and effect its union with the neighbouring and revolutionised provinces of France. This project was rejected by the Constituent Assembly in May 1790, from the apprehension of exciting the jealousy of the European powers by the open spoliation of a neighbouring and friendly state; but the democratic party, ardently desirous of promoting the union with France, rose in insurrection on the night of the 11th June, chased from the city the papal legate, who retired to Chambery in Savoy, and put the arms of France over the gates of his palace. With this revolt terminated the government of the Pope in this distant and diminutive possession. A long period of discord and self-government ensued, during which the ruling democrats of Avignon, having shaken off the authority of the Holy See, were striving to effect its junction with France; and at length, on the 14th September, the Constituent Assembly, on the very last day of its sitting, decreed, amidst loud applause, the annexation of this little state: commencing thus that system of propagandism and foreign aggression, in which revolutionary passions find their natural vent, and which was destined to carry the French arms to the Kremlin, and to bring the Tartars and Bashkirs to the walls of Paris.†

52. It was predicted, and perhaps expected, by the Revolutionists, both in Paris and Avignon, that this long

† "The National Assembly, in consideration of the rights of France over the two united states of Avignon and the county of Venaissin, and in conformity with the wish to be incorporated with France, freely and solemnly expressed by the majority of the communes and citizens of these two countries, decrees that the two said united states of Avignon and the county of Venaissin, are from this moment an integral part of the French empire."
—*Décret*, Sept. 14, 1791; *Moniteur*, Sept. 15, 1791, p. 1073.

agitated incorporation would at once still the furious passions which had so long torn this unhappy community. But such was very far from being the case; and the annexation shortly led to a massacre more frightful than any which had yet stained the progress of the Revolution. The municipality passed a decree, ordering the whole bells and plate of the cathedral and of the churches to be seized and publicly sold. The rural population, roused by the priests, and indignant at this act of sacrilege, assembled in crowds, loudly demanding an account of the dilapidation and embezzlement of the municipality; and having got hold of Les-cuyer, the clerk to the municipality, they murdered him on the spot; and a woman, with her scissors, scooped out the eyes of the dead body.

53. The revenge of the popular party was slow, but not the less atrocious. In silence they collected their forces; and at length, when all assistance was absent, surrounded the city. The gates were closed, the walls manned, so as to render all escape impossible, and a band of assassins, headed by Jourdan, nicknamed "Coupe-tête"—already signalled by his atrocity on the 6th October, when the royal family were brought from Versailles to Paris—sought out, in their own houses, the individuals destined for death. Sixty unhappy wretches, including thirteen women, were speedily seized and thrust into prison, where, during the obscurity of night, the murderers wreaked their vengeance with impunity. One young man put fourteen to death with his own hand, and at length only desisted from excess of fatigue. The father was brought to witness the massacre of his children, the children that of the father, to aggravate their sufferings. Twelve women perished, after having undergone tortures worse than death itself; an old priest, remarkable for a life of beneficence, who had escaped, was pursued, and sacrificed by the objects of his bounty; a mother big with child was thrown, yet alive, into a ditch filled with dead bodies and quicklime; a son having thrown himself into his father's arms to save his life, they were precipi-

tated, locked in each other's embrace, into the ditch, where they were found both dead, with their lips pressed together. The women were violated before being murdered; and such was the fury of the people that they actually devoured human hearts, and had dishes served up formed of the bodies of their victims.* The recital of these atrocities excited the utmost commiseration in the Assembly. Cries of indignation arose on all sides; the president fainted after reading the letter which communicated its details. But this, like almost all the other crimes of the popular party during the progress of the Revolution, remained unpunished. The legislature, after some delay, felt it necessary to proclaim an amnesty, and some of the authors of this massacre afterwards fell the victims, on the 31st May, of the sanguinary passions of which they had given so cruel an example. In a revolution, the ruling power, themselves supported by the populace, can rarely punish its excesses; the period of reaction must be waited for before this can in general be attempted; and thus vice advances with accelerated strides, from the very magnitude of the crimes committed by itself.

54. All these accumulated horrors and disasters, though brought about by the passions of the Revolution, were ascribed by the Jacobins of Paris to the resistance opposed by the king's ministers to the progress of its principles. It was their fanaticism which roused the rural population; it was their gold which hired miscreants to commit these atrocities, in order to bring discredit on the Revolution; it was they who furnished the people; it was they who hindered the sales of grain, who depreciated the assignats, and had ruined St Domingo. The clamour soon became universal, irresistible. The people believed everything they were told; and, as usual in the presence of danger, divisions soon appeared among the ministers themselves. The one half, led by de Lessart and Bertrand de Molleville, were in-

* "How can these savage orgies be forgotten, where palpitating human hearts and smoking entrails were served as dishes!"—*Faustmann*, iv. 21.

clined to the aristocratic and decided—the other, headed by Narbonne and Cahier de Gerville, to the democratic and conceding side. Sensible of the weakness of their adversaries, the popular leaders in the Assembly pushed their advantages, and preferred an accusation against the two former of the ministry. Though they were baffled for some time by the ability and presence of mind of Bertrand de Molleville, yet at length the king was obliged to yield, and make a total change in his councils. The principle adopted in the formation of the new ministry was the same as that acted on in similar extremities by Charles I.—to divide the opposition, by the selection of the least intemperate of its members. Roland was made minister of the interior; Dumourier received the portfolio of foreign affairs; Lacoste, Clavière, Duranthon, and Servan were severally appointed to the marine, the finances, the judicatory, and the ministry of war.

55. Dumourier was forty-seven years of age when he was called to this important situation. He had many of the qualities of a great man: abilities, an enterprising character, indefatigable activity, impetuosity of disposition, confidence in his own fortune; a steady and quick *coup d'œil*. Fertile in resources, pliant in temper, engaging in conversation, unbounded in ambition, he was eminently qualified to rise to distinction in a period of civil commotion. But these great mental powers were counterbalanced by others of an opposite tendency. A courtier before 1789, a constitutionalist under the first Assembly, a Girondist under the second, he seemed inclined to change with every wind that blew, in the constant desire to raise himself to the head of affairs. Volatile, fickle, inconsiderate, he adopted measures too hastily to insure success; veering with all the changes of the times, he wanted the ascendancy of a powerful, and the weight of a virtuous character. Had he possessed, with his own genius, the firmness of Bouillé, the passions of Mirabeau, or the dogmatism of Robespierre, he might for a time have ruled the Revolution. An admirable partisan, he was a feeble leader of a party; well qua-

lified to play the part of Antony or Alcibiades, he was unfit to follow the steps of Cæsar or Cromwell.

56. Austere in character, simple in manners, firm in principle, Roland was in every respect the reverse of Dumourier. His disposition had nothing in common with the age in which he lived; he aimed to bring to the government of France, in the eighteenth century, the integrity and simplicity of the Sabine farm. A steady republican, he was well qualified for a quiescent, but ill for an incipient state of freedom. Uncompromising in his principles, unostentatious in his manners, unambitious in his inclination, he would probably never have emerged from the seclusion of private life, but for the splendid abilities and brilliant character of his wife. But he was opinionative and pedantic; ignorant alike of courts and the people; a devout believer in popular virtue and human perfectibility; and wholly unequal to struggle with the audacious wickedness which was arising on all sides with the progress of the Revolution. The court ladies named the new ministry, "*Le Ministère sans Culottes*." The first time that Roland presented himself at the palace he was dressed with strings in his shoes, and a round hat. The master of the ceremonies refused to admit him in such an unwonted costume, not knowing who he was; but being afterwards informed, and in consequence obliged to do so, he turned to Dumourier, and said with a sigh, "Ah, sir, no buckles in his shoes!"—"All is lost!" replied the minister of foreign affairs with sarcastic irony. Yet was there more in this circumstance than superficial observers would be inclined to admit. The buckles were straws, but they were straws which showed how the wind set. Dress is characteristic of manners, and manners are the mirror of ideas. A very curious work might be written upon the connection between changes in attire and revolutions in empires.

57. But the new ministers proved as unable as those who preceded them had been, to arrest, or even to alleviate, the public calamities. These were owing to the overthrow of the executive, and

the suspension of all the powers of government, and were consequently rather likely to be increased than diminished by the accession of the liberal party to office. The Girondists, indeed, were propitiated, and Madame Roland gave cabinet dinners to their entire satisfaction; but that neither sustained the assignats nor filled the treasury—it neither stilled the Jacobins nor gave bread to the people. The king was firm in his determination to abide by the constitution, and gave, on several occasions, the most decisive and touching proofs of this determination.* But meanwhile the public distress was constantly increasing, and the people, inflamed by the speeches at the Jacobin clubs, ascribed them all to the resistance of the monarch to the severe laws against the clergy, which kept the nation, it was said, in continual turmoil, and alone prevented the completion of the glorious fabric of the Revolution. The difficulties of the exchequer were extreme, and all attempts to re-establish the finances, except by the continual issue of fresh assignats, had become nugatory, from the impossibility of collecting the revenue in the midst of the anarchy which prevailed in the country. Such was the penury of the royal treasury that it was entirely

* In a delicate matter brought before the royal council in January 1792, the king had to choose between two courses, the one of which would have given a considerable extension to the royal authority, without exciting public jealousy, as it was generally called for, and the other was more conformable to the spirit and letter of the constitution. Louis, without a moment's hesitation, adopted the latter, assigning as his reason—"We must not think of extending the royal power, but of faithfully executing the constitution." On another occasion, when a proclamation was brought him to sign against the plundering and massacres which were going on in the country, he observed the phrase, "These disorders bitterly disturb the happiness we enjoy." "Blot out that," said Louis: "do not make me speak of my happiness. How could I be happy when no one is so in France? No, sir, the French are not happy—I know it: they will be happy some day, I hope: then I will be so also, and able to speak of my happiness." "During five months and a half," adds Bertrand de Molleville, "that I was in the king's ministry at this time, I never saw the king for a single instant swerve from his attachment to the constitution."—*Mémoires de BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE*, i. 219, 311, 312.

exhausted by the equipment of the constitutional guard, though it only amounted to eighteen hundred men; and the king was indebted to a loan of 500,000 francs (£20,000) from the Order of Malta, for the means of defraying the necessary expenses of his household.

58. The Girondist ministers were no sooner in power than they bent their whole force to impel the king into a foreign war; and they succeeded, by dint of clamour and popular pressure, in compelling the monarch, alike against his wishes and his interests, to take the fatal step. The details of the agitation by which this important step was brought about, and the negotiations which preceded it, will be fully given in a subsequent chapter, which treats of the causes which led to the Revolutionary war [Chap. ix.] But the reaction of hostilities, when they did commence, on the king's situation in the interior, was terrible. All the enterprises of France, in the outset, proved unfortunate; all her armies were defeated. These disasters, the natural effect of thirty years' unbroken Continental peace, and recent license and insubordination, produced the utmost consternation in Paris. The power of the Jacobins was rapidly increasing: their affiliated societies were daily extending their ramifications throughout France, and the debates of the parent club shook the kingdom from one end to the other. They accused the Royalists of having occasioned the defeats, by raising treasonable cries of *Sauve qui peut*. The aristocrats could not dissemble their joy at events which promised shortly to bring the allied armies to Paris, and restore the ancient régime; the generals attributed their disasters to Dumourier, who had planned the campaign; he ascribed everything to the defective mode in which his orders had been executed. Distrust and recrimination universally prevailed. In this extremity, the Assembly took the most energetic measures for insuring, as they conceived, their own authority and the public safety. But the only measures which they thought of were such as weakened the royal au-

thority; all their blows were directed against the king. They declared their sittings permanent, disbanded the faithful guard of the king, which had excited unbounded jealousy among the democrats, and passed a decree condemning the refractory clergy to exile. To secure their power in the capital, and effectually overawe the court, they directed the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris, and sought to maintain the enthusiasm of the people by revolutionary fêtes, and to increase their efficiency by arming them with pikes.

59. Of these measures, by far the most important was that which related to the disbanding of the royal guard; for it threatened to leave the monarch and his family without even the shadow of protection, in the midst of a rebellious city, and at the mercy of a revolutionary legislature. The discussion was opened by Pétion, mayor of Paris, who drew, in the darkest colours, a picture of the agitation in the capital. "Paris," said he, "is every hour becoming more the object of general anxiety to all France. It is the common rendezvous of all without a profession, without bread, and enemies of the public weal. The fermentation is daily assuming a more alarming character. Facts on all sides demonstrate this. It is evident a crisis is approaching, and that of the most violent kind; you have long shut your eyes to it, but you can do so no longer." This was immediately followed by a deputation from the section of the Gobelins at Paris, consisting of fifteen hundred pikemen, preceded by the regiment of grenadiers of the section, who, after defiling through the Assembly with drums beating and colours flying, took post round its walls to overawe the deliberations. Nevertheless, many deputies courageously resisted the dissolution of this last remnant of protection to the sovereign. "The veil," says Girardin, "is now withdrawn; the insurrection against the throne is no longer disguised. We are called on, in a period of acknowledged public danger, to remove the last constitutional protection from the crown. Why are we always

told of the dangers to be apprehended from the royalist faction—a party weak in numbers, despicable in influence, whom it would be so easy to subdue? I see two factions, and a double set of dangers, and one advances by hasty strides to a regicide government. Would to God my anticipations may prove unfounded! But I cannot shut my eyes to the striking analogy of England and France; I cannot forget that, in a similar crisis, the Long Parliament disbanded the guard of Charles I. What fate awaited that unhappy monarch? What now awaits the constitutional sovereign of the French?"

60. So clearly did Louis perceive the extreme danger of disbanding his guard, on the eve, as had now become evident to all, of a popular insurrection, that he immediately submitted to his ministers a letter which he proposed to write to the Assembly, refusing to sanction it. But the Girondist ministers to a man declined to countersign it. Upon this he proposed to go in person to the Assembly, and oppose the proposition, taking the whole responsibility upon himself; but they had the pusillanimity to refuse to accompany him. They then insisted so vehemently upon the extreme animosity which the guard had excited in Paris, and the peril of instant destruction to which the royal family would be exposed if the decree was not instantly sanctioned, that at length he was compelled to submit. Hardly had he done so, when he received a firm and able remonstrance from Bertrand de Molleville against so fatal a step, in which that minister demonstrated in the clearest manner the flagrant usurpation of which the Assembly had been guilty, in decreeing the dissolution of a guard which the constitution had expressly sanctioned, and subjected to his command alone. But it was too late. The king could only reply that he had been forced to do so by his ministers, and lament the necessity to which he had been subjected, of removing so faithful a councillor from his administration.* The Girondists had their

* "It is unhappily too late to do what you propose. The ministers assured me that the excitement of the people was so violent, that

reward. The insurrection which followed on the 10th August overturned them not less than the throne; and a year from the time on which they refused to stand by their sovereign, they were themselves arrested by the Jacobins, and consigned by a lingering process to the scaffold.

61. The royal guard was remodelled after its dissolution: the officers were in part chosen from a different class, the staff was put into different hands, and companies of pikemen were introduced from the faubourgs to neutralise the loyalty of their fellow-soldiers. The constitutional party made the most vigorous remonstrances against these hazardous innovations. But their efforts were vain: the approach of danger and the public agitation had thrown the whole weight of government into the hands of the Jacobins. The evident peril of his situation roused the pacific king to more than usual vigour. His ministers were incessantly urging him, as the only means of calming the public effervescence, to give his sanction to the decree of exile against the non-juring priests, and to allow the constitutional clergy free access to his person, in order to remove all ground for complaint on the score of religion. Concession to public clamour was their only system of government; their policy was, not to resist injustice, but to yield to it. On these points, however, Louis was immovable. The Revolution had now reached a point which trenched on his conscientious feelings. Indifferent to personal danger, comparatively insensible to the diminution of the royal prerogative, he was resolutely determined to make no compromise with his religious duties. By degrees he became estranged from the party of the Gironde, and remained several days without addressing them, or letting them know his determination in that particular. It was then that Madame Roland wrote, in

it was impossible to postpone the sanction of the decree without exposing the guard and the chateau to the greatest danger; I am sufficiently vexed about it; what would you have me do, surrounded as I am, without a single man on whom I could rely?"—LOUIS, May 31, 1792; BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, ii. 12, 13.

name of her husband, the famous letter to the king, in which she strongly urged him to become with sincerity a constitutional monarch, and put an end to the public troubles, by sanctioning the decrees against the priests. This letter, written with much eloquence, but in an irritated and indignant spirit, excited the anger of Louis, who now saw clearly that he could not retain his ministers without having violence done to his conscience. Upon this they tendered their resignation if the decree were not immediately sanctioned, and it was at length accepted.*

62. Dumourier endeavoured to take advantage of these events to elevate his own power in the administration. He consented to remain in the ministry, and separate himself from his friends, on condition that the king should sanction the decree against the priests. But Louis persisted in his refusal to ratify

* "France cannot continue long in its present state; it is a state of crisis the violence of which has reached the highest point: it must end in an outbreak which will affect your majesty and the whole empire. The French have given themselves a constitution: that constitution has made some dissatisfied and rebellious: the majority of the nation wishes to maintain it, and has beheld with joy the war, which affords a powerful means of strengthening it. Nevertheless the minority, buoyed up by hope, have united all their efforts to get the upper hand. Thence spring this intestine conflict against the laws—this anarchy which good citizens bewail—these divisions spread everywhere, and everywhere stirred up. There is no indifference; people wish either the triumph or the change of the constitution. Your majesty has constantly adopted the alternative of yielding to your early habits and individual feelings, or of making sacrifices dictated by philosophy, exacted by necessity—consequently emboldening the rebels in disturbing the nation, or appeasing it by your adhesion. Everything has its limit, that of uncertainty has at length arrived. The excitement in all parts of the empire is extreme; it will declare itself in a frightful manner, unless a reasonable confidence in the intentions of your majesty should calm it. But this confidence cannot be established by protestations merely; it must in future be based on facts. The conduct of the priests in many districts has caused the enactment of a wise law against the disturbers—let your majesty sanction it. Just Heaven! have you stricken with blindness the powers of the earth, and will they never adopt counsels but such as draw them on to ruin?"—ROLAND *au Roi*, June 10, 1792. *Hist. Part.* xv. 40, 45.—(Written by MADAME ROLAND.)

these decrees, or the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men at Paris. "You should have thought," said Dumourier, "of these objections before you agreed to the first decree of the Constituent Assembly, which enjoined the clergy to take the oaths."—"I was wrong then," answered the king: "I will not commit such an error on a second occasion." "Your objections," rejoined Dumourier, "were entirely well founded against the original decrees against the priests; but to refuse to sanction this one is to put the dagger to the throats of twenty thousand innocent persons." The queen, with that good sense which she often evinced in public affairs, saw the risk of now exposing the priests to be massacred by a furious rabble, and united her entreaties to those of the ministers; but still the king was immovable, alleging that he would not make himself a partner in the iniquity of the Assembly. "I expect death," said he, "and forgive my murderers beforehand: I esteem you and love you; but I cannot act against my conscience. Adieu! may you be happy." Dumourier, after having lost the confidence of his party, found himself compelled soon after to set out for the army, where he soon acquired a more lasting reputation as a general. The Assembly broke out into the most furious invectives against the court upon the dismissal of the popular ministers, and declared that they carried with them the regrets of the nation.

63. The new ministry were chosen from among the Feuillants. Scipion Chambonnas and Terrier Montiel were appointed to the foreign affairs and the finances; but they were soon found to be without consideration either with their party or the country. The crown lost the support of a party powerful in the Assembly at least, if not in the country, and who thought they could advance the cause of freedom by means of the Revolution, at the very moment that its most violent excesses were about to break out. The king was so much disconcerted at the proved impossibility of forming an efficient administration, that he fell into a state of mental

depression, which he had never experienced since the commencement of the public disturbances. For ten days together he hardly articulated a word, and seemed so completely overwhelmed as to have lost almost the physical power of motion. The queen, whose energy nothing could subdue, at length roused him from this deplorable state, by throwing herself at his feet, and conjuring him, by the duty he owed to her and their children, to summon up more resolution; and if death was unavoidable, to perish with honour combating for their rights, rather than remain to be stifled within the walls of the palace.* But if this heroic princess thus exerted herself to rouse the spirit of the king, it was not because she was either ignorant of, or insensible to, the dangers which threatened her. The Tuileries were constantly surrounded by a ferocious multitude, uttering the most violent sentiments, and vowing death to the king, queen, and whole royal family. In the palace itself, where she was virtually confined as a prisoner, the cannoners of the guard openly insulted her when she appeared at the windows, and expressed in the most brutal language their desire to see her head on the point of their bayonets. The gardens of the Tuileries were the scenes of every species of disorder. In one quarter, a popular orator was to be seen pouring forth treason and sedition to an enraptured audience; in another, an ecclesiastic was thrown down and beaten with merciless severity; while the people, with thoughtless confidence, pur-

* "The king, so resigned and impassible, gave way a moment under the weight of so many sufferings and humiliations: wrapped up in his thoughts, he remained ten entire days without speaking a word even to his family. His last combat with misfortune seemed to have exhausted his powers. He felt overcome, and wished, so to speak, to forestall death. The queen, casting herself at his feet, and presenting his children to him, at last succeeded in drawing him from this torpor. 'Reserve,' said she, 'all our powers for this long contest with fortune. If destruction is inevitable, we can still select the attitude in which to perish. Let us die like kings, and do not wait, without resistance and vengeance, to be strangled on the thresholds of our apartments.'"—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, i. 165.

sued their walks round the marbled parterres, as if they had no interest in the insults which were levelled at religion and the throne.

64. The king, at this time, seeing himself a prisoner in his own palace, deprived of his guard, and wholly unable to exercise any of the functions assigned to him by the constitution, had opened a secret correspondence with the allied courts, with the view of directing and moderating their measures in advancing for his deliverance. For this purpose he had despatched M. Mallet du Pan to Vienna, with instructions written with his own hand, in which he recommended that they should advance into the French territory with the utmost caution, show every indulgence to the inhabitants, and cause their march to be preceded by a manifesto, in which they should avow the most moderate and conciliatory dispositions. The original document remains, a precious monument of the wisdom and patriotic spirit of that unhappy sovereign. It is remarkable that he recommends, in order to separate the ruling faction of the Jacobins from the nation, exactly the same language and conduct which was, throughout the whole period, strenuously advised by Mr Burke, and was twenty years afterwards employed

* The king recommended that the Emperor and king of Prussia should publish a proclamation, in which they should declare, "That they were obliged to take up arms to resist the aggression made upon them, which they ascribed neither to the king nor the nation, but to the criminal faction which domineered alike over the one and the other; that, in consequence, far from departing from the friendly feelings which they entertained towards the king of France, their majesties had taken up arms only to deliver him and the nation from an atrocious tyranny which equally oppressed both, and to enable them to re-establish freedom upon a secure foundation; that they had no intentions of interfering in any form with the internal government of the nation, but only desired to restore to it the power of choosing that which really was in accordance with the wishes of the great majority; that they had no thoughts whatever of conquest; that individual should be not less protected than national property; that their majesties took under their especial safeguard all faithful and peaceable citizens, and declared war only against those who now ruled with a rod of iron all who aimed at the establishment of freedom." In pursuance of these principles, he besought the emigrants

with so much success, by the Emperor Alexander and the allied sovereigns, to detach the French people from the standard of Napoleon.*

65. Alarmed at the evident danger of the monarchy, the friends of the constitution used the most vigorous means to repress the growing spirit of insubordination. Lally Tollendal and Malouet, of the ancient monarchical party, united with the leaders of the Feuillants, Duport, Lameth, and Barnave, for this purpose. Lafayette, who was employed on the frontier at the head of the army, employed his immense influence for the same object. From the camp at Maubeuge he wrote, on the 16th June, an energetic letter to the Assembly, in which he denounced the Jacobin faction, demanded the dissolution of the clubs, the emancipation and establishment of a constitutional throne; and conjured the Assembly, in the name of itself, of the army, and of all the friends of liberty, to confine itself to strictly legal measures. This letter had the success which may be anticipated for attempts to control a revolution by those who have been instrumental in producing it: it excited the most violent dissatisfaction, destroyed the popularity of the writer, and was totally nugatory in calming the populace.†

to take no part in the war; to avoid everything which could give it the appearance of a contest between one nation and another; and urged the Allies to appear as parties, not arbiters, in the contest between the crown and the people: warning them that any other conduct "would infallibly endanger the lives of the king and royal family; overturn the throne; lead to the massacre of the Royalists; rally to the Jacobins all the Revolutionists, who were daily becoming more alienated from them; revive an excitement which was fast declining, and render more obstinate a national resistance, which would yield at the first reverse if the nation was only convinced that the fate of the Revolution was wound up in the destruction of those who had hitherto been its victims." This holograph document was dated in June 1792, two months before the 10th August. There is not a more striking monument of political wisdom and foresight on record in modern times.—See *BRETRAND DE MOLLEVILLE*, vii. 87-39.

† "The republic is in danger; the fate of France rests principally with its representatives—the nation looks to them for its safety; but in creating a constitution, it has prescribed to them the only course by which they can save it. The circumstances are diffi-

66. The Girondists, chagrined at the loss of their places in the administration, now proceeded to the most ruinous excesses. They experienced from the very first that cruel necessity to which all who seek to rise by the passions of the people are sooner or later subjected—that of submitting to the vices, and allying themselves with the brutality, of the mob. They openly associated with and flattered men of the most revolting habits and disgusting vulgarity, and commenced that system of revolutionary equality which was so soon to banish politeness, humanity, and every gentler virtue, from French society. They resolved to rouse the people by inflammatory petitions and harangues, and hoped to intimidate the court by the show of popular resistance—a dangerous expedient, and one which in the end proved as fatal to them as to the power against which it was first directed. A general insurrection, under their guidance, was prepared in the faubourgs; and, under the pretence of celebrating the anniversary of the Tennis-court Oath, which was approaching, a body of ten thousand men was organised in the quarter of cult. France is menaced without, and agitated within; while foreign courts announce their intolerable project of attaching internal enemies to our national sovereignty, intoxicated with fanaticism or pride, they cherish a chimerical hope, and exhaust our patience by their insolent malevolence. Can you hide from yourselves that a faction, and, to avoid vague designations, the *Jacobin faction*, has caused all the disorders? Of that I loudly accuse it. Organised like a separate empire, with its capital and its affiliated societies, blindly directed by some ambitious leaders, this sect forms a corporation in the midst of the French people, whose power it usurps by controlling the representative delegates. Let the reign of the clubs, destroyed by you, give place to the reign of the law; their usurpations, to the firm and independent sway of the constituted authorities; their disorganising dogmas, to the true principles of liberty; their delirious fury, to the calm and steady courage of a nation which knows its rights; their sectarian combinations, in short, to the true interests of our fatherland, which, in this hour of danger, ought to see united together all those to whom its subjugation and ruin are not the subject of fiendish rejoicing, or of infamous speculation.”—*LAFAYETTE'S Assemblée*, June 16, 1792; *Histoire Parlementaire*, xv. 69, 74. A curious picture of the result of the Revolution, by one of its earliest and most impassioned supporters.

St Antoine. Thus, while the royalists were urging the approach of the European powers, the patriots were rousing the insurrection of the people. Both produced their natural effects—the Reign of Terror, and the despotism of Napoleon.

67. The resistance of the king to the decrees against the priests, and the dismissal of Roland, Clavière, and Servan, produced a temporary coalition between the Girondists and the Jacobins. Though the principles, both moral and political, of the former, differed widely from those of the latter, yet they made no difficulty of now uniting their whole strength with them, to commit the greatest moral and political crime of which men could be guilty—that of effecting the dethronement, and ultimately the death, of a virtuous and patriotic monarch, whose whole life had been devoted to the good of his country; and that for no other fault but that he was striving to protect the innocent, and abide faithfully by the constitution which they themselves had imposed upon him. Fatal effect of the spirit of party! but one of which history, in similar circumstances, affords too many examples! Moved by the concurring power of these two great parties, the agitation of the people was not long of reaching that point which was deemed by their leaders sufficient for the most audacious enterprises. And to increase the general excitement, a report was spread abroad, and readily believed, as to the existence of a secret Austrian committee, which in reality ruled the court, and was now inducing the king to resist the execution of the laws against the priests, with the view of involving the country in a civil war, and paralysing the resistance to the Allies. This report, which was an entire fabrication, had a surprising effect in adding to the public agitation. The great object of the Girondists and Jacobins in these measures was to render the king's situation so painful that he might be induced to abdicate the throne; and, but for a heroic sense of duty, he certainly would have done so; for both he and the queen were in daily expectation of death, and even wished

it, to put a period to their sufferings. So thoroughly was Marie Antoinette persuaded that they were soon to be sacrificed, that she wrote at this period an affectionate letter to the Princess Lamballe, at Vernon, entreating her not to come to Paris to share their dangers—an injunction which only had the effect of inducing that devoted friend instantly to set out and join them. The letter, in the queen's handwriting, was found in the hair of the Princess Lamballe, when she was murdered, on the 2d September.*

68. As nothing could shake the firmness of Louis in refusing his sanction to the atrocious decree against the priests, and that for the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men, the Girondists, in concert with the Jacobins, proceeded to a practical demonstration of their power. It was resolved to inundate the palace with the forces of the faubourgs, under the terror of which, it was hoped, the king would either abdicate or sanction the decrees. This was hastened by two petitions, signed, one by twenty thousand, the other by eight thousand, citizens of Paris—for the most part members of the national guard—against the camp of twenty thousand men near Paris, which were presented to the king. They were dictated by the jealousy of that civic force at such an accumulation of the military in their neighbourhood: but the Girondists, alarmed at so unusual a manifestation of the reaction of public opinion against the oppression they were exercising on the

king, determined on immediate and decisive measures.

69. On the 20th June, a tumultuous body, ten thousand strong, secretly organised by Pétion, mayor of Paris, and the practical leader of the Girondists, in virtue of a decree of the municipality of that city on the 16th,† set out from the Faubourg St Antoine, and directed itself towards the Assembly. It was the first attempt to overawe the legislature by the display of mere brute force. They were followed by another crowd of still larger numbers, headed by the Marquis de Saint Hurugues, a nobleman who had thrown himself without reserve into the arms of the Revolutionists, and Théroigne de Méricourt, a young and handsome amazon, who, after having exhausted all the arts of profligacy, had with still more vehement ardour embraced those of revolution.‡ The deputation was introduced,

† "Next Wednesday, the 20th of June, the citizens of the faubourgs St Antoine and St Marceau will present to the National Assembly, and to the king, petitions relating to these circumstances, and will then plant the tree of liberty on the terrace of the Feuillants, in memory of the sitting at the Tennis Court. The council authorised these petitioners to put on the clothes worn in 1789, and to bear arms."—*Décret du Conseil Municipal de Paris*, June 16, 1792; *Hist. Parl.* xv. 120.

‡ Théroigne de Méricourt, known by the name of "La Belle Liégeoise," was born at Méricourt near Liege, in Flanders, of a family of opulent cultivators. Her remarkable beauty at the early age of seventeen attracted the notice of a young neighbouring nobleman, who came from the banks of the Rhine, by whom she was seduced and soon after abandoned. Thrown thus into a licentious life, she went to London; but after a few months' residence there, she was attracted to Paris by the fervour and passions of the Revolution. She bore letters of recommendation to Mirabeau, by whom she was introduced to Stéyes, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Brissot, and all the leaders of the popular side. The fame of her beauty at first attracted her from their political reunions into the arms of rich voluptuaries; but ere long her ardent mind became tired of the routine of sensual pleasure, and she threw herself without reserve into the storms and passions of the Revolution. She did not, however, in so doing, abandon her original profession, but employed the influence of her eloquence to rouse, of her charms to seduce, the people.

Dressed as an amazon, in scarlet, with a plume of feathers on her head, a sabre by her side, and a pair of pistols in her girdle, she put herself in the front rank of all the insurrections which had taken place. She was to be

* "Do not return from Vernon, my dear Lamballe, until your health is entirely re-established. The good Duke of Penthièvre will be distressed about it, and his great age and virtues demand our utmost consideration. How often have I enjoined upon you to take care of yourself: if you love me you will. All our vigour is requisite in these times. Ah, do not return! postpone that as long as possible! Your heart would be too severely wrung; you would weep too much over my miseries—you who love me so tenderly. This race of tigers, which swarms over the country, would be filled with savage joy if it knew all that we suffer. Adieu! my dear Lamballe: my heart is full of you, and you know if I can ever change."—MARIE ANTOINETTE *à la PRINCESSE LAMBALLE*, June 16, 1792; LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, II. 399, 400.

after a considerable resistance from the constitutionalists, into the hall, while the doors were besieged by a clamorous multitude. They spoke in the most violent and menacing manner, declaring that they were resolved to avail themselves of the means of resistance in their power, which were recognised in the Declaration of Rights. The petition declared: "The people are ready; they are fully prepared to have recourse to any measures to put in force the second article of the Rights of Man—resistance to oppression. Let the small minority of your body who do not participate in these sentiments, deliver the earth from their presence, and retire to Coblenz. Examine the causes of our sufferings; if they flow from the royal authority, let it be annihilated. The executive power," it concluded, "is at variance with you. We require no other proof of this than the dismissal of the popular ministers. Does the happiness of the people, then, depend on the caprice of the sovereign? Should that sovereign have any other law than the will of the people? The people are determined, and their pleasure outweighs the wishes of crowned heads.

seen at the barriers of the Invalides on the 14th July, at the assault of the Bastille on the same day; on the 6th October she rode beside Jourdan "Coup-tête" at the head of the hideous procession which brought the king captive to Paris. Her appearance and beauty never failed strongly to rouse the multitude: they took it as the harbinger of success, and were excited by her theatrical aspect and manner, as well as brilliant courage. It was for this reason that she was placed at the head of the irregular column on the 10th August. She suffered in the end a dreadful punishment for her sins. Having become unpopular, like all the other early leaders of the Revolution, she was seized by the "furies of the guillotine" on the 31st May 1793, stripped naked, and publicly flogged on the terrace of the Tuileries. The indignity, more even than the suffering, drove her mad. Dishonoured and dragged to a mad-house, she lived for twenty years after, perfectly deranged, almost always in a state of nudity, and declaiming alternately bloody distiches and obscene language. She had considerable powers of eloquence; and was a leading orator, and for a time loudly applauded at the club of the Cordeliers, even by those who had just heard Camille Desmoulins and Danton. Her seducer met her afterwards at Paris, but she never forgave his desertion, and he perished during the massacres of September 1792.—LAMAR-TINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, ii. 369, 373.

They are the oak of the forest; the royal sapling must bend beneath its branches. We complain of the inactivity of our armies; we call upon you to investigate its causes: if it arises from the executive power, let it be instantly annihilated."

70. This revolutionary harangue was supported by the authors of the movement in the Assembly. Guadet, a popular leader of the Gironde, exclaimed, "Who will dare now to renew the bloody scene, when, at the close of the Constituent Assembly, thousands of our fellow-citizens were slaughtered in the Champ de Mars, round the altar of France, where they were renewing the most sacred of oaths! If the people are violently alarmed, is it the part of their mandatories to refuse to hear them! Are not the grievances we have just heard re-echoed from one end of France to the other? Is this the first time that in Paris the conduct of the king, and the perfidy of his councils, have excited the public indignation? You have heard the petitioners express themselves with candour, but with the firmness which becomes a free people." It was thus that the Girondists encouraged the populace in their attempts to intimidate the government. Roderer made a noble effort to rouse the Assembly to a sense of what they owed to themselves and their country on this occasion. "Armed assemblages," said he, "threaten to violate the constitution, the precincts of the representatives of the nation, the abode of the king. The reports received during the night are alarming; the minister of the interior solicits permission to order troops to march instantly to the defence of the Tuileries. The law forbids armed assemblages; they nevertheless advance; they demand admission: but, if you once give them leave to enter here, where will be the force of the law? Your indulgence in dispensing with it would shiver to pieces the power of the law in the hands of the magistrates. We ask for your authority to discharge our duties. Leave the responsibility to us; we desire to share with no one the obligation to die for the support of the public tranquillity." But these noble

words produced no impression on the Assembly, now entirely intimidated by the cries from the galleries. "The error," said Vergniaud in reply, "which we have long sanctioned now justifies that of the people. The assemblages hitherto formed have appeared legal from the silence of the law. The magistrates now demand force to repress them; but, in these circumstances, what should you do? I feel that there would be extreme rigour in being inflexible towards a fault of which the source is to be found in your own decrees; it would be an insult to the citizens, who demand at this moment to present to you their homage, to suppose they have bad intentions. It is said that this assemblage wish to present an address to the king. I do not believe that the citizens who compose it desire to be introduced armed into the presence of the king; I believe that they will conform to the laws, and go as simple petitioners. I demand that the citizens shall be immediately permitted to defile before you." Encouraged by these words, the crowd entered, amidst shouts of "*Ca ira*," bearing with them frightful standards and ensigns, expressive of the most violent revolutionary passion. Overawed by the danger of their situation, the Assembly received the petition with indulgence, and permitted the mob to defile before them. A motley assemblage, now swelled to thirty thousand persons, men, women, and children, in the most squalid attire, immediately passed through the hall, uttering furious cries, and displaying seditious banners. They were headed by Santerre, and the Marquis de Saint Hurugues, with a drawn sabre in his hand. Immense tablets were borne aloft, having inscribed on them the Rights of Man; others carried banners, bearing as inscriptions, "The Constitution or Death!"—"Long live the Sans-Culottes!" On the point of one pike was placed a bleeding calf's heart, with the inscription round it, "The Heart of an Aristocrat." Multitudes of men and women, shaking alternately pikes and olive branches above their heads, danced round these frightful emblems, singing the revolutionary song of *Ca Ira*. In

the midst of these furies dense columns of insurgents defiled, bearing the more formidable weapons of fusils, sabres, and daggers, raised aloft on poles. The loud applause of the galleries, the cries of the mob, the deathlike silence of the Assembly, who trembled at the sight of the auxiliaries they had invoked, formed a scene which baffles all description. The passage of the procession lasted three hours. After leaving the Assembly, they proceeded in a tumultuous mass to the palace.

71. The outer gates leading into the palace were closed when this fearful assemblage presented itself before them; a hundred of the *gendarmes à cheval* were on guard in the Place Carrousel, but they made little resistance. The national guard, however, at the gates, were more determined, and refused admittance in a very resolute manner. "Why have you not entered into the chateau?" said Santerre, at the head of his bands from the Faubourg St Antoine. "You must go in: we came here for that alone." Turning then to his cannoneers, he said, "If they refuse admission, we will blow the gate to atoms." A gun was brought up and pointed at the gate; a single discharge would have burst it open. As they were knocking violently, M. Boucher René, and another municipal officer, with their magisterial scarfs on, came forward, and promised to gain entrance in the name of the law. These magistrates, in a loud voice, demanded admittance, adding, that they had no right to keep them out. The national guard still refused; upon which they were assured by the municipal officers who headed the crowd, that a deputation, consisting only of twenty persons, the number limited by law, and without arms, should enter; but no sooner were the doors opened than the mob, headed by two of the municipality, rushed in. In vain the national guards at the inner doors offered to oppose resistance; they were commanded by the municipal officers to submit to the authority of the law.*

* "What was the surprise of the commandant, when, on inquiring how the royal gate had been opened, he learned that it had been





72. The multitude immediately broke through the court, ascended the staircase, cut open with hatchets the folding-doors, and entered the royal apartments. Louis appeared before them with a few attendants, but a serene air. Those in front, overawed by the dignity of his presence, made an involuntary pause, but, pressed on by the crowd behind, soon surrounded the monarch. With difficulty his attendants got him withdrawn into the embrasure of a window, while the crowd rolled on through the other rooms of the palace. Seated on a chair which was elevated on a table, and surrounded by a few faithful national guards, who, by holding their bayonets crossed before him, kept off the most unruly of the populace, he preserved a mild and undaunted countenance in the midst of dangers which every instant threatened his life. A young man armed with a pike made repeated endeavours to penetrate to the king: it was the same person who, two years before, had borne the bloody heads of Berthier and Foulon along the streets, and thrown them to the populace as an incitement to fresh deeds of carnage. Never did the monarch appear more truly great than on this trying occasion. To the reiterated demand that he should instantly give his assent to the decrees against the priests, and sanction the establishment of a camp near Paris, or die on the spot, he constantly replied, "This is neither the time nor the way to obtain it of me." A drunken workman handed him the red cap of liberty; with a mild aspect he put the revolutionary emblem on the head on which a diadem was wont to rest, and wore it for three hours. Had he not done so he would have been stabbed on the spot. Another presented him with a cup of water: though he had long suspected poison, he drank it

done by order of the municipal officers who were at the head of this armed deputation, and who had introduced it in a body. The National Guards, always submissive to the law, and warned of the obedience due to the municipality, could not oppose the entrance of the deputation, and, penetrated with grief by the circumstances, did with their bodies what the law forbade them to do with their arms."—*Rapport de ROMAINVILLIERS, Commandant de la Garde Nationale; Hist. Parl. xv. 147, 148.*

off in the midst of applauses, involuntarily extorted from the multitude. The butcher Legendre, for whom the crowd opened a passage, thus addressed him: "*Monsieur!* (not Sire) listen to us—you are made to listen. You are a perfidious man! you have always deceived us; even now you are deceiving us. But take care! the cup is full; a drop will make it overflow. The people are tired of being the victims of your deceit." At this time a cry arose outside that the king was put to death. "Throw out the body! Is he struck! Where are the heads!" exclaimed the crowd, without one expression of displeasure being manifested, though Garat, Gorsan, and several of the leading Girondists, as well as Marat and many Jacobins, were there. Informed of the danger of the king, a deputation of the Assembly, headed by Vergniaud and Isnard, repaired to the palace. With difficulty they penetrated through the crowds which filled its apartments, and found the king seated in the same place, unshaken in courage, but almost exhausted by fatigue. One of the national guard approached him to assure him of his devotion. "Feel," said he, placing his hand on his bosom, "whether this is the beating of a heart agitated by fear!" Vergniaud, however, who was in the secret of the real object of the demonstration, at length became apprehensive it would be carried too far, and was not without disquietude from the menaces which he had heard in the remoter parts of the crowd. With some difficulty he succeeded in obtaining a hearing, and persuaded the people to depart. He was seconded by Pétion, and the mob gradually withdrew. By eight o'clock in the evening they had all dispersed, and silence and astonishment reigned in the palace.

73. During the terrors of this agitating day, the queen and the princesses displayed the most heroic resolution. The whole royal family would, without doubt, have been massacred, had it not been for the presence of mind of Aclouque, a colonel of the battalion of the Faubourg St Marceau, and of two cannoniers of the national guard, who interposed between them and the head of the columns, which had broken open

or cut down with hatchets all the inner doors of the palace. "Sanction the decrees, or death!" was the universal cry. Nothing could make the queen separate herself from the king. "What have I to fear?" said she. "Death! It is as well to-day as to-morrow; they can do no more! Let me go to the king; it is at his side I will expire!—there is my post!" As they were retiring before the furious multitude, the princess Elizabeth, as she held the king at a moment of the greatest danger embraced in her arms, was mistaken for the queen, and loaded with maledictions. She forbade her attendants to explain the mistake, happy to draw upon herself the perils and opprobrium of her august relative.* Santerre shortly after approached, and assured her she had nothing to fear; that the people were come to warn, but not to strike. He handed her a red-cap, which she put on the head of the dauphin. The princess-royal, a few years older, was weeping at the side of the queen; but the infant, with the innocence of childhood, smiled at the scene by which he was surrounded, and willingly put on an enormous red cap, which was handed to him by a ferocious pikeman. He was only seven years of age, seated on a table before his mother, to whom he constantly turned, more in wonder than alarm, as the crowd pressed around them. The innocence and naïveté of childhood were strongly depicted on his smiling countenance. The princess-royal was in her fourteenth year. Her noble countenance and precocious beauty were only rendered more interesting by the melancholy which the events of the last few years had imprinted on her expression. Her blue eyes, prominent forehead, and light ringlets flowing over her shoulders, recalled, in the last days of the monarchy, the image of the young daughters of the Franks who adorned the throne of the first race

* "Frantic miscreants advanced against the sister of the king with uplifted arms; they are about to strike her—officers of the palace undeceive them. The venerated name of Madame Elizabeth causes their arms to fall. 'Ah! what are you doing?' cried the princess mournfully, 'let them think that I am the queen. Dying in her stead, perhaps I might save her!'"—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, II. 391.

of kings. She clung in terror to her mother, as if at once to give and receive protection. Even the most ferocious of the mob were for a moment subdued by the image of childhood, innocence, and misfortune.

74. A young officer, with his college companion, was a witness, from the gardens of the Tuileries, of this disgraceful scene. Though warmly attached at that period to the Jacobin party, he expressed great regret at the conduct of the populace, and the imbecility of the ministry; but when the king appeared at the window with the cap of liberty on his head, he could no longer restrain his indignation. "The wretches!" he exclaimed; "they should cut down the first five hundred with grape-shot, and the remainder would soon take to flight." He lived to put his principles in practice near that very spot—his name will never be forgotten: it was NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

75. The events of the 20th June excited the utmost indignation throughout France; but no pity whatever was felt for the royal victims by the Girondist leaders. "How I should have liked to behold her long humiliation, and how her pride must have suffered under it!" exclaimed Madame Roland, speaking of Marie Antoinette. But generally, over the country, more generous feelings prevailed. The violence of their proceedings, the violation of the Assembly and of the royal residence, the illegality of a petition supported by a tumultuous and disorderly rabble, were made the objects of warm reproaches to the popular party. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld, who commanded at Rouen, invited the king to seek an asylum in the midst of his army; Lafayette urged him to proceed to Compiègne, and throw himself into the arms of the constitutional forces; the national guard offered to form a corps to defend his person. But Louis declined all these offers: he expected deliverance from the allied powers, and was unwilling to compromise himself by openly joining the constitutional party. He entertained hopes that the late disgraceful tumult would open the eyes of many of the popular party to the ultimate tendency of their

measures. Nor were these hopes without foundation. The Girondists never recovered the failure of this insurrection. They lost the support of the one party by having attempted it, of the other by having failed in it. Mutual complaints in the Assembly, in the clubs, in the journals, between them and the Jacobins, laid the foundation of the envenomed rancour which afterwards prevailed between them. Every one was now anxious to throw upon another the disgrace of an infamous outrage which had failed in its object. A petition, signed by twenty thousand respectable persons in Paris, was soon after presented to the Assembly, praying them to punish the authors of the late disorders; but such was the terror of that body, that they were incapable of taking any decisive steps. The conduct of the king excited general admiration: the remarkable coolness in danger which he had evinced extorted the applause even of his enemies, and the unhappy irresolution of his earlier years was forgotten in the intrepidity of his present demeanour. Had he possessed vigour enough to have availed himself of the powerful reaction in his favour which these events excited, he might still have arrested the Revolution; but his was the passive courage of the martyr, which could endure—not the active spirit of the hero, fitted to prevent danger.

76. Lafayette, who was now thoroughly awakened to a sense of the dreadful dangers which threatened France from the Revolution which he had done so much to advance, made a last effort to raise from the dust the constitutional throne. Having provided for the command of the army, and obtained addresses from the soldiers against the recent excesses, he set out for Paris, and presented himself, on the 28th June, unexpectedly at the bar of the Assembly. He demanded, in the name of his troops and of himself, that the authors of the revolt should be punished; that vigorous measures should be taken to destroy the Jacobin sect. "A powerful reason," said he, "has brought me amongst you. The outrages committed on the 20th June in the Tuileries have excited the indignation and the alarm

of all good citizens, and particularly of the army. In the one I command, all the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, have but one opinion. I have received from all the corps addresses, expressive of their attachment to the constitution, their respect for the authorities which it has established, and their patriotic hatred against all the factions. I lay at your bar these addresses. You will see that I have only expressed their unanimous opinion. I am convinced that their sentiments are those of all the French who love their country. It is time to save the constitution from the attacks which are so generally made upon it; to secure to the National Assembly, to the King, their independence and their dignity; to take from bad citizens their hopes of establishing a régime which, for the good, would only be an insupportable tyranny. I supplicate the National Assembly to give directions that the instigators of the crimes committed on the 20th June at the Tuileries be prosecuted for high treason, and that measures be taken to destroy a sect which at once invades the national sovereignty, tyrannises over the citizens, and daily affords, in its public speeches, decisive evidence of the designs by which it is animated."

77. This speech was loudly applauded by the *Côté droit* of the Assembly, and excited the utmost dismay in the revolutionary party. They dreaded the promptitude and vigour of their adversary in the Champ de Mars. A majority of 339 to 234 was obtained by the constitutional party in the Assembly, upon a motion to send Lafayette's letter to the standing committee of twelve, to report on its adoption. Encouraged by this success, slight as it was, the general next presented himself at the court. He was coolly received by the king, who thanked him for his services, but did nothing to forward his views. It was even with some difficulty that he succeeded in obtaining a review of the national guard. The leaders of the royalists anxiously inquired at the palace what course they should adopt in this emergency. Both the king and the queen answered that they could place

no confidence in Lafayette. He next applied, with a few supporters who were resolved to uphold the crown in spite of itself, to the national guard; but the influence of the general with that body was gone. He was received in silence by all the battalions who had so recently worshipped his footsteps, and retired to his hotel despairing of the constitutional cause.

78. Determined, however, not to abandon his enterprise without a struggle, he appointed a rendezvous in the evening at his own house, of the most zealous of the troops, from whence his design was to march against the Jacobin club, and close its sittings. Hardly thirty men appeared, and irresolution and uncertainty were painted on every countenance. In despair at the apathy of the public mind, Lafayette, after remaining a few days in Paris, set off alone, and returned to the army, after having incurred the disgrace, with one party, of endeavouring to control the Revolution, with the other, of having failed in the attempt—the usual fate of the originators of a popular movement when they strive to check its excesses. He was burned in effigy by the Jacobins in the Palais Royal, so recently the scene of his civic triumphs, and instantly became the object of the most impassioned hostility to the people. Robespierre answered his letter in a long and able production: the Jacobins thundered against his tergiversation: the people could not find words strong enough to express their indignation. "The traitor Lafayette!" was heard in every street: "he is sold to the Austrians; let him go to Coblenz!" This was the last struggle of the constitutionalists; thenceforward they never were heard of in the Revolution, except when their adherents were conducted to the scaffold. Their failure was the more remarkable, because, not a year before, they had acquired an absolute ascendancy in Paris, and defeated an insurrection of the populace in a period of the highest public excitement, and on that very occasion they had a majority of three to two in the Assembly. In such convulsions, more perhaps than in any other situation of life,

it may truly be said, that there is a tide in the affairs of men. The moment of success, if not seized, is lost for ever; new passions succeed; fresh interests are called into existence; above all, no coercion by old leaders will ever be tolerated; and the leader of a nation at one period often finds himself, within a few months, as powerless as the humblest individual, the instant he attempts to restrain the passions he himself has aroused.

79. The Girondists and Republicans, emboldened by the failure of Lafayette's attempt, now openly aimed at the dethronement of the king. Vergniaud, in a powerful discourse, portrayed the dangers which threatened the country. He quoted the article of the constitution which declared, "that if the king put himself at the head of an armed force against the nation, or did not oppose a similar enterprise attempted in his name, he should be held to have abdicated the throne. "O king!" he continued, "who doubtless thought with the tyrant Lyssander, that truth is not more imperishable than falsehood, and that we amuse the people with oaths as we amuse children with toys; who feigned only to regard the laws, in order to preserve an authority which might enable you to brave them—do you suppose that we are any longer to be deceived by your hypocritical protestations? Was it to defend us that you opposed to the enemy's soldiers forces whose inferiority rendered their defeat inevitable? Was it to defend us that you suffered a general to escape who had violated the constitution? Did the law give you the choice of your ministers for our happiness or our misery? of your generals, for our glory or our shame? the right of sanctioning the laws, the civil list, and so many prerogatives, that you might destroy the constitution of the empire? No! One whom the generosity of the French could not affect, whom the love of despotism alone could influence, has obviously no regard for the constitution which he has so basely violated, for the people whom he has wantonly betrayed."—"The danger which threatens us," said Brissot, at the Jacobin club,

"is the most extraordinary which has yet appeared in the world. Our country is in peril, not because it wants defenders, not because its soldiers are destitute of courage, not because its frontiers are unfortified, its resources defective; but because a hidden cause paralyses all its powers. Who is it that does so? A single man—he whom the constitution has declared its chief, and treachery has made its enemy. You are told to fear the king of Bohemia and Hungary; I tell you that the real strength of the kings is at the Tuileries, and that it is there you must strike to subdue them. You are told to strike the refractory priests wherever they are found in the kingdom; I tell you to strike at the court, and you will annihilate the whole priesthood at a single blow. You are told to strike the factious, the intriguers; I tell you, aim your blow at the royal cabinet, and there you will extinguish intrigue in the centre of its ramifications. This is the secret of our position; there is the source of our evils; there is the point where a remedy is to be applied."

80. While the minds of men were wound up to the highest pitch by these inflammatory harangues, the committees, to whom it had been remitted to report on the state of the country, published the solemn declaration—"Citizens, the country is in danger!" Minute guns announced to the inhabitants of the capital the solemn appeal, which called on every one to lay down his life on behalf of the state. The enthusiasm of the moment was such, that fifteen thousand volunteers enrolled themselves in Paris in a single day. Immediately all the civil authorities declared their sittings permanent; all the citizens not already in the national guard were put in requisition; pikes were distributed to all those not possessed of firelocks, battalions of volunteers formed in the public squares, and standards displayed in conspicuous situations, with the words, "Citizens, the country is in danger!" These measures, which the threatening aspect of public affairs rendered indispensable, excited the revolutionary ardour to the utmost degree. A universal frenzy

seized the public mind. The declamations at the Jacobin club exceeded anything yet heard in audacity. A general insurrection was openly called for. "The all-powerful sovereign people," it was said, "can alone exterminate our enemies. Against crowned brigands, home traitors, and devourers of men, we have need of the club of Hercules." So far did this patriotic vehemence carry them that many departments openly defied the authority of government, and, without any orders, sent their contingents to form the camp of twenty thousand men near Paris. This was the commencement of the revolt which overturned the throne. Some of the Girondist leaders, seeing to what point things were tending, began now to regret their former proceedings, and in secret inclined to the throne. Guadet, in particular, whose inclinations strongly led him in that direction, had a private interview with the royal family, in which the simplicity and kindness of the king, the heroic spirit of the queen, and the innocence of their children, completely softened his heart. Being shown the dauphin asleep in his cradle, he parted the light ringlets which half concealed his beautiful countenance, and said, with tears in his eyes, to the queen—"Educate him in the principles of freedom, Madame: it is the condition of existence."

81. The approach of a crisis became evident on the 14th July, when a fête was held in commemoration of the taking of the Bastille. Pétion was the object of the public idolatry. He had been suspended from his office of mayor by the department of Paris, in consequence of his supineness during the tumult on the 20th June; but the decree was reversed by the National Assembly. His name was inscribed on a thousand banners; on all sides the cry was heard, "Pétion or death!" The king went in procession from the palace to the altar in the Champ de Mars; but how different was his reception from that which he had experienced two years before on a similar occasion! Pensive and melancholy, he marched with the queen and the dauphin through a single file of soldiers, who could with

difficulty keep back the intrusion, and were wholly unable to prevent the maledictions of the mob. Innumerable voices reproached him with his perfidious flight; the intrepid aspect of the Swiss Guard alone protected him from actual violence. He returned to the palace in the deepest dejection, and was not again seen in public till he ascended the scaffold.

82. The declaration by the Assembly that the country was in danger, procured a prodigious accession of power to the revolutionary party. On the 14th July, when the fête of the confederation was held, the persons who had arrived in the capital from the provinces did not exceed two thousand, but their numbers daily and rapidly increased. The solemn announcement put all France in motion. Multitudes of ardent young men hourly arrived from the provinces, all animated by the most vehement revolutionary fervour, who added to the already appalling excitement of the capital. The Assembly, with culpable weakness, gave them the exclusive use of its galleries, where they soon acquired the entire command of its deliberations. They were all paid thirty sous a-day from the public treasury, and formed into a club, which soon surpassed in democratic violence the far-famed meetings of the Jacobins. The determination to overturn the throne was openly announced by these ferocious bands; and some of the French Guards, whose regiment, disgraced by its treason at the attack on the Bastille, had been disbanded, were incorporated by the Assembly with their ranks, from whose discipline and experience they soon acquired the elements of military organisation. Meanwhile measures were openly taken, which were best calculated to insure the success of the revolt. The attacks on Lafayette were multiplied; he was denounced at the clubs, and became the object of popular execration. A proposition brought forward in the Assembly, to have him indicted for high treason, was only postponed till the whole witnesses could be examined regarding his conduct. The war party was everywhere predominant. The whole jealousy of the Assembly was directed against the court, from whom,

aided by the Allies, they expected a speedy punishment for their innumerable acts of treason. By their orders, such battalions of the national guard as were suspected of a leaning towards the court, especially the grenadiers of the quarter of St Thomas, were jealously watched: the club of the Feuillants was closed; the grenadiers and chasseurs of the national guard, who constituted the strength of the burgher force, were disbanded, and the troops of the line and Swiss Guard removed to a distance from Paris. The chiefs of the revolt met at Charenton; but none could be brought to accept the perilous duty of leading the attack. Robespierre spoke with alarm of the dangers which attended it; Danton, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and the other leaders of the popular party, professed themselves willing to second, but not fitted to head the enterprise. At length Danton presented Westermann, a man of undaunted courage and savage character, who subsequently signalised himself in the war of La Vendée, and ultimately perished on the scaffold.

83. PÉTION, mayor of Paris, was the person most formidable to the royal family at this period, as well from his official situation, which gave him the entire command of the physical force of the capital, as from his peculiar character. Unlike the other Girondists, he was a decided man of action; but he veiled his violent designs under the mask of the most profound hypocrisy. Like all the leading men of his party, he was bred to the provincial bar, and was translated to the Legislative Assembly from the town of Chartres, where he had practised. Poor and needy, rapacious and unprincipled, he early shared in the largesses of the Orleans family, and entered thoroughly into the views of its conspirators. But, with his violent associates, he soon passed the designs of the selfish and irresolute prince who formed their head, and joined the conspiracy—not for dispossessing the family on the throne to the advantage of the house of Orleans, but for overturning it altogether. He had an agreeable exterior, much address, and profound dissimulation. Though

not a powerful speaker, his calmness and judgment procured him a lead, and constituted the secret of his power. He organised a revolt, prepared a massacre, or ordered assassinations, with as much *sang-froid* as a veteran general directs movements on the field of battle. When the work of destruction was in preparation, no anxiety on his countenance betrayed that he was privy to its preparation; when it began, he looked with apathy on the suffering it produced. He was a stranger alike to pity or remorse; virtue and vice, humanity and cruelty, were regarded by him as means to be alternately used to advance his purposes, which were private gain and public elevation.

84. SANTERRE, the redoubtable leader of the Faubourg St Antoine, was an apt instrument in Pétion's hands to execute the designs which he had conceived. His influence in that revolutionary quarter was immense; a word from him at once brought forth its forests of pikemen and formidable cannoneers, so well known in all the worst periods of the Revolution. Lofty in stature, with a strong voice and an athletic figure, he possessed at the same time that ready wit and coarse eloquence which is often found to be the most powerful passport to the favour of the lowest class of the people. Vulgar and coarse in manners, and always foremost in the work of revolt, he became the object of unbounded horror to the royalists, who often suffered from his power. Still he was not destitute of good qualities. Unlike Pétion, he had a heart, though it was not easy in general to get at it. He engaged, and often took the lead, in many of the most violent revolutionary measures, but he was far from being of a cruel disposition. An unfortunate victim, of whatever party, generally found access to his pity; tears or affliction disarmed his hands. He was a blind fanatic in politics; but neither cruel in private, nor relentless in public measures.

85. Assailed by so many dangers, both external and internal; without guards, and with an impotent ministry; destitute alike of the means of escape or defence, the king and queen

abandoned themselves to despair. In daily expectation of private assassination or open murder, the state of suspense in which they were kept, from the 20th June till the final insurrection on the 10th August, was such that they had ceased to wish for life, and held by their station only from a sense of duty to their children. The queen employed herself the whole day, and the greater part of the night, in reading; contrary to what was expected, her health became daily stronger as the danger increased. All feminine delicacy of constitution disappeared; not a vestige of nervousness was to be seen. She secretly made an under-vest, dagger-proof, for the king, which was with great difficulty, and by stealth, given to Madame Campan to be conveyed to him; but so closely was he watched by the national guard on duty in the palace, that it was three days before she got an opportunity of conveying it to him. When she did so, he said, "It is to satisfy the queen that I have agreed to this: they will not assassinate me; they will put me to death in another way." Already he anticipated the fate of Charles I., and studied incessantly the history of that unhappy but noble-minded prince. "All my anxiety," said he to Bertrand de Molleville, "is for the queen, my sister, and my children; for myself, I do not fear death! nay, I wish it; for it would increase the chances of safety to them if I am sacrificed. I will not attempt to escape, nor will I make resistance; if I did so I should probably fail, and certainly increase their dangers. My only hope is, that my death may prove their salvation!" "As for me," said the queen, "I am a stranger; they will assassinate me. It will be a blessing; for it will relieve me from a painful life: but what will become of our poor children?" and with these words she burst into a flood of tears. But she was perfectly strong, and refused all antispasmodic remedies. "Don't speak to me of such things," said she: "when I was prosperous I had nervous affections: they are the malady of the happy; but now I have no need of them."

86. The court, surrounded by such dangers, and amidst the general dissolution

of its authority, had no hope but on the approach of the allied armies. The queen was acquainted with their proposed line of march; she knew when they were expected at Verdun and the intervening towns—the unhappy princess hoped, at times, to be delivered in a month. All the measures of the court were taken to gain time for their approach. In the meanwhile, the royal family laboured under such apprehensions of being poisoned, that they ate and drank nothing but what was secretly prepared by one of the ladies of the bedchamber, and privately brought by Madame Campan, after the viands prepared by the cook had been placed on the table. Great numbers of the royalists, with faithful devotion, daily repaired to the Tuileries to offer their lives to their sovereign, amidst the perils which were evidently approaching; but, though their motives command respect, the diversity of their counsels confirmed the natural irresolution of his character. Some were for transporting him to Compiègne, and thence, by the forest of Ardennes, to the banks of the Rhine; others, amongst whom was Lafayette, besought him to seek an asylum with the army; while Mallesherbes strongly counselled his abdication, as the only chance of safety. Bertrand de Molleville strenuously recommended a retreat into Normandy, and all the arrangements were made to carry it into effect with every prospect of success; but the king, on the 6th August, when it was to have been put in execution, decided against it, alleging that he would reserve it for the last extremity, and that till then it was too hazardous for the queen and his family. In the midst of such distracting counsels, and in the presence of such evident dangers, nothing was done. A secret flight was resolved on one day, and promised every chance of success; but, after reflecting on it for the night, the king determined to abandon that project, lest it should be deemed equivalent to a declaration of civil war. Royalist committees were formed, and every effort was made to arrest the progress of the insurrection—but all in vain. The court found itself surrounded by a few thousand re-

solute gentlemen who were willing to lay down their lives in its defence, but could not, amidst revolutionary millions, acquire the organisation requisite to insure its safety.

87. The conspiracy, which was originally fixed for the 29th July, and afterwards for the 4th August, was postponed more than once, from the people not being deemed by the leaders in a sufficient state of excitement to insure the success of the enterprise. But this defect was soon removed, by the progress and injudicious conduct of the allied troops. The Duke of Brunswick broke up from Coblenz on the 25th of July, and advanced at the head of seventy thousand Prussians, and sixty-eight thousand Austrians and Hessians, into the French territory. His entry was preceded by a proclamation, in which he reproached "those who had usurped the reins of government in France with having troubled the social order, and overturned the legitimate government; with having committed daily outrages on the king and queen; with having, in an arbitrary manner, invaded the rights of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, and proclaimed war unnecessarily against the king of Hungary and Bohemia." He declared, in consequence, that the allied sovereigns had taken up arms to arrest the anarchy which prevailed in France; to check the dangers which threatened the throne and the altar; to give liberty to the king, and restore him to the legitimate authority of which he had been deprived—but without any intention whatever of individual aggrandisement; that the national guards would be held responsible for the maintenance of order till the arrival of the allied forces, and that those who dared to resist must expect all the rigour of military execution. Finally, he warned the National Assembly, the municipality and city of Paris, that if they did not forthwith liberate the king, and return to their allegiance, they should be held personally responsible, and answer with their heads for their disobedience; and that, if the palace were forced, or the slightest insult offered to the royal family, an exemplary and memorable punishment should be

inflicted, by the total destruction of the city of Paris.

88. Had this manifesto been couched in more moderate language, and followed up by a rapid and energetic military movement, it might have had the desired effect: the passion for power might have been supplanted in the excited multitude by that of fear; the insurrection crushed, like the subsequent ones of Spain and Poland, before it had acquired the consistency of military power, and the throne of Louis, for a time at least, re-established. But coming, as it did, in a moment of extreme public excitation; and enforced, as it was, by the most feeble and inefficient military measures, it contributed in a signal manner to accelerate the progress of the Revolution, and was the immediate cause of the downfall of the throne. The leaders of the Jacobins had no longer any reason to complain of the want of enthusiasm in the people. A unanimous spirit of resistance burst forth in every part of France; the military preparations were redoubled, the ardour of the multitude was raised to the highest pitch. The manifesto of the allied powers was regarded as unfolding the real designs of the court and the emigrants. Revolt against the throne appeared the only mode of maintaining their liberties or preserving their independence; the people of Paris had no choice between victory and death. It is painful to think that the king so soon became the victim, in a great measure, of the apprehension excited by the language of the Allies, which differed so widely from what he had so wisely recommended. Even in the midst of his apprehensions, however, he never lost his warm love to his people: "How soon," he often exclaimed, "would all these chagrins be forgotten, in the slightest return of their affection!"

89. The leaders of the different parties strove to convert this effervescence into the means of advancing their separate ambitious designs. They continued to meet in a committee of eight at Charanton, where all the measures for their common operations were discussed and resolved on. But though thus far united, there was a wide difference in the ulte-

rior measures which they severally had in view. The Girondists were desirous of having the king dethroned by a decree of the Assembly, because, as they had acquired the majority in that body, that would have been equivalent to vesting supreme dominion in themselves; but this by no means answered the views of the popular demagogues, who were as jealous of the Assembly as of the crown, and aimed at overthrowing, at one blow, the legislature and the throne. Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, and their associates, were the leaders of the popular insurrection, which was intended not only to destroy the king, but to overturn the Girondists and establish the multitude. The seeds of division, therefore, between the Girondists and the Jacobins, were sown from the moment that they combined together to overturn the monarchy: the first sought to establish the middle class and the Assembly on the ruins of the throne; the last to elevate the multitude by the destruction of both.

90. The arrival of the federal troops from Marseilles, in the beginning of August, augmented the strength and confidence of the insurgents. The pretext employed for sending these bands to Paris, was to fraternise with the other citizens on occasion of the fête of the 14th July; the real object was to get an armed force into the metropolis which might reanimate the fervour of the faubourgs, and overawe the national guard there, which was deemed too favourable to the court. It was at the instigation of Madame Roland that Barbaroux induced the departments of the south to send these formidable bands to the capital. They were fifteen hundred in number, almost all drawn from the coasts of Piedmont, Provence, or Corsica, and in great part old soldiers or sailors accustomed to war. They were animated by the fierce passions and revengeful spirit of the south, worked up almost to frenzy by the revolutionary addresses and civic fêtes, which they had received when marching through France. Friends of Barbaroux and Isnard commanded these fearful bands; and their march through France is remarkable

for having called forth the Marseillaise hymn, the well-known song of the Revolution.* On the 3d the sections were extremely agitated, and that of Maucoussel declared itself in a state of insurrection. The dethronement of the king was discussed with vehemence in all the popular clubs; and Pétion, with a formidable deputation, appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and demanded it in the name of the municipality and the sections. That body remitted the petition to a committee to report. On the 8th, a stormy discussion arose on the proposed accusation of Lafayette; but the constitutionalists threw it out by a majority of 406 to 224—so strongly confirmed was the majority in the legislature, on the very eve of a convulsion destined to overthrow both them and the throne! The clubs and the populace were to the last degree irritated at the acquittal of their former idol: all those who had voted with the majority were insulted as they left the hall; and the streets resounded with cries against the Assembly, which had acquitted “the traitor Lafayette!” To such a length did the public effervescence proceed, that d’Espréménil, once the object of worship to the people, was attacked on the terrace of the Feuillants by the populace, on his return

* The celebrated Marseillaise hymn, the “Rule Britannia” of the Revolution, arose out of the march of these ardent and ferocious bands of the south through the heart of France. It was first heard, out of the province where it was composed, among their enthusiastic ranks:—

“Allons, enfants de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé;
Contre nous de la tyrannie
L’étendard sanglant est levé.
Entendez-vous dans les campagnes
Mugir ces féroces soldats?
Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras
Egorger vos fils, vos compagnes!
Aux armes, citoyens! formez vos bataillons!
Marchons! qu’un sang impur abreuve
nos sillons!”

It is easy to see, from these words, how large a share the invasion of the Allies had at this period in exciting the revolutionary ardour of France. They were composed by a young artillery officer at Strasbourg, named Rouget de Lille, who had been born at Lons-le-Saulnier in the Jura. Gifted at once with poetical and musical talents, he became acquainted, when in garrison there, with the daughter

home from the Assembly, where he had given an unpopular vote, thrown down, and pierced with pikes in several places. With the utmost difficulty he was extricated from the hands of the assassins, by a detachment of the national guard which happened to be passing, and borne, streaming with blood, to the treasury. Pétion came past amidst the shouts of the mob, as he was carried in at the door, and approached to see if he still lived. “I, too,” said d’Espréménil, “was once borne in triumph by the people; you see what they have now done to me! Anticipate your own fate!”

91. On the 9th the effervescence was extreme: vast crowds traversed the streets with drums beating and banners flying, and the hall of the Assembly and palace were filled with multitudes. The constitutionalists complained of the insults to which they had been exposed on leaving the hall on the preceding day, and insisted that the Marseillais troops should be sent to the camp at Soissons. While the discussion on the subject was going forward, it was announced to the Assembly that one of the sections had declared, that if the dethronement was not pronounced on that day they would sound the tocsin, beat the *générale* at midnight, and march against the palace.

and wife of Dietrich, mayor of Strasbourg, who largely shared in the enthusiasm of the Revolution. Under the combined influence of patriotism, love, poetry, military ardour and revolutionary fervour, the lines were the effusion of an ardent and excited mind, during the distress and alarms of the severe cold of February 1792. They were finished off in a single night, under Dietrich’s roof, and repeated in the morning to the young woman whose inspiration had had so large a share in their production, who shed tears at hearing the heart-stirring strains. But they expressed with energy the feeling of the moment then general over France, and thence their rapid and astonishing success. From the humble house of Dietrich at Strasbourg they spread quickly over Alsace, then in a vehement state of excitement, and, being learnt by the Marseilles troops in their journey to Paris in the July following, were adopted by them as the *refrain* of their march, and so spread over all France. From being first heard from the federal troops who came up from Marseilles, they acquired the name of the “Marseillaise,” since so well known as the hymn of revolution all over the world.—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, li. 418, 420.

Forty-seven out of the forty-eight sections of Paris had approved of this resolution, and declared their sittings permanent. The legislature required the authorities of the department of the Seine, and of the city of Paris, to maintain the public tranquillity. The first replied that they had every inclination, but did not possess the power to do so; Pétion answered, in name of the latter, that as the sections had resumed their powers, his functions were reduced to mere persuasion. The Assembly separated without having done anything to ward off the coming blow. Already it had become apparent that the revolutionary constitution had prostrated the legislature not less than the throne; that the boasted advantages of the representative system had disappeared; and the mobs of the metropolis, as in the Greek democracies, had become the rulers of the state.

92. The court of the CARROUSEL, rendered immortal by the heroic conflict of which it soon became the theatre, and the frightful massacre in which that conflict terminated, was very different in 1792 from what it is at this time. The straight and noble façade of the Rue de Rivoli, the northern wing of the quadrangle which unites the Tuileries to the Louvre, projected and in part executed by the genius of Napoleon, did not exist. The Tuileries itself, with the long gallery of the Museum, which connects that palace with the Louvre, formed two sides of an incomplete quadrangle, which all the efforts of later times have not been able entirely to finish. On the ground where the Rue de Rivoli now stands was placed the Salle du Manège, where the meetings of the Assembly were held, which was separated from the garden of the Tuileries by a wall, running in the line where the gilded rail of the garden is now placed. This hall was placed near where the Rue de Castiglione now leads into the Place Vendôme; it communicated with the palace by a long court or avenue, which entered the part of the gardens of the Tuileries next the palace, called the terrace of the Feuillants, by a large doorway. On the other side of the palace,

where the vast Place of the Carrousel now stands, the difference in former times was still more striking. That open space was then nearly filled with a great variety of narrow streets and courts, such as always grow up, if permitted, in the vicinity of a palace. The open part of the Place itself was of comparatively small extent, and was situated in that portion of the space within the quadrangle which was next to the palace. The buildings next it formed several courts, appropriated chiefly for lodgings to the different guards of the palace: one, which was the largest, and situated in the middle, was called the Royal Court; another, nearer the river, the Court of Princes, in which the royal stables were placed; a third, on the northern side of the Rue St Honoré, was called the Court of the Swiss, from its containing the barracks of the Swiss guards; and it had two entrances—one into the Place of the Carrousel, and one into the Rue de l'Echelle, which leads to the Rue St Honoré. Thus, upon the whole, the open space of the Carrousel was not a fourth part of what it now is; and it was incomparably less capable of defence, from the number of entrances which led into it, and the variety of courts and lanes, under shelter of the buildings of which the columns of attack might be formed.

93. At length, at midnight on the 9th August, a cannon was fired, the tocsin sounded, and the *générale* beat in every quarter of Paris. The insurgents immediately began to assemble in great strength at their different rallying points. The survivors of the bloody catastrophe which was about to commence have portrayed, in the strongest colours, the horrors of that dreadful night, when the oldest monarchy in Europe fell. The incessant clang of the tocsin, the rolling of the drums, the rattling of artillery and ammunition waggons along the streets, the cries of the insurgents, the march of columns, rang in their ears for long after, and haunted their minds even in moments of festivity and rejoicing. The club of the Jacobins, that of the Cordeliers, and the section of Quinze-Vingts, in the Faubourg St Antoine,

were the three centres of the insurrection. The most formidable forces were assembled at the club of the Cordeliers; the Marseillais troops were there, and the vigour of Danton gave energy to all their proceedings. "It is no longer time," said he, "to appeal to the laws and legislators: the laws have made no provision for such offences, the legislators are the accomplices of the criminals. Already they have acquitted Lafayette; to absolve that traitor is to deliver us to him, to the enemies of France, to the sanguinary vengeance of the allied kings. This very night the perfidious Louis has chosen to deliver to carnage and conflagration the capital, which he is prepared to quit in the moment of its ruin. To arms! to arms! no other chance of escape is left to us." The insurgents, and especially the Marseillais, impatiently called for the signal to march; and the cannon of all the sections began to roll towards the centre of the city.

94. Aware of their danger, the court had for some time been making such preparations as their slender means would admit to resist the threatened attack. All the sentinels in and around the palace were tripled; barriers had been erected at the entry of the court, and forty grenadiers of the section Filles de St Thomas, and as many gendarmes on horseback, were drawn up opposite the great gate. But these precautions were as nothing against an insurgent city. The only real reliance of the royal family was on the firmness of the Swiss guards, whose loyalty, always conspicuous, had been wrought up to the highest pitch by the misfortunes and noble demeanour of the king and queen. The Assembly had, a few days before, ordered them to be removed from Paris; but the ministers, on various pretexts, had contrived to delay the execution of the order, though they had not ventured to bring to the defence of the palace the half of the corps, which lay at Courbevoie. The number of the guard actually in attendance was about eight hundred; they took their stations and were soon drawn up in the court of the Carrousel in the finest order, and with that entire silence which formed so

marked a contrast to the din and strife of tongues in the city forces. The most faithful of the national guard rapidly arrived, in number about four thousand five hundred, and filled the court of the Tuileries; the grenadiers of the quarter of St Thomas had been at their post even before the signal of insurrection was given. Seven or eight hundred royalists, chiefly of noble families, filled the interior of the palace, determined to share the dangers of their sovereign; but their presence rather injured than promoted the preparations for defence. A motley group, without any regular uniform, variously armed with pistols, sabres, and firelocks, they were incapable of any useful organisation; while their presence cooled the ardour of the national guard, by awakening their ill-extinguished jealousy of the aristocratic party. The most generous of the friends of the royal family hastened to share their dangers, now that they had become imminent; among whom was the Duchesse de la Maille, whose principles had led to her being regarded with distrust by the court at the commencement of the Revolution, but who now hastened on foot, unattended, to the gates of the palace, to share their fate.* The heavy dragoons, nine hundred strong, on horseback, with twelve pieces of artillery, were stationed in the gardens and court; but in that formidable arm the royalists were deplorably inferior to the forces of the insurgents. The forces on the royal side were numerous, but little reliance could be placed on a great proportion of them; and the *gendarmes à cheval*, a most important force in civil conflicts, soon gave a fatal example of disaffection, by deserting in a body to the enemy. This powerful corps was chiefly composed of the former French Guards, who had thus the infamy, twice during the same convulsions, of betraying at once their sovereign and their oaths.

95. Pétion arrived at midnight, and inspected the posts of the palace—osten-

* "The crowd put her aside as a mad-woman. 'Let me pass,' she cried, 'where friendship and duty call me. Have not women also their honour! It is the heart! Mine belongs to the queen. Your patriotism is to hate her; mine is to die at her feet.'"—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, iii. 151.

sibly to examine into the preparations for defence, really to be enabled to report to the insurgents how they might be best overcome. The grenadiers of the Filles de St Thomas, by whom he was attended in the palace, had resolved to detain him as a hostage; but the Assembly, playing into his hands, eluded this intention by ordering him to the bar of the Assembly, to give an account of the state of the capital. No sooner was he there, than they ordered him to repair to his post—not at the Tuileries, which was threatened, but at the Hotel de Ville, which was the headquarters of the insurgents. The object of this was soon apparent. While this was going on at the Assembly, and in the palace, the whole forty-eight sections of Paris had appointed commissioners who had met at the Hotel de Ville, supplanted the former municipality, democratic as it was, and elected a new one, still more revolutionary, in its stead. When Pétion arrived there at six o'clock in the morning, he found the new municipality installed in power; and he suffered himself, without the slightest opposition, to be made prisoner by the civil force there. Still carrying on his detestable system of hypocrisy, he next issued an order, as mayor of Paris, though his powers as such were at an end, summoning Mandat, the commander of the national guard, a man of honour and courage, to repair to the Hotel de Ville, without making him aware of the change which had taken place in the municipality. In obedience to the civil authority, and wholly ignorant of the fraud which had been practised, that gallant officer went there; he was immediately seized by order of the authorities, and accused of having ordered his troops to fire upon the people. Perceiving from the new faces around him that the magistracy was changed, he turned pale; he was instantly sent under a guard to the Abbaye, but murdered by the populace on the very steps of the municipal palace. The new municipality forthwith gave the command of the national guard to the brewer Santerre, the leader of the insurgents.

96. The death of Mandat was an irreparable loss to the royal cause, as his

influence was indispensable to persuade the national guards to fight, who had become already much shaken by the appearance of so many royalists among the defenders of the king. At five in the morning the king visited the interior parts of the palace, accompanied by the queen, the dauphin, and Madame Elizabeth. The troops in the inside were animated with the best spirit, and the hopes of the royal family began to revive; but they were cruelly undeceived on descending the staircase, and passing in review the forces in the Place Carrousel and the garden. Some battalions, particularly those of the Filles de St Thomas and the Petits Pères, received them with enthusiasm: but, in general, the troops were silent and irresolute; and some, particularly the cannoneers and the battalion of Croix Rouge, raised the cry of "Vive la Nation!" Two regiments of pikemen, in defiance before the king, openly shouted, "Vive la Nation!"—"Vive Pétion! A bas le Veto, à bas le Traître!" Overcome by these ominous symptoms, the king returned, pale and depressed, to the palace. The queen displayed the ancient spirit of her race. "Everything which you hold most dear," said she, to the grenadiers of the national guard, "your homes, your wives, your children, depends on our existence. To-day, our cause is that of the people." These words, spoken with dignity, roused the enthusiasm of the troops who heard them to the highest degree; but they could only promise to sacrifice their lives in her defence; nothing announced the enthusiasm of victory. Though the air of the king was serene, despair was fixed in his heart. He was dressed in violet-coloured velvet, the mourning of the royal family, and his appearance sufficiently showed he had not been in bed all night. He had no apprehensions for himself, and had refused to put on the shirt of mail which the queen had formed to avert the stroke of an assassin. "No," replied he; "in the day of battle the king should be clothed like the meanest of his followers." But he could not be prevailed upon to seize the decisive moment. Nothing is more certain than that, if he had charged at the

head of his followers, when the Swiss Guard had repulsed the insurgents, he would have put down the insurrection, and possibly, even at the eleventh hour, restored the throne.

97. While irresolution and despondency prevailed at the Tuileries, the energy of the insurgents was hourly increasing. Early in the morning they had forced the arsenal, and distributed arms among the multitude. A column of the Faubourg St Antoine, composed of fifteen thousand men, joined by that of the Faubourg St Marceau, five thousand strong, had marched towards the palace at six in the morning, and was every moment increasing on the road. A post, placed by order of the directory of the department on the Pont Neuf, had been forced, and the communication between the opposite banks of the river was open. Soon after, the advanced guard of the insurrection, composed of the troops from Marseilles and Brittany, had debouched by the Rue St Honoré, and occupied the Place Carrousel, with their cannon directed against the palace. Roderer, in this emergency, exerted himself to the utmost to do his duty. He first petitioned the Assembly for authority to treat with the insurgents, but they paid no regard to his application. When the deputies from the palace arrived at the Assembly, they found the members quietly engaged in a discussion on the treatment of the *Negroes in St Domingo*. They represented in vivid colours the dangers of the royal family; but with haughty indifference the Assembly passed to the order of the day. Roderer next applied to the national guard, and read to them the articles of the constitution, which enjoined them, in case of attack, to repel force by force. Part answered with loud acclamations; but a slender proportion of them only seemed disposed to support the throne; and the cannoneers, instead of an answer, unloaded their pieces. Finding the popular cause everywhere triumphant, he returned in dismay to the palace.

98. The king was there sitting in council with the queen and his ministers. Roderer immediately announced that the danger was extreme; that the

insurgents would agree to no terms; that the national guard could not be relied on; that the destruction of the royal family was inevitable, if they did not take refuge in the bosom of the Assembly; and that in a quarter of an hour retreat would be impossible. Louis said nothing: he feared not for himself; but the thought of the destruction that, in the event of defeat, awaited his wife and children, paralysed every resolution to resist. "I would rather," said the queen, "be nailed to the walls of the palace than leave it!" and immediately addressing the king, and presenting to him a pistol, exclaimed, "Now, Sire, this is the moment to show yourself." The king remained silent: he had the resignation of a martyr, but not the spirit of a hero. "Are you prepared, Madame," said Roderer, "to take upon yourself the responsibility of the death of the king, of yourself, of your children, and of all who are here to defend you?" Every one was silent for a time, when M. Montjoye said, "Let us go, and no longer deliberate: honour commands it: the safety of the state requires it: let us forthwith go to the Assembly." These words decided Louis: he rose up, and addressing himself to those around him, said, "Gentlemen, nothing remains to be done here." Accompanied by the queen, the dauphin, and the royal family, he descended the stair, and crossed the garden, protected by the Swiss Guards, and the battalions of the Filles de St Thomas and the Petits Pères. These faithful troops had the utmost difficulty in getting them into the Assembly in the adjoining street, amidst the menaces and execrations of the multitude. "No women! the king alone!" was heard on all sides as they pressed through the dense throng on the terrace of the Feuillants. Such was the pressure, that one of the national guard carried the dauphin in his arms; and it was only by great exertions of strength and resolution that actual violence was averted from the royal family. The day was fine; the sun shone with uncommon brilliancy on the royal family as they passed through the gardens. The leaves, however, were beginning to fall, and the

king observing it, when they came under the trees, said to those around him, "The leaves have begun to fall very early this season." Manuel had written, some days before, that royalty would not endure in France till the leaves fell. The dauphin was amused with the scene, but the queen was in extreme depression, and amidst her grief was robbed of her purse and her watch on the passage. "Gentlemen," said the king, on entering the Assembly, "I am come here to save the nation from the commission of a great crime; I shall always consider myself, with my family, safe in your hands."—"Sire," replied the President Vergniaud, "you may rely on the firmness of the National Assembly; its members have sworn to die in defence of the rights of the people, and of the constituted authorities; it will remain firm at its post: we will die rather than abandon it." In truth, the Girondists, having gained from the insurrection their real object of humbling the king, were now sincere in their wish to repress the multitude—a vain attempt, which only showed their ignorance of mankind, and total unfitness to guide during the stormy days of a revolution.

99. Meanwhile the new municipality, organised by Danton and Robespierre, was directing all the movements of the insurrection. A formidable force occupied the side of the Place Carrousel next the Louvre, and numerous pieces of artillery were pointed against the palace, the defenders of which were severely weakened by the detachment of the Swiss Guard and the royalist battalions, who had accompanied the king. The *gendarmes à cheval*, posted in front of the palace, had shamefully quitted their post, crying "Vive la Nation!" the national guard was so divided as to be incapable of action; the cannoneers had openly joined the enemy; but, with heroic firmness, the Swiss Guard remained unshaken in resolution amidst the defection of all around them. After the retreat of the king, however, these brave men were left without any orders in the most dreadful of all situations—threatened by thirty thousand armed insurgents,

in a state of unprecedented exasperation, in their front, and yet with too strong a sense of honour to recede. The insurgents, led by Santerre, and preceded by fifty pieces of artillery, now advanced against them at the Carrousel. Their officers anxiously asked for orders: "Not to let yourselves be forced," was the reply of the Marshal de Maille. Meanwhile, the porters at the gates of the railing were so intimidated that they opened the royal doorway to the Marseillais, who rushed up the great stair sword in hand, and ascended to the royal chapel. Anxious to avoid a conflict in which their own ruin, as in most civil conflicts, was certain, whichever side was victorious, the Swiss successively put forward five sentinels to guard the top of the stair, each of whom in his turn was seized, disarmed, and beaten to death with clubs before the eyes of their comrades. A single musket was now discharged from one of the windows of the chateau. Whilst the struggle was going on, one of the Swiss officers tried to address the insurgents, but frightful howlings drowned his voice. A minute after, the bands of Santerre fired a volley at the Swiss and the grenadiers of the Filles de St Thomas, who immediately returned the fire, and the action became general.

100. Never was seen, in a more striking manner than then appeared, the superiority of order and discipline against the greatest numerical amount of physical force. The Swiss troops, firing from the windows, speedily drove back the foremost of their enemies; immediately after, descending the staircase, and ranging themselves in battle array in the court of the Carrousel, by heavy and sustained discharges they completed their defeat. The insurgents, recently so audacious, fled in confusion as far as the Pont Neuf, and many never stopped till they had reached their homes in the faubourgs. Seven guns were taken and brought back by the Swiss to the foot of the great stair. Three hundred horse, at that critical moment, might have saved the monarchy. Had the eighteen hundred of the Constitutional Guard been there, the victory would have been complete. But the heroic defenders of the

palace, few in number and destitute of cavalry, could not follow up their victory beyond the Carrousel; and their leaders, in the absence of the king, did not venture to take any steps for completing their victory. The nobles who surrounded the Marshal de Maille entreated him to take advantage of the momentary success to unite the troops in the chateau to those on the terrace of the Feuillants, who had formed the escort of the king, to form a junction with the two hundred Swiss left in the barracks of the Courbevoie, place the royal family in the middle of their serried ranks, and march out of Paris. For a short time it was hoped the proposal would be adopted, and every eye was turned from the windows of the palace to the doors of the Salle du Ménage, where the Assembly sat, in hope of seeing the king issue forth and join the cortège. But his known irresolution forbade the adoption of so decided a course; and meanwhile, seeing they were not attacked, the populace gradually regained their courage, and a new assault, directed by Westermann, was prepared under cover of a numerous artillery. The Marseillais and Breton troops returned in greater force; the Swiss were mown down with grape-shot, and their ranks fell in the place where they stood, unconquered even in death. In its last extremity, it was neither in its titled nobility, nor its native armies, that the French throne found fidelity; but in the freeborn mountaineers of Lucerne, unstained by the vices of a corrupted age, and firm in the simplicity of rural life.

101. At this critical moment, when the Swiss, still unconquered, were combating where they stood, M. d'Hervilly, who with heroic courage, and in the midst of a thousand dangers, had penetrated from the hall of the Assembly to the scene of conflict, with orders from the king to terminate the resistance, reached, blinded and wounded, the foot of the great stair, and gave them orders to cease firing, and withdraw to the Assembly. "Yes, brave Swiss!" cried the Baron de Vioménil, "go to save your king; your ancestors have often done so." Conceiving they

were called elsewhere to defend the person of the monarch, the Swiss drummers beat the "assemblée," and the faithful mountaineers took their places in their ranks with the precision of a parade, under a terrible fire of grape and musketry. They withdrew under the archway of the Tuileries, and bent their course by the terrace of the Feuillants towards the Assembly. But the loss was dreadful as they crossed the gardens. The pursuers, emboldened by their retreat, pressed them on all sides with a murderous fire, to which the Swiss, now in serried ranks, could make no reply. Three hundred fell in a few minutes. Soon it was no longer a battle, but a massacre; the enraged multitude broke into the palace, and cut down every one found within it; the fugitives, pursued into the gardens of the Tuileries by the pikemen from the faubourgs, were unmercifully put to death under the trees, amidst the fountains, and at the feet of the statues. Some miserable wretches climbed up the marble monuments which adorn that splendid spot; the insurgents abstained from firing lest they should injure the statuary, but pricked them with their bayonets till they came down, and then murdered them at their feet—an instance of taste for art, mingled with revolutionary cruelty, perhaps unparalleled in the history of the world. During the whole evening and night, the few survivors of the Swiss Guard were sought out with unpitiful ferocity by the populace, and wherever they were found, immediately massacred. Hardly any escaped, and those that did so owed their lives almost uniformly to the fidelity of female attachment.

102. While these terrible scenes were going forward, the Assembly was in the most violent agitation. When the king first entered, he was received in general with respect—the evident fall of the royal family had softened the hardest hearts. But nothing could move the painter David. Having recognised him on a bench adjoining, the king asked him if the portrait he was engaged on, of him, would be soon done. "I will never hereafter paint the portrait of a tyrant," replied David, "till his head

falls on the scaffold." Large tears stood on the cheeks of the Duchess d'Angoulême; but the dauphin, with infantine simplicity, was amused by the scene around him, and asked his father the names of the principal members around him. But when the firing began, every heart was frozen with horror. At the first discharge of musketry, the king declared that he had forbidden the troops to fire, and signed an order to the Swiss Guards to stop the combat: but the officer who bore it was slain on the road. As the firing grew louder, the consternation increased, and many deputies rose to escape; but others exclaimed, "No! this is our post." The people in the galleries drowned the speakers by their cries, and soon the loud shouts, "Victoire, victoire!—les Suisses sont vaincus!"* announced that the fate of the monarchy was decided. In the first tumult of alarm, the Assembly published a proclamation, recommending moderation in the use of victory. A deputation from the new municipality shortly after appeared at the bar, demanding that their powers should be confirmed, and insisting on the dethronement of the king, and the immediate convocation of a National Convention. They were received with thunders of applause, and said, with a stern voice, "Pronounce the dethronement of the king; to-morrow we will bring the act in form. Pétion, Manuel, and Danton are our colleagues; Santerre is at the head of the armed force." Other deputations speedily followed, pressing the same demands, and enforcing them with the language of conquerors. Yielding to necessity, the Assembly, on the motion of Vergniaud, passed a decree suspending the king, dismissing the ministers, and directing the immediate formation of a National Convention. The municipality was irresistible: it had usurped the sovereignty of the state, and the legislature was only a puppet in its hands.

103. The secret committee at the Hotel de Ville, who organised this insurrection, and directed its movement

* "Victory, victory! the Swiss are vanquished!"

after the new municipality was installed in power, consisted of Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, Manuel, Panis, Osselin, Marat, Fréron, Tallien, Duplace, Billaud Varennes, Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, Durfort, Cailly, Chénier, Leclerc, and Legendre. Chabot and Bazire were deeply implicated in the previous proceedings; but they were in the Assembly, and not in the insurrectionary committee. This list is important in a general point of view—it demonstrates that the Girondists, though they were the leaders in the previous steps of the conspiracy at Charenton, which organised the insurrection, yet took little part in its execution. Some were apprehensive of proceeding to such extremities, or had become alarmed at the conduct of their Jacobin allies; others had not energy enough to engage in the active part of the strife; many wished only to intimidate the crown, by the threat of insurrection, into restoring them to office and the direction of government. The insurrection of 20th June was their work, and illustrated their designs and objects; the revolt of the 10th August was the work of the Jacobins, who had already passed them in the career of revolution, and who never rested till they brought them all to the scaffold.

104. Imagination itself can conceive nothing so dreadful, as the vengeance which the infuriated and victorious mob took on the remnant of the Swiss Guard which survived the action, and the whole royalists and faithful national guards who had combated in defence of the palace. An immense multitude, of above thirty thousand persons, all armed and in the most vehement state of excitement, broke into the palace, ransacked every room, or pursued with relentless fury the Swiss, who, now broken and dispersed, were seeking refuge singly, or two and three together, in the adjoining houses and streets. Almost all the royalist nobles in the palace were massacred. Pursuing them from room to room, they broke open the doors, smashed to pieces the mirrors, ransacked the cellars, pillaged the furniture, and strewed the floors with dead bodies. The whole valets and

porters who did not succeed in throwing themselves out of the windows were put to death. Many deeds of individual heroism, in the last agonies of the monarchy, were done by its noble defenders. M. Sallas and M. Marchais, two of the gentlemen-usurers of the palace, when the mob broke in, refused to abandon their posts in one of the inner doors, and died in maintaining it. "Here is our post," said they to the infuriated Marseillais: "we will fall on the threshold we have sworn to defend." They were immediately pierced with pikes. M. Diet, the usher of the queen's chamber, resolutely made good the doorway for some minutes against a multitude of assailants, and when he fell, his body for a few seconds obstructed the entrance. The princess of Tarentum, hearing his fall, herself went to open the door to the Marseilles bands, holding the young Pauline de Tourzel, whom her mother had intrusted to her when she went with the royal family to the Assembly, in her hand. "Strike me," said she, "but save the honour and life of this young girl, intrusted to me by her mother." Struck with the generosity of her conduct, the insurgents saved both, and even assisted them to step over the heaps of slain which filled the passage. But these isolated acts of heroism could have no general effect. In half an hour the palace was in flames; the savage multitude attacked the fire brigade, which was hastening to extinguish the conflagration, and it was only by reiterated orders from the Assembly that they were at last suffered to advance, and succeeded in putting it out. Many of the early and firm friends of the Revolution perished on this occasion. Among the rest was M. Clermont Tonnerre, who became the victim of a report falsely spread among the populace, that his hotel contained a depot of arms. It was searched, and none were found; but the assassins, who had orders to destroy him, shot him in the mouth as he was haranguing the people in his defence; and his remains were instantly so disfigured by the mob, that they were known by his young wife only by the boots which he wore.

105. Fiends in the form of women were here, as ever in the Revolution, foremost in deeds of cruelty. Théroigne de Méricourt, armed as a hussar, was among the first to commence them. She seized Suleau, a young royalist writer, who in the hour of his misfortune had supported the falling side, and delivered him to the assassins by whom she was surrounded, who instantly cut off his head and paraded it on a pike through the streets. The head of Vigier, one of the *gardes-du-corps*, who had defended himself with almost supernatural vigour, was also put on a pike, and carried about. The sight of these ghastly remains excited such a thirst for blood, especially in the female part of the mob, that all restraint was speedily at an end. Withinexpressible fury they threw themselves on the wounded Swiss, cut their throats as they lay bleeding on the ground, tore out their hearts and their entrails, which they carried about in triumph on pikes, with the gory heads, through all the adjacent streets. The Cour des Suisses was entirely covered with the mangled remains of these noble defenders of the monarchy, weltering in a sea of blood, and mutilated by French women in a way which civilised depravity, joined to savage barbarity, could alone have conceived. Nor did their ferocity stop there. They cut off legs and arms of the dead Swiss, roasted them, and ate cutlets made of the flesh: while others stripped the bodies naked, anointed them with oil, and threw them into huge frying-pans, to serve as a repast to a circle of cannibals.* Almost all the

* "On a vu des femmes dépouiller, égorger des Suisses désarmés, leur mutiler tous les membres, leur arracher les intestins, et leur couper les parties viriles, qu'elles portaient ensuite au bout d'une pique."—*Histoire de la Révolution, par Deux Amis de la Liberté*, viii. 186. (A Republican work.)

"Le sang ruisselait partout. Dépouillées aussitôt qu'égorgées, ces corps sans vie ajoutaient à l'horreur de leur aspect le spectacle des nombreuses mutilations, que la pensée peut comprendre, mais que la pudeur défend de retracer. Et c'étaient des femmes qui avaient exécuté sur ces cadavres les étendus ces dégoûtantes mutilations."—*Duvall, Souvenirs de la Terreur*, ii. 129. (An eyewitness.)

"Des femmes ivres coupaient les génitoires d'un Suisse, et les enveloppaient dans un mouchoir pour les porter chez elles.—D'autres femmes graissèrent des cadavres nus, les

Swiss porters in the hotels of the city were murdered by savage bands who traversed the streets after the action was over. Above five thousand persons perished in this dreadful massacre, among whom must be included two hundred of the insurgents, who died of drinking the intoxicating liquors in the cellars of the palace. Above three thousand of the insurgents had fallen, before victory declared in their favour. The bodies of the slain were heaped up in huge piles in the court of the Carrousel, and along the quays, and burned with furniture taken out of the palace and of the Swiss barracks, which had been thrown out of the windows. But though these scenes of horror were going on around the palace, and the waters of the Seine reflected the lugubrious light of the funeral piles, the theatres were all full, and the ladies in their richest attire were seen crowding to the public places as on a day of festivity in a time of profound peace.

106. The 10th August was the last occasion on which the means of saving France were placed in the hands of the king; but there can be little doubt that, had he possessed a firmer character, he might even then have accomplished the task. The great bulk of the nation was disgusted with the excesses of the Jacobins, and the outrage of the 20th June had excited a universal feeling of horror. If he had acted with vigour on that trying occasion, repelled force by force, and seized the first moment of victory to proclaim as enemies the Jacobins and the Girondists, who had a hundred times violated the constitution,—dissolved the Assembly, closed the clubs, and arrested the leaders of the revolt—that day might possibly have re-established the royal authority. But that conscientious prince never imagined that the salvation of his kingdom was indissolubly connected with his private

exposèrent au feu des cuisines, et dans leur brutale ivresse, se vantèrent d'avoir accompli un Suisse comme on apprête un maque-reau. —La plupart de ces atrocités furent commises par des femmes. On invitait ses amis, comme les sauvages d'Amérique, avec les mots, "Ici au soir nous mangerons un Jésuite." —PRUDHOMME, *Crimes de la Révolution*, iv. 69. (A contemporary Republican writer).

safety; and he preferred exposing himself to certain destruction, to the risk of shedding blood in the attempt to avert it.* Nothing can be more certain than that, if the other half of the Swiss Guard who lay at Ruel and Courbevoie had been brought up to the scene of action, the insurgents would have been defeated; and the same result would have happened if the faithful Constitutional Guard had remained, or even if the nine hundred *gendarmes à cheval* had proved faithful to their oaths. It was the defection of the national guard, however, that paralysed resistance, by rendering it apparently hopeless; and though applauded for their treachery at the time, public opinion soon showed that its baseness was generally felt. This civic force never after recovered its consideration. It was felt by all to be only the ornament of fêtes during prosperous, not the rampart against danger in adverse times.†

107. It is not at the commencement of revolutionary disturbances that the danger to social happiness is to be apprehended, but after the burst of popular fury is over, and when the successful party begin to suffer from the passions to which they owed their elevation. The 10th August did not come till three years after the 14th July. The reason is evident. In the first tumult of passion, and in the exultation of successful resistance, the people are in good humour both with themselves and their leaders, and the new government is installed in its duties amidst the applause and hopes of their fellow-citizens. But,

* "At that moment, when the Swiss had cleared the court of the Carrousel, if the king on horseback, surrounded by the Swiss and Grenadiers, had traversed the environs of the chateau, his throne perhaps would still be standing, the constitutional monarchy would have been maintained, and the conspirators could only have escaped the scaffold by flight; but he was at the Assembly." —*Deux Amis*, viii. 183.

† "The national guards returned, humbled and alarmed, to their shops and counters. They had justly lost their prestige with the people. They could only be in future the show force of the Revolution, ordered to take part in all its acts, in all its fêtes, in all its crimes—a living and powerless appendage to the different contrivers of the republic." —LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, iii. 244, 245.

after this ebullition of triumphant feeling is over, come the sad and inevitable consequences of public convulsions—disappointed hopes, exaggerated expectations, industry without employment, capital without investment. The public suffering which immediately follows the triumph of the populace, is invariably and incomparably greater than that which stimulated their resistance. Capital, the most sensitive of created things, declines any investment; credit is annihilated; and the mass of the people, who are sustained only by the combined efforts of both, are speedily reduced to starvation. The ablest Republican writers confess “that one-half of the misery which desolated France during the Revolution, would have overwhelmed the monarchy.” This suffering is inevitable; it is the necessary consequence of shaken credit, invaded property, and uncontrolled licentiousness; but coming, as it does, in the train of splendid hopes and excited imaginations, it occasions a discontent and acrimony in the lower orders, which can hardly fail of producing fresh convulsions. The people are never so ripe for a second revolution, as shortly after they have successfully achieved a first.

108. It is the middle ranks who organise the first resistance to government, because it is their influence only which can withstand the shock of established power. They, accordingly, are at the head of the first revolutionary movement. But the passions which have been awakened, the hopes that have been excited, the disorder which has been produced in their struggle, lay the foundation of a new and more dangerous convulsion against the rule which they have established. Every species of authority appears odious to men who have tasted of the license and excitement of a revolution; the new government speedily becomes as unpopular as the one which has been overthrown; the ambition of the lower orders aims at establishing themselves in the situation in which a successful effort has placed the middle. A more terrible struggle awaits them than that which they have just concluded with arbitrary power; a struggle with supe-

rior numbers, stronger passions, more unbridled ambition; with those whom monied fear has deprived of employment, revolutionary innovation filled with hope, inexorable necessity impelled to exertion. In this contest, the chances are against the duration of the new institutions, unless the supporters can immediately command the aid of a numerous and disciplined body of men, proof alike against the intimidation of popular violence and the seduction of popular ambition.

109. The event had already clearly proved, that the constitution of 1791 was inconsistent with monarchy; for despite all the efforts of Louis to abide by its spirit, it was destroyed in less than a year after its institution. Subsequent events have not less clearly demonstrated that it was inconsistent with public freedom, and that the ruthless spoliation of the Constituent Assembly had destroyed the elements of freedom in France. Previous to the Revolution, the provinces maintained a long and honourable struggle with the crown for the national liberties; and foremost in the contest were to be seen the most illustrious of the aristocracy of France. The parliaments, both of Paris and the provinces, derived their chief lustre from the consideration, character, and importance of their members; and it was by their influence and example that the whole nation was stimulated to the resistance which ultimately led to the Revolution. But since the destruction of the aristocracy, nothing of the kind has occurred. France has invariably submitted without a struggle to the ruling power in the capital; and whoever obtained the ascendancy in its councils, whether by the passions of the populace or the bayonets of the army, has ruled with despotic authority over the remainder of the kingdom. The bones and sinews of freedom were broken when the aristocracy was destroyed. Louis XV. and his ill-fated successor found it impossible to control the independent spirit of the provincial parliaments, but Napoleon had no more obsequious instruments of his will than in the Conservative Senate. The passions of the

multitude, strong and often irresistible in moments of effervescence, cannot be relied on as permanent supporters of the cause of freedom; it is a hereditary aristocracy, supported when necessary by their aid, which alone can be depended upon in such a contest, because it alone possesses lasting interests, which are liable to be affected by the efforts of tyranny, and is influenced by motives not likely to disappear with the fleeting changes of popular opinion. Had the English Puritans confiscated the property of the aristocracy in 1642, a hundred and fifty years of liberty and glory would never have followed the Revolution of 1688. It was not Napoleon who destroyed the elements of freedom in France; he found them extinguished to his hand—he only needed to seize the reins, so strongly bitten on the nation by his revolutionary predecessors. There never was such a pioneer for tyranny as the National Assembly.

110. The error of the allied sovereigns at this period—and it was one fraught with the most disastrous consequences—consisted in attacking France at the period of its highest excitement, and thereby converting revolutionary frenzy into patriotic resistance, without following up their attack with such vigour as to crush the spirit which was thus awakened. France was beginning to be divided by the progress of the Revolution; the cruel injustice of the Constituent Assembly to the priests had roused the terrible war in La Vendée—when the dread of foreign invasion for a time reunited the most discordant interests. The catastrophe of the 10th August was in a great degree owing to the imprudent advance and ruinous retreat of the allied army: the friends of order at Paris were paralysed by the danger to the national independence; the supporters of the throne, ashamed of a cause which seemed leagued with the public enemies. Mr Burke had prophesied that revolutionary France would be divided into a number of federal republics; this perhaps would have happened, but for the foreign invasion which soon after took place. The unity of the republic, the triumphs of the consulate, the con-

quests of the empire, were accelerated by the ill-supported attacks of the Allies. France, indeed, like every other revolutionary power containing the elements of military strength, would ultimately have been driven into a system of foreign aggression, in order to find employment for the energy which the public convulsions had developed, and alleviation of the misery which they had created; but it is extremely doubtful whether, from this source, ever could have arisen the same military power and union of feeling which sprang up after the defeated invasion of the Allies in 1792. In combating a revolution, one of two things should be done—it should either be left to waste itself by its own divisions, which, if practicable, is the wiser course, or attacked with such vigour and such a force as may speedily lead to its subjugation.

111. If there is any one cause more than another to which the disastrous progress of the Revolution may justly be ascribed, it is the total want of religious feeling or control in many of the ablest, and almost all the most influential, of its supporters. It was the absence of this check on the base and selfish feelings of our nature, which precipitated the revolutionary party in the outset of its career into those cruel and unjust measures against the nobles and clergy; which excited the cupidity of all the middle orders in the state, by promising them the spoils of their superiors; and laid the foundations of a lasting and interminable feud between the higher and lower ranks, by founding the interests of the latter upon the destruction of the former. The dreams of philosophy, the dictates of enthusiasm, even the feelings of virtue, were found to be but a frail safeguard to public men in the calamitous scenes to which the progress of change speedily brought them. In this respect the English Revolution affords a memorable contrast to that of France; and in its comparatively bloodless career, and the abstinence of the victorious party, save in Ireland, from any of those unjust measures of sweeping confiscation which have proved so destructive in the neighbouring kingdom, may be

traced the salutary operation of that powerful restraint upon the base and selfish principles of our nature, which arises from the operation, even in its most extravagant form, of religious feeling. Mr Hume has said that fanaticism was the disgrace of the Great Rebellion, and that we shall look in vain among the popular leaders of England at that period for the generous sentiments which animated the patriots of antiquity. But without disputing the absurdity of many of their tenets, and the ridiculous nature of much in their manners, it may safely be affirmed that such fervour was the only effectual bridle which could be imposed on human depravity, when the ordinary restraints of law and order were at an end; and that, but for that fanaticism, that revolution would have been disgraced by the proscriptions of Marius or the executions of Robespierre.

112. The elevation of public characters is often not so much owing to their actual superiority to the rest of mankind, as to their falling in with the circumstances in which they are placed, and representing the spirit of the age in which they have arisen. The eloquence of Mirabeau would have failed in rousing the people on the 10th August; the energy of Danton would have brought him to the block in the commencement of the Revolution; the ambition of Napoleon would have been shattered against the democratic spirit of 1789.

These great men successively rose to eminence because their temper of mind fell in with the current of public thought, while their talents enabled them to assume its direction. Mirabeau represented the Constituent Assembly: free in thought, bold in expression, undaunted in speculation, but tinged by the remains of monarchical attachment, and fearful of the excesses the hasty measures of that body were so well calculated to produce. Vergniaud was the model of the ruling party in the Legislative Assembly: republican in wishes, philosophic in principle, humane in intention, but precipitate and reckless in conduct, blinded by ambition, infatuated by speculation, ignorant of the world and the mode of governing it, alike destitute of the firmness to command, the wickedness to insure, or the vigour to seize success. Danton was the representative of the Jacobin faction: unbounded in ambition, unfettered by principle, undeterred by blood; rising in eminence with the public danger, because his talents were fitted to direct, and his energies were never cramped by the fear of exciting popular excesses. It is, in every age, men like him who have ultimately obtained the lead in public convulsions,—like the vultures, which, invisible in ordinary times, are attracted by an unerring instinct to the scene of blood, and reap the last fruits of the discord and violence of others.

CHAPTER VIII.

FRENCH REPUBLIC—FROM THE DETHRONEMENT TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS.

AUG. 10, 1792.—JAN. 21, 1793.

1. "SUBJECTS," says Tacitus, "cannot, without the greatest danger, subvert the ruling power; for thence, in general, arises a necessity for crime: to avoid the consequences of a single rash act, men are obliged to plunge into the greatest excesses." The career of guilt is the same in nations as in individuals; when once commenced, it cannot, without the utmost resolution, possibly serious immediate risk, be abandoned. The ultimate acts of atrocity in which they both terminate, are, in general, the result of necessity—of the pressure arising from excited passion, or the terror aroused by anticipated punishment. The power of repentance exists only in the commencement. If we would avoid the last deeds of blood, we must shun the first seductions of evil. France afforded a memorable example of these truths during the whole course of the Revolution. From the first commencement of the contest in Paris, each successive class that had gained the ascendancy had been more violent and more tyrannical than that which preceded it. The convocation of the States-General, and the oath in the Tennis-court, represented the struggle of the nation against the privileged classes; the 14th July, and the capture of the Bastile, the insurrection of the middle class against the government; the 10th August, the revolt of the populace against the middle class and the constitutional throne. The leaders of the National Assembly were, in great part, actuated by pure motives, and their measures were chiefly blamable for the precipitance which sprang from inexperienced philanthropy: the measures of the Convention were tinged by the ferocity of popular

ambition, and the increasing turbulence of excited talent; the rule of the Jacobins was signalised by the energy of unshackled guilt, and stained by the cruelty of emancipated slaves.

2. It is a total mistake to suppose that the great body of mankind are capable of judging correctly on public affairs. No man, in any rank, ever found a tenth part of his acquaintance fitted for such a task. If the opinions of most men on the great questions which divide society are examined, they will be found to rest on the most flimsy foundations. Early prejudices, personal animosity, private interest, general delusion, constitute the secret springs from which the opinions flow which ultimately regulate their conduct. Truth, indeed, is in the end triumphant; but it becomes predominant only upon the decay of interests, the experience of suffering, or the extinction of passion. The fabric of society is in ordinary times kept together, and moderation impressed upon the measures of government, by the contrary nature of these interests, and the opposing tendency of these desires. Reason is sometimes heard when the struggles of party, or the contentions of faction, have exhausted each other. The stability of free institutions arises from the counteracting nature of the forces which they constantly bring into action on each other, not the wisdom or patriotism with which either party is animated. Public opinion is often wrong in the beginning; it is always right in the end. And the reason is, that, at first, it is formed by the passions of the unthinking many, ignorant of mankind, but interested in passing events; at last, on the reason of the

thinking few, whose judgment had been enlightened by experience, to whom alone the past is an object of interest, and by whom the verdict of posterity is formed.

3. These considerations furnish the eternal and unanswerable objection to democratic institutions. Wherever governments are directly exposed to their control, they are governed, during periods of tranquillity, by the cabals of interest—during moments of turbulence, by the storms of passion. America, at present, exhibits an example of the former; France, during the Reign of Terror, afforded an instance of the latter. Those who refer to the original equality and common rights of mankind, would do well to show that men are equal in abilities as well as in birth; that society could exist with the multitude really judging for themselves on public affairs; that the most complicated subject of human study—that in which the greatest range of information is involved, and the coolest judgment required—can be adequately mastered by those who are disqualified by nature from the power of thought, disabled by labour from acquiring knowledge, and exposed by situation to the seductions of interest; that the multitude, when exercising their supposed rights, are not following despotic leaders of their own creation; and that a democracy is not, in the words of ancient wisdom, “an aristocracy of orators, sometimes interrupted by the monarchy of a single orator.”

4. When the different classes, during the convulsions of a revolution, are brought into collision, the virtuous and prudent have no sort of chance with the violent and ambitious, unless the whole virtuous members of the community are early roused to a sense of their danger, and manfully unite in resisting. In the later stages of such troubles, it is extremely difficult for them to recover their ascendancy: if they are not resolute and united, it is impossible. This is another consequence of the same principle. In the shock of a battle, gentleness and humanity are of little avail—audacity and courage are the decisive qualities. In the contests of faction, wisdom and moderation have as

little influence. The virtuous are restrained by scruples, to which the unprincipled are strangers; difficulties which appear insurmountable to men accustomed to weigh the consequences of their actions, vanish before the recklessness of those who have nothing to lose. “It was early seen in the Revolution,” says Louvet, “that the men with poniards would sooner or later carry the day against the men with principles; and that the latter, upon the first reverse, must prepare for exile or death.”

5. The storming of the Tuileries, and the imprisonment of the king, had destroyed the monarchy; the Assembly had evinced its weakness by remaining a passive spectator of the contest; the real power of government had fallen into the hands of the municipality of Paris. The municipality governed Paris; Paris ruled the Assembly; the Assembly guided France. As long as the contest lasted, the leaders of the Jacobins avoided the scene of danger. Marat disappeared during the confusion, and left the whole to Westermann; Santerre was holding back with the forces of the faubourgs, till compelled by Westermann, with his sabre at his breast, to join the troops from Marseilles; Robespierre remained concealed, and only appeared twenty-four hours after at the Commune, when he gave himself the whole credit of the affair. After the overthrow of the Swiss Guards, the populace gave full reins to their vengeance in the sacking of the palace. Wearied of massacring or laying waste, they broke to pieces its magnificent furniture, and scattered its remains. Drunken savages broke into the most private apartments of the queen, and there gave vent to indecent or obscene ribaldry. In an instant all the drawers and archives were forced open, and the papers they contained torn in pieces, or scattered to the winds. The mirrors and glasses were destroyed, the wardrobes and cabinets forced and rifled, the doors hewn down, the cellars ransacked, and the spirits and wines drunk in such enormous quantities that numbers died on the spot. To the horrors of pillage and murder soon succeeded those of confa-

gration. Already the flames had seized upon the august edifice, and the utmost efforts of the Assembly were required to save from destruction the venerated dome of the Tuileries. Nor were the remoter parts of the city exempt from danger. After the discharge of artillery and the heavy volleys of the platoons had ceased, a dropping fire of musketry told how active was the pursuit of the fugitives; while its receding sound, and reverberation from all quarters, indicated how many parts of the city had become the scene of horrors.

6. Early on the 11th, an immense crowd assembled on the spot which was yet reeking with the blood of the Swiss who had perished on the preceding day. A strange mixture of feelings actuated the spectators: they succoured the wounded, and at the same time honours were decreed to the troops engaged on the side of the Republic, and hymns of liberty were sung by the multitude. The emblems of royalty, the statues of the kings, were, by orders of the municipality, entirely destroyed; those of bronze were carried to the foundry of cannon. Even the name of Henry IV. could not protect his image from destruction. The statues of Louis XIV. in the Place Vendôme, of Henry IV. on the Pont Neuf, of Louis XIII. in the Place Royale, of Louis XV. in the Place which bears his name, were pulled down and destroyed. Guinglot, second in command of the *gendarmes à cheval* of Paris, having expressed his regret, in passing, at the destruction of so noble a monument of art, he was forthwith pierced to death with twenty pikes at the foot of the statue. Such was the eagerness of the multitude to pull down the magnificent colossal figure of Louis XIV. in the Place Vendôme, that it killed in its fall a well-known virago, employed by Marat to hawk his journal, who was active in the work of destruction. Similar devastations were committed in every quarter by frantic crowds of drunken men and women. The tombs of the kings of France at St Denis were rifled of their bronze; those of Turenne, Richelieu, and Cardinal Mazarin, defaced. All the churches, and even many

private houses, were stripped of their valuable metals, and the whole private apartments of the Tuileries sacked and ravaged. The rise of democratic license in France was signalled by the destruction of the most venerable monuments of the monarchy: owing nothing to antiquity, the people repudiated the honours she had transmitted to her children.

7. The first care of the Assembly was to provide, in some degree, for the administration of public affairs after the overthrow of the throne. For this purpose the Girondist ministers, Roland, Clavière, and Servan, were replaced in the offices of the interior, the war department, and the finances; while Danton, who had been the chief director of the revolt, was appointed to the important office of minister of public justice. This audacious demagogue spoke at the head of a deputation from the municipality, in such language as sufficiently demonstrated where the real power of government now resided. "The people, who have sent us to your bar," said he, "have charged us to declare to you, that they regard you as fully worthy of their confidence; but that they recognise no other judges of the extraordinary measures to which necessity has driven them but the voice of the French people, your sovereign as well as ours, as expressed by the primary assemblies." Incapable of resistance, the Assembly had no alternative but to pass decrees, sanctioning all that had been done, and inviting the petitioners to make their concurrence known to the people. Measures of the most important kind were at the same time adopted, to secure in an effectual manner to the multitude the ascendancy they had now acquired. The whole *juges de paix* of Paris, who had displayed an honourable fidelity to the constitution in the late crisis, were by one decree of the Convention suppressed, and their places filled up by the most vehement democrats; a camp was directed to be formed close to Paris, composed of volunteers; the national guards of the Filles de St Thomas and other loyal quarters were suppressed; and the civic force of Paris was organised in a new manner, in

which the extreme democrats had an entire ascendancy—the formation of a series of batteries on the heights of Montmartre, manned by the cannoneers of the suburbs, decreed—and the right of voting in the primary assemblies thrown open to every Frenchman without distinction, aged twenty-one, domiciled for a year in his commune, and living on the produce of his revenue or his labour. At the same time, the new municipality of Paris, in imitation of the Convention, suspended from their functions the whole committees of sections and the directory and council of the department of the Seine, so as to throw all the civil force of the metropolis under the direct control of new functionaries elected by the Jacobin party at a period of the most vehement excitement.

8. For fifteen hours that the sitting of the Assembly continued after the massacre of the Swiss, the king and royal family were shut up in the narrow seat which had first served them for an asylum. Exhausted by fatigue, and almost stifled by heat, the infant dauphin at length fell into a profound sleep in his mother's arms; the princess-royal and Madame Elizabeth, with their eyes streaming with tears, sat on each side of her. The king was tranquil during all the horrible confusion which prevailed, and listened attentively both to the speeches of the members of the legislature, and of the arrogant petitioners who continually succeeded each other at the bar. At length, at one o'clock on the following morning, they were transferred for the night to the building of the Feuillants. When left alone, Louis prostrated himself in prayer. "Thy trials, O God!" said he, "are dreadful; give us courage to bear them. We adore the hand which chastens, as that which has so often blessed us; have mercy on those who have died fighting in our defence!" On the following morning, they had the satisfaction of receiving the visits of many faithful royalists, who, at their own imminent hazard, hastened to share the perils of the royal family. Among the rest was the faithful Hue, the king's valet, who had saved himself by leaping from a window of the Tuilleries and plunging into the Seine during

the hottest of the fire, where, when almost exhausted, he was picked up by a boatman. Already the august captives felt the pangs of indigence. All their dress and effects had been pillaged or destroyed: the dauphin was indebted for a change of linen to the care of the lady of the English ambassador; and the queen was obliged to borrow twenty-five louis from Madame Anguie, one of the ladies of the bedchamber—a fatal gift, which was afterwards made the ground of that lady's trial and death, notwithstanding the claims of youth and beauty, and of the faithful discharge of duty.

9. During the trying days which followed, the king displayed a firmness and serenity which could hardly have been anticipated from his previous character, and showed how little his indecision had proceeded from the apprehension of personal danger. For three days the royal family slept at the Feuillants. There Madame Campan, who had escaped almost by a miracle the massacre at the Tuilleries, rejoined her august mistress, whom she found stretched on a wretched mattress, cast down from the pinnacle of earthly grandeur, and weeping, not for herself, but her family and faithful friends, whom she had involved in her ruin. Even in that extremity, however, she persisted in saying she would hold by her duty to her children to the last, and that she loved France though she knew it would witness her execution. On the 13th, the Assembly, at the command of the Commune, directed that they should be conveyed to the Temple. Notwithstanding the excitement of the populace, many tears were shed as the melancholy procession passed through the streets. The carriage, conveying eleven persons, was stopped on the Place Vendôme, in order that they might see the fragments of the statue of Louis XIV.; and at length the doors of the Temple closed upon its victims, and Louis commenced the spotless and immortal days of his life.

10. The victory over the throne, on the 10th August, was immediately followed by the submission of all the departments in France to the ruling party. Opinions had been more divided on the

revolt of the 20th June; so powerfully, during the intervening period, had the revolutionary spirit gained the ascendancy, and so much more generally does fear operate than the love of freedom. The Assembly, led by the Girondists, was all-powerful; unresisted, it wielded the whole moral force of France. But that celebrated party, so powerful in eloquence, now showed its weakness in action. Its leaders could neither regulate the storm they had raised, nor construct a new constitution in the room of that they had pulled down; they were strong only in the work of destruction. They had received a constitution to uphold, a throne to establish, a country to defend; they left France without a constitution, without a king, without an army: their authority disappeared in the insurrection which they themselves had raised. Their incapacity and weakness were soon apparent. At Rouen, a slight movement in favour of the constitutional monarchy took place, but, being unsupported, it speedily ceased; and the emissaries of the all-powerful municipality of Paris succeeded in terrifying the inhabitants into submission. Very different was the reception of the intelligence at the headquarters of Lafayette's army, which at that juncture was at Sedan. That general immediately issued a spirited proclamation, in which he announced his determination to march against the rebellious capital.* The officers, the sol-

* "Soldiers! citizens! The constitution which you have sworn to maintain, is no more. The Marseillais and a factious band have besieged the chateau of the Tuilleries; the national guard and the Swiss made a vigorous resistance; but, falling in ammunition, they have been forced to surrender. The Swiss have been massacred. The king, the queen, and all the royal family, have taken refuge in the National Assembly. The rioters followed there, holding the sword in one hand and flames in the other, and have compelled the Assembly to decree the suspension of the king—which it did to save his life. Citizens! you have no longer representatives; the National Assembly is enslaved; your armies are without their head; Pétion reigns; the savage Danton and his satellites are masters. Choose, then, soldiers! Do you wish to re-establish the hereditary throne, or do you wish Pétion for a king? LAFAYETTE."—BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, ix. 196.

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diers, appeared to partake the indignation of their chief, who resolved to make an effort in favour of the constitutional throne. The municipality of Sedan shared the sentiments of the troops; and, by command of Lafayette, they arrested and threw into prison the three commissioners despatched by the National Assembly to appease the discontents of the army. The soldiers and the civil authorities renewed the oath of fidelity to the constitutional throne, and everything announced a serious convulsion in the state.

11. But the ruling power at Paris, in possession of the seat of government, and the venerable name of the Assembly, was too strong to be overthrown; and Lafayette was not the man to acquire the influence requisite to effect such a revolution. The soldiers were only recently enrolled; they had still the feelings of citizens: the period had not arrived when, accustomed to look only to their leader, they were prepared, at his command, to overthrow the authority of the legislature. The movement of Lafayette, and the troops under his immediate orders, was not generally seconded. A revolt in favour of the throne was looked upon with aversion, as likely to restore the ancient servitude of the nation; the tyranny of the mob, as yet unfelt, was much less the object of apprehension. Luckner, who commanded the army on the Moselle, attempted to second the measures of Lafayette; but Dumourier, and the inferior generals, stimulated by personal ambition, resolved to side with the ruling party. The former, of a feeble and irresolute character, made his public recantation before the municipality of Metz; and Lafayette himself, finding dangers multiplying on all sides, and uncertain what course to adopt in the perilous situation of the royal family, fled from the army, accompanied by Bureau de Pusy, Latour Maubourg, and Lameth, intending to proceed to the United States, where his first efforts in favour of freedom had been made. But he was arrested near the frontier by the Austrians, and conducted to the dungeons of Olmutz. He was offered his liberty on condition of

making certain recantations : but he preferred remaining for years in a rigorous confinement to receding in any particular from the principles which he had embraced. The Assembly declared him a traitor, and set a price on his head. The first leader of the Revolution owed his life to imprisonment in an Austrian fortress.

12. Meanwhile Danton and Robespierre, the mouthpieces of the all-powerful municipality of Paris, incessantly urged the National Assembly to adopt sanguinary measures against the opponents of the Revolution. "Blood," said the latter, "has not yet flowed; the people remain without vengeance. No sacrifice has as yet been offered to the manes of those who died on the 10th August. And what have been the results of that immortal day? A tyrant has been suspended; why is he not dethroned and punished? why is not a trophy erected to the memory of the heroes of that day? Are they not equal to the most glorious recorded in the annals of Greece and Rome? Let the fragments of the statue of the tyrant Louis XIV. be moulded into a monument of the heroes who have subverted the despotism he established. You speak of bringing to judgment the conspirators of the 10th August;—that is too slow a way of wreaking the national vengeance; the punishment of some is nothing, when others escape; they should all be punished, and by judges created specially for the occasion."—"The tranquillity of the people," said he, at another time, "depends on the punishment of the guilty; and what have you done to effect it? Your decree is manifestly insufficient. It is neither sufficiently extensive nor explicit, for it speaks only of the crimes of the 10th August; and the crimes against the Revolution are of much older date. Under that expression the traitor Lafayette would escape the punishment due to his guilt. The people, moreover, will not endure that this new tribunal should preserve the forms hitherto observed. The appeal from one jurisdiction to another occasions an intolerable delay; it is absolutely necessary that the tribunal should be composed of deputies chosen

from the sections, and that it should have the power of decreeing, without appeal, the last punishment of the law."

13. The Assembly in vain strove to resist these sanguinary demands. As they continued to temporise, the Commune sent them the most menacing messages, threatening to sound the tocsin at night, if the public vengeance was any longer delayed. "I demand," said the orator of the municipality, "that before separating you appoint a citizen for each section of Paris, to form a criminal tribunal. I demand that it shall hold its sittings at the Chateau of the Tuileries. I demand that Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, who thirst so for blood, be satiated by seeing it flow from their infamous satellites. The people are tired of the delay of vengeance; beware of their taking the sword into their own hands. If within two hours the jury is not ready to convict, the most terrible calamities await Paris." Intimidated by these menaces, the Assembly appointed a tribunal for the trial of these offenders, the first model of the court afterwards so well known under the name of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Its composition was such as at once threw the entire direction of the proceedings into the hands of the extreme Jacobin faction. It was decreed that the court should consist of two chambers, each of four judges, with a public accuser and other officers; the decisions to be by the verdict of a jury. The court was to punish by death, and without appeal: and the judges, jury, public accusers, and all the officers, were to be appointed by the universal suffrage of the whole electors of the forty-eight sections of Paris.

14. Such was the vehemence of revolutionary passion, and the energy of revolutionary action at this period, that this terrible tribunal was appointed, constituted, and in complete activity, in a few days. The forty sections of Paris met, and chose the judges, accusers, and juries, in terms of the decree of the 17th August. Robespierre was offered the situation of president: he refused it, and it was bestowed on Pepin Desgrouttes, an attorney of the most abandoned character, and a worthy head of

such a tribunal. Osselin, d'Aubigny, Dubail, Coffinhal, Lullier, and Cailler de l'Estaing, were the judges or public accusers with him—all of them men as notorious for the former profligacy or cupidity of their lives, as they and their successors became afterwards for the insatiable thirst for blood by which their dreadful career was distinguished. The mode by which this court succeeded in convicting and executing so many persons, was by sustaining vague charges of a conspiracy against the state, or the sovereign power of the people, and admitting, as evidence of accession to such a conspiracy, the slightest words or deeds indicating a wish to revert to constitutional government, or withstand the self-constituted despotism of the multitude.

15. The Revolutionary Tribunal was organised on the 19th August, and instantly entered on the discharge of its functions. The public accusers sent a municipal officer at the head of a battalion of the national guard, and another of Marseillais, who, under pretext of searching for the Swiss and the rebels against the sovereign power of the people on the 10th August, made domiciliary visits over all Paris, Versailles, and for six leagues round, searching every house, every office, every wood. Great numbers of persons were arrested, and the first person brought to trial was d'Anglermont, accused of being an agent of the court, who died with heroic courage on the Place du Carrousel on the 21st August.* The next was the venerable Laporte, intendant of the civil list, charged with having placarded and distributed anti-popular handbills. He was quickly condemned, and turning to the people, he said—"I die innocent. Citizens, may my death restore peace to the empire, and terminate your intestine divisions. May the sentence which deprives me of life be the last unjust sentence this tribunal is ever to pronounce!" He then turned aside, and a few tears fell from his eyes; but instantly regaining his composure, he

ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and died, says the Republican historian, "with the serenity of one who had never loved life but to communicate happiness to all around him."

16. The next victim was M. le Baron Bachman, commandant of the Swiss Guard who combated in the Carrousel, and he was, of course, condemned amidst shouts of savage exultation from the multitude who thronged the court. His noble figure, martial air, and undaunted manner, commanded universal respect even in that den of assassins. "My death will be avenged," were his last words. He died with a heroism worthy of his station as leader of that noble band. History must assign him a place by the side of Leonidas. Durosot, editor of the *Gazette de Paris*, a Royalist journal, was the next victim. He heard with firmness his sentence, which ordered him to be executed on the 25th August, and left the court exclaiming, "I glory in dying on the day of St Louis, for my religion and my king." To render the punishment more impressive, he was led by torchlight, at nine at night, to the place of execution in the Place of the Carrousel. On reaching the foot of the scaffold, a letter was put into his hands from a young woman to whom he was attached, which said, "My friend, you are condemned! Prepare for death. My soul is torn; but you know what I have promised you." On reading these words, tears fell from his eyes. "Alas!" said he, "she will suffer under it more than I." She did not long survive him: within twenty-four hours she died of grief.

17. Although, however, the Revolutionary Tribunal thus daily presented to the people the spectacle of executions of the Royalists, varied in form and manner, to render them more impressive or attractive, yet its proceedings were far from satisfying the dreadful thirst for blood, and they were generally complained of as undecided and desultory. A more wholesale and expeditious method of disposing of the Royalists was conceived by Danton and the municipality of Paris, and, from the extremely excited state of the public mind, met with too ready a reception.

* He was the first victim of the Revolution who suffered by the guillotine. It was from that time made use of for all the executions in France.—*Histoire de la Guillotine*, i. 94.

The advance of the Prussians had occasioned the greatest agitation in the capital, and eminently favoured the savage designs of the demagogues. On the 20th August, Longwy was invested; on the 21st it capitulated; on the 30th the enemy appeared before Verdun, and the bombardment immediately commenced. Terror, the greatest instigator to cruelty, seized the minds of the populace of Paris; the Executive Council, composed of the ministers of state, met with the Committee of General Defence, to deliberate on the measures which should be pursued. Some proposed to await the enemy under the walls of Paris; others to retire to Saumur. "Are you not aware," said Danton, when his turn to speak came, "that France is governed by Paris, and that if you abandon the capital, you abandon yourselves and your country to the stranger? We must at all hazards maintain our position in this city. The project of fighting under its walls is equally inadmissible; the 10th August has divided the country into two parties, and the ruling force is too inconsiderable to give us any chance of success. My advice is, that, to disconcert their measures, and arrest the enemy, we must *strike terror* into the Royalists." These words were accompanied by a horizontal movement of his hand across his throat, which too well explained his meaning. The committee, who well understood the meaning of these ominous words, expressed their consternation. "Yes," said he, "I repeat it; we must strike terror." Subsequently he justified what he had done, when charged by the Girondists with it in the Convention: "I looked," said he, "my crime in the face, and committed it." The Committee of Twelve declined to adopt the project; but Danton immediately laid it before the municipality, by whom it was readily embraced. He wished to impress the enemy with a sense of the energy of the Republicans, and to engage the multitude in such sanguinary measures as, by rendering retreat impossible, gave them no chance of safety but in victory. The Assembly, panic-struck, was incapable of arresting the measures which were in progress. The

Girondists, who had so often ruled its decisions when the object was to assail the court, found themselves weak and unsupported when the end was to restrain the people. Their benches were deserted; the energy of victory, the prestige consequent on success, had passed over to the other side. Incessantly speaking of restraining the municipality, they never attempted anything; their leaders were already threatened with proscription; Roland, the minister of the interior, Vergniaud, Guadet, and Brissot, were in hourly expectation of an accusation.

18. Preparations on a great scale, and of the most frightful kind, were immediately made for the approaching massacre. Never had wholesale murder been so deliberately prepared, so systematically arranged. Maillard, one of the leaders of the revolt on the 6th October, was first sent for, and desired to get ready his band of assassins. At day-break on the 28th August two commissioners of the municipality awakened the gravedigger of the parish of St James, and ordered him to follow them. By his assistance, and the aid of a map they brought with them, they discovered the entrance of the catacombs—vast subterraneous quarries, originally excavated for stone used in the buildings of Paris, and since employed as a place of deposit for the bones in the surcharged cemeteries of the capital. They marked out on the ground the limits of an aperture six feet in diameter, to be opened into these gloomy abodes, and enjoined the gravedigger to have it ready in *four days*. Having said this, and enjoined profound secrecy, they retired.* On the 29th August the barriers were closed by order of the municipality, and remained shut for forty-eight hours, so as to render all escape impossible; and on the 31st, and 1st of September, domiciliary visits were made by order of the Commune, with a vast and appalling force, in every street and suburb of Paris. Great numbers of all ranks were imprisoned, but the victims were chiefly selected from the noblesse and the dissident clergy. To conceal the real designs of the munici-

* LAMARTINE, *Hist. des Girond.*, iii. 321, 322.

pality, the citizens capable of bearing arms were at the same time assembled in the Champ de Mars, formed into regiments, and marched off for the frontier. The tocsin sounded, the *général*s beat, cannon were discharged. All Paris was in the most dreadful agitation at these ominous preparations, which presaged but too surely an approaching massacre; and the Assembly, recovering some degree of energy from the near advent of danger, mustered up courage enough on the day following to pass a decree suspending the new municipality, which had thus usurped the entire government of the state, and directing each of the forty-eight sections of Paris to meet and appoint new representatives. At the same time the municipality were ordered to appear at the bar of the Assembly to answer for various thefts of valuable articles in the Tuilleries, particularly in the jewel office, which had been brought home to some of its members.

19. This important decree, which, if enforced with vigour, and supported by an adequate amount of physical strength, might have changed the whole history of the Revolution, was rendered totally useless, and worse than useless, by the weakness of the Assembly and the daring of the municipality. Strong in the consciousness of the physical predominance of the multitude by which they were surrounded, the municipality, without a moment's hesitation, bade defiance to the legislature. They appeared at their bar; but they appeared as conquerors, surrounded by an armed mob, which effectually overawed the Assembly. The President Vergniaud thus addressed them: "All the authorities of the kingdom owe their origin to the law. The formation of the provisional municipality of Paris is contrary to the existing laws; it is the result, perhaps necessary, of an extraordinary crisis, and should cease with it. Would you, gentlemen, dishonour our beautiful Revolution by exhibiting to the whole empire the scandal of a municipality in rebellion against the law? Paris is a great city, which by its population and numerous establishments unites the greatest advantages; and what would

France say if this noble city, investing its magistrates with a dictatorial power, should seek to withdraw itself from the constitution common to all, to isolate itself from the rest of the empire, and give the first example of a violation of the laws and resistance to the National Assembly? But Paris will not give such an example. The National Assembly has done its duty; you will discharge yours."

20. Loud applauses followed these intrepid words; but Tallien, the orator of the municipality, answered: "Legislators, the provisional representatives of the Commune of Paris have been calumniated; they have been judged without being heard; they come to demand justice. Called by the people on the night of the 9th and the morning of the 10th August to save the country, they were bound to do what they have done. The people have not limited their powers; they said, 'Go, act in our name, and we will ratify all you shall do.' The Legislative Assembly has always commanded the respect of the citizens of Paris. Its hall has never been soiled except by the presence of the worthy descendant of Louis XI., and of the rival of the Medici. If the tyrants still live, is it not to be ascribed to the respect of the people for the National Assembly? All that we have done the people have sanctioned. (Loud applause from the galleries.) We were charged with the safety of the country; we have saved it. We have made, it is said, domiciliary visits. Who ordered us to do so? Yourselves. We have arrested the refractory priests; they are securely confined. *In a few days the soil of freedom shall be delivered from their presence.* If you strike us, you immolate at the same time the people who gained the victory of 14th July, who consolidated their power on 10th August, and will maintain what they have gained." Meanwhile a tumultuous mob surrounded the Assembly; soon three hundred men came in and crowded every avenue. One of them, addressing the Assembly, said: "*People in the galleries, National Assembly, and you, M. President, we come in the name of the people who wait at the gate, to*

demand to defile through the hall to see the representatives of the municipality who are here. We will die, if necessary, with them." Dead silence pervaded the Assembly; terror had frozen every heart. At the conclusion of every sentence, shouts of "Vive la Commune! Vivent nos bons Commissaires!" resounded through the hall, and the mob defiled in a menacing manner before the tribune. Subdued by so many dangers, the Assembly broke up without coming to any resolution, and the victory of the municipality was complete.

21. Encouraged by this success, the municipality proceeded without farther hesitation in their sanguinary measures. Danton directed their operations, and framed the list of proscription at the hotel of the minister of justice. He soon after appeared at the bar of the Assembly, to give an account of the measures taken to insure the public safety. "A part of the people," he said, "have already set out for the frontiers; another is engaged in digging our intrenchments; and the third, with pikes, will defend the interior of the city. But this is not enough; you must send commissaries and couriers to rouse all France to imitate the example of the capital; we must pass a decree, by which every citizen shall be obliged, under pain of death, to serve in person against the common enemy." At this instant the tocsin began to sound, the cannon were discharged, and he immediately added, "The cannon which you hear is not the cannon of alarm: it is the signal to advance against your enemies; to conquer them, to crush them! What is required? Boldness! boldness! boldness! and France is saved!" These words, pronounced with a voice of thunder, produced the most appalling impression; and a decree of the Assembly was immediately proclaimed, announcing the urgent danger of the commonwealth, and commanding the whole citizens to repair armed to their several posts as soon as the cannon of alarm was heard, and appointing a committee of twelve, with absolute power to concur with the executive, of which Danton was the head, in the measures necessary for the public safety.

22. The utmost terror was excited in every part of Paris by these preparations. An uncertain feeling of horror prevailed; every one apprehended that some dismal catastrophe was approaching, though none knew where or on whom the stroke was to fall. All the public authorities, the Assembly, the Municipality, the Sections, the Jacobins, had declared their sittings permanent. The whole city was in consternation, but the place where the alarm was the greatest was in the prisons. The numerous inmates of these gloomy abodes were all called over by name on the evening of the 1st September, under pretence of sending them off to the frontier; but the faltering voice of the jailers revealed the preparation of some terrible design. All who had friends secreted began to tremble: domiciliary visits soon became universal, and ere long nearly five thousand persons crowded the prisons of Paris. In the Temple, the royal family, who had so much reason to apprehend danger from the public convulsion, eagerly asked what had given rise to the unusual noise in the streets; while, at all the other prisons, the anxious looks of the jailers, and the unusual precaution of removing all the knives in use at dinner, told too plainly that some bloody project was in contemplation.

23. At two in the morning, on the 2d September, the signal was given; the *générale* beat, the tocsin sounded, and the citizens of all classes joined their respective banners. The victors and the vanquished, on the 10th August, appeared in the same ranks—so completely had the crisis of national danger, and the agitation of the moment, drowned even the fiercest civil discord. A powerful auxiliary force was thus provided for the armies, which was instantly despatched towards the frontiers; while the relentless municipality was rapidly organising the work of destruction in the capital, now stripped of its most energetic citizens. A band of three hundred assassins, directed and paid by the magistrates, assembled round the doors of the Hotel de Ville. Ardent spirits, liberally furnished by the municipality, augmented their na-

tural ferocity. Money was supplied to those who appeared behind their comrades in determination, and the savage band marched through the streets singing revolutionary songs. Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, and Collet d'Herbois, alternately harangued the multitude. "Magnanimous people," exclaimed the last, "you march to glory! How unfortunate are we to be unable to follow your steps: how the audacity of our enemies will increase when they no longer behold the conquerors of the 10th August! Let us at least not become responsible for the murder of your wives and children, which the conspirators are preparing even in the prisons, where they are expecting their deliverers." Roused by these words the mob became ready for every atrocity, and answered the discourse with repeated cries for the death of the imprisoned victims.

24. The prison of the Abbaye was the first to be assailed. The unhappy inmates of this gloomy abode had for some days been alarmed by the obscure hints of their jailers. At length, at three o'clock on the morning of the 2d September, the increased clamour, and the shouts of the multitude, announced that their last hour was arrived. Four-and-twenty priests, placed under arrest for refusing to take the new oaths, were in custody at the Hotel de Ville. They were removed in six coaches to the prison of the Abbaye, amidst the yells and execrations of the mob; and no sooner had they arrived there than they were surrounded by a furious multitude, headed by Maillard, armed with spears and sabres, dragged out of their vehicles into the inner court of the prison, and there pierced by a hundred weapons. The massacre of these priests was but the prelude to a general massacre in the Abbaye, the horrors of which exceeded anything hitherto witnessed in the Revolution. Wearied at length with the labour of hewing down so many victims, they fell upon the plan of instituting a mock tribunal, with the murderer Maillard for its president, in which, after going through the form of a trial, they turned them out to be massacred by the people who

thronged the prison doors, loudly clamouring for their share in the work of extermination.

25. The cries of these victims, who were led out to be hewn to pieces by the multitude, first drew the attention of the prisoners in the cells to the fate which awaited themselves: seized separately and dragged before an inexorable tribunal, they were speedily given over to the vengeance of the populace. Reding was one of the first to be selected. The pain of his broken limbs extorted cries even from that intrepid Swiss soldier, as he was dragged along from his cell to the hall of trial; and one of the assassins, more merciful than the rest, drew his sword across his throat, so that he perished before reaching the judges. His dead body was thrown out to the assassins. The forms of justice were prostituted to the most inhuman massacre. Torn from their dungeons, the prisoners were hurried before a tribunal, where the president Maillard sat by torchlight with a drawn sabre before him, and his robes drenched with blood; officials with drawn swords, and shirts stained with gore, surrounded the chair. A few minutes, often a few seconds, disposed of the fate of each individual. Dragged from the pretended judgment-hall, they were turned out to the populace, who thronged round the doors armed with sabres, panting for slaughter, and with loud cries demanding a quicker supply of victims. No executioners were required; the people despatched the condemned with their own hands, and sometimes enjoyed the savage pleasure of beholding them run a considerable distance before they expired. Immured in the upper chambers of the building, the other prisoners endured the agony of witnessing the prolonged sufferings of their comrades; a dreadful thirst added to their tortures, and the inhuman jailers refused even a draught of water to their earnest entreaties. Some had the presence of mind to observe in what attitude death soonest relieved its victims, and resolved, when their hour arrived, to keep their hands down, lest, by warding off the strokes, they should prolong their agonies.

26. The populace, however, in the court of the Abbaye, complained that the foremost only got a stroke at the prisoners, and that they were deprived of the pleasure of murdering the aristocrats. It was in consequence agreed, that those in advance should only strike with the backs of their sabres, and that the wretched victims should be made to run the gauntlet through a long avenue of murderers, each of whom should have the satisfaction of striking them before they expired. The women in the adjoining quarter of the city made a formal demand to the Commune for lights to see the massacres, and a lamp was in consequence placed near the spot where the victims issued, amidst the shouts of the spectators. Benches, under the charge of sentinels, were next arranged "*Pour les Messieurs*," and another "*Pour les Dames*," to witness the spectacle. As each successive prisoner was turned out of the gate, yells of joy rose from the multitude, and when he fell they danced like cannibals round his remains. When the victims were despatched, the murderers cut off their heads, and went with them, to claim the promised reward, to Pétion; and the mayor of Paris, the basest of men, actually poured out wine into glasses, which they received into their bloody hands.

27. Billaud Varennes soon after arrived, wearing his magisterial scarf. Mounted on a pile of dead, he harangued the people amidst this infernal scene: "Citizens, you have exterminated some wretches; you have saved your country; the municipality is at a loss how to discharge its debt of gratitude towards you. I am authorised to offer each of you twenty-four francs, which shall be instantly paid. (Loud applause.) Respectable citizens, continue your good work, and acquire new titles to the homage of your country! But let no unworthy action soil your hands. You dishonour this glorious day if you engage in any meaner work. Abstain from pillage; the municipality shall take care that your claims on them are discharged. Be noble, grand, and generous, worthy of the task you have undertaken. Let everything on

this great day be fitting the sovereignty of the people, who have committed their vengeance to your hands. Whoever labours in a prison shall receive a louis from the funds of the Commune." The assassins were not slow in claiming their promised reward. Stained with blood and bespattered with brains, with their swords and bayonets in their hands, they soon thronged the doors of the committee of the municipality, who were at a loss for funds to discharge their claims. "Do you think I have only earned twenty-four francs?" said a young baker armed with a massy weapon; "*I have slain forty with my own hands*." Great as this number was, it was surpassed by a negro named de l'Orme, who slew above two hundred persons during the massacres. At midnight the mob returned, threatening instant death to the whole committee if they were not forthwith paid; with the sabre at his throat, a member of the municipality advanced the half of the sum required, and the remainder was paid by Roland, the minister of the interior. The names of the assassins, and the sums they received, are still to be seen in the registers of the section of the Jardin des Plantes, of the Municipality, and of the Section of Unity; and the bills of the municipality to the assassins, signed "Tallien et Mechéé," yet exist, to bear deadly evidence against the magistracy elected by the universal suffrage of Paris.*

28. The dignity of virtue, the charms of beauty, were alike lost upon the multitude. Among the rest, they seized on the humane and enlightened M. Sicard, teacher of the deaf and dumb, the tried friend of the poorer classes. He would have been instantly murdered, though his character was known, had not a courageous watchmaker, of the name of Monnot, rushed between,

* Besides these sums, there is inscribed on the book of the municipality the advance of 1463 francs, on September 4, to the assassins.—*THIERS*, iii. 76. "Have not these very promissory notes to the assassins, signed 'Tallien and Mechéé,' been preserved in a public depot? Oh! if it were only required to punish the authors of the days of September, the task would be easy."—*Deux Amis*, viii. 305.

and stayed the pike, already raised to be plunged in his bosom. In the midst of the massacres, Mademoiselle de Sombreuil, eighteen years of age, threw herself on her father's neck, who was beset by the assassins, and declared they should not strike him but through her body. In amazement at her courage, the mob paused, and one of the number presented her with a cup filled with blood, exclaiming, "Drink; it is the blood of the aristocrats!" promising, if she drank it off, to spare his life. She did so, and he was saved. Mademoiselle Cazotte, still younger, sought out her aged parent in prison during the tumult. When the guards came to drag him before the tribunal, she clung so firmly to his neck, that it was found impossible to separate them, and she succeeded in softening the murderers; but he perished a few days afterwards with the courage of a martyr, and his heroic daughter only learned his fate upon being subsequently liberated from confinement. Marat, who was not steeled against individual pity, shed tears on hearing of this act of devotion: "But unto those Swiss," he added, "you would do wrong to save one; let them be sacrificed to the last man." A young woman, the day before the massacres commenced, in dread for the life of her aged parent, which she knew was menaced, wrote to Marat offering to surrender her person to him, if he would save him. He met her by appointment, but had the generosity to dismiss her untouched, with the promise of her father's life. "I wished," he said, "to see how far filial piety would go."

29. Similar tragedies took place at the same time in all the other jails of Paris, and in the religious houses, which were filled with victims. In the prison of the Carmes above two hundred of the clergy were assembled; in the midst of them was the Archbishop of Arles, venerable for his years and his virtues, and several other prelates. Some, when the assassins approached, endeavoured to escape by flying into the garden and climbing up the trees: they were all shot or pierced with pikes in a few minutes. Thirty, with the Archbishop

of Arles and the Bishops of Beauvais and Saintes, in the spirit of the martyrs of old, repaired with steady steps to a little chapel at the end of the garden. Arranged round the altar, they heard the cries of the assassins, who clamoured at the gates; a few, yielding to the dictates of terror, had escaped, and were beyond the reach of danger, when, struck with shame at deserting their brethren in such an extremity, they returned, and shared their fate. Awed by the sublimity of the scene, the wretches hastened the work of destruction, lest the hearts of the spectators should be softened ere the massacre began: the Archbishop of Arles repeated, while the murders were going on, the prayer for those in the agonies of death, and they expired, imploring forgiveness for their murderers.

30. The cries now became loud for the Archbishop of Arles. "I am he," said the archbishop mildly. "Wretch!" exclaimed they, "you have shed the blood of the patriots of Arles."—"I never injured a human being," replied the prelate. "Then," exclaimed a ruffian, "I will despatch you;" and with that he struck him on the head with his sabre. The archbishop remained motionless, without even raising his hands to his head, to avert a second blow. Upon this the assassin struck him across the face with his sabre, and the blood flowed in torrents over his dress; but still he neither moved nor fell: a third stroke laid him senseless on the pavement. Another murderer then leapt on his body and plunged his sabre into his breast: it went in so far that he could not draw it out, and he broke it, and paraded the stump, with the watch of the archbishop, which he seized from the dead body, through the streets. Many were offered life on condition of taking the Revolutionary oaths; all refused, and died in the faith of their fathers. Among the slain were several curates who had been eminent for their charity in the dreadful famine of 1789: they received death from the hands of those whom they had saved from its horrors. So numerous were the murders in this prison that the cells were floating in blood, and it ran

in frightful streams down the stairs into the courts of the building.

31. The fate of the Princess Lamballe was particularly deplorable. Tenderly attached to the queen, she at first, at her own desire, shared her captivity, but was afterwards, by orders of the municipality, separately confined in the *Petite Force*. When the assassins arrived at her cell, she was offered her life if she would swear hatred to the king and queen: she refused, and was instantly dragged out over a pile of dead bodies, stepping up to the ankles in blood, and then desired to cry—"Vive la Nation!" Speechless with horror, she could not articulate, and was instantly struck down. One of her domestics, whom she had loaded with benefits, gave the first blow. Her graceful figure was quickly stripped of all its clothing, and exposed in that state for two hours to the gaze of the populace; her head was then cut off and the body torn in pieces, the fragments put on the end of pikes, and paraded through different parts of the city. The head, which, according to the custom of the time, was carefully powdered, was raised on a lance, and first carried to the palace of the Duke of Orleans, who rose from dinner and looked for some minutes in silence at the ghastly spectacle. Madame Buffon, his last favourite, and some other companions of his pleasures, were at table with him at the time. "My God!" exclaimed she, "it is thus they will carry my own head through the streets." The head was next conveyed to the Temple, and paraded before the windows of Louis XVI. Ignorant of what had passed, and attracted by the noise, the king, at the desire of one of the commissioners of the municipality, proceeded to the window, and, by the beautiful hair, recognised the bloody remains of his once lovely friend: an-

other commissioner, more humane, tried to prevent him from beholding it. Afterwards, the king was asked if he remembered the name of the person who had shown such barbarity. "No," he replied; "but perfectly the name of him who showed sensibility!"*

32. It is a singular circumstance, worthy of being recorded as characteristic of the almost incomprehensible state of the human mind during such convulsions, that many of the assassins who put the prisoners to death, showed themselves, on some occasions, feelingly alive to the warmest sentiments of humanity. M. Journiac was fortunate enough, by a combination of presence of mind and good fortune, to obtain an acquittal from the terrible tribunal: in the Abbaye two individuals, strangers to him, pressed his foot to mark when he should speak, and, when acquitted, bore him safe under the arch of spears and sabres through which he had to pass. He offered them money when they had arrived at a place of safety; they refused, and, after embracing him, returned to the work of destruction. Another prisoner, saved in a similar manner, was conducted home with the same solicitude. The murderers, still reeking with the carnage they had committed, insisted on being spectators of the meeting between him and his family; they wept at the scene, and immediately went back with renewed alacrity to the scene of death. After showing Weber, foster-brother to the queen (who was not known, and escaped by singular presence of mind the fatal tribunal at the Abbaye), a large heap of dead bodies, hacked to pieces and thrown together, the national guards and armed mob embraced him with the warmest feeling, and he was hurried amidst similar demonstrations of joy through a long file of armed men.† It would seem as if, in that

* It is sometimes not uninteresting to follow the career of the wretches who perpetrate such crimes, to their latter end. "In a remote situation," says the Duchess of Abrantes, "on the sea-coast, lived a middle-aged man, in a solitary cottage, unattended by any human being. The police had strict orders from the First Consul to watch him with peculiar care. He died of suffocation, produced by an acci-

dent which had befallen him when eating, uttering the most horrid blasphemies, and in the midst of frightful tortures. He had been the principal actor in the murder of the Princess Lamballe."—D'ABRANTES, iii. 264.

† "The same man, turning to me to point out a heap of bodies hacked and pierced by sabres, said, with a haggard, ferocious mien, 'You see, citizen soldier, that we punish

convulsive state, all strong emotions rapidly succeed each other in the human breast; and the mind, wrought up as by the interest of a tragedy, is prepared alike for the most savage deeds of cruelty, or the tenderest emotions of pity.

33. When massacre was so universal, it may well be conceived that the Swiss, who had been made prisoners on the 10th of August, fifty-four in number, had no chance of escape. The non-commissioned officers and privates were massacred in their cells without even the form of trial; the officers were brought for a few minutes before Maillard's tribunal, and then turned out to be hewn down by the populace. The Swiss, locked in each other's arms, hesitated at first to go through the fatal wicket, and loudly called for mercy. "There must be an end of this," cried Maillard; "let us see who will go out first." "I will be the first," exclaimed a young officer with a noble air. "Show me the gate; let us prove we do not fear death." So saying, he rushed forward with his hands over his head into the uplifted sabres, and perished on the spot. Unable to restrain their impatience, the people broke in and despatched them where they stood. Rapid as the progress of destruction was, it did not keep pace with the wishes of Marat, who came to the Abbaye, and said, "What are these imbeciles about? They do their work very slowly; by this time ten thousand might have been destroyed. Bid them be quick, and earn more money." In some of the prisons they spared the galley-slaves, who were immediately associated with them in their labours: a hundred and eighty prostitutes, at the Salpêtrière, were saved to minister to the pleasures of the assassins, and three hundred escaped at the other prisons from the same mortalists as they deserve. I received again the fraternal embrace. I was then passed from arm to arm for about a hundred paces, constantly embraced by the national guards of the Faubourg St Antoine, and a multitude of other people, almost all drunk. Delivered at last from all their embraces, the two armed men who supported me conducted me into a church, where were collected the small number whom the popular tribunal had spared."—WERNER, II. 265, 266.

tive; but all the old women were murdered without mercy, and among them many between eighty and ninety years of age.

34. Similar atrocities were committed in all the other prisons. Two hundred and eighty-nine perished in the Conciergerie. One woman there was, by an unprecedented refinement of cruelty, put to death in a way so inexpressibly frightful that the pen can hardly be brought to recount it.* At the Grand Châtelet nearly as many perished. The bodies of the slain in these two prisons were dragged out and heaped upon the Pont Notre-Dame, where those female furies, aptly termed the "leeches of the guillotine," turned them curiously over, and piled them on carts, by which they were conveyed, dripping with blood, so as to leave the track of the vehicle marked by a red line, to the quarries of Mont Rouge, where they were thrown into vast caverns. Above eleven hundred persons, confined for political causes, perished in the different prisons of Paris during these massacres, which continued, with no interruption from the 2d to the 6th September. When the other captives were all destroyed, the assassins, insatiable in their thirst for blood, besieged the Bicêtre, containing several thousand prisoners confined for ordinary offences, having no connection with the state. They defended themselves with such resolution that it became necessary to employ cannon for their destruction. Seven guns were brought up and opened their fire, which beat down the gates; but the felons within fought with desperate resolution. The multitude, however, were resolutely bent on blood, and continued the contest, by unceasingly bringing up fresh forces, till the felons were overpowered, and all put to death. It took two days, however, to destroy them. At length the murders ceased, from the complete exhaustion of the assassins. The remains of the victims were thrown into trenches, previously prepared by

* "Les assassins lui coupèrent les mamelles; après cette barbare et cruelle incision, on lui passa dans la matrice un bouchon de paille, qu'on ne lui ôta que pour la fendre d'un coup de sabre."—*PRÉUDHOMME, Crimes de la Révolution*, iv. 118.

the municipality for their reception; they were subsequently conveyed to the catacombs, where they were built up, and still remain the monument of crimes which France would willingly bury in oblivion—unfit to be thought of, even in the abodes of death.

35. The fate of M. de Montmorin, formerly minister of foreign affairs to Louis, and a warm supporter of the Revolution, was peculiarly frightful. He was arrested during the domiciliary visits, on August 30th, and brought to the bar of the Assembly. His answers, however, were there so clear and satisfactory, that he was sent back to the prison of the Abbaye, to await some other ground of accusation. He was one of the earliest victims; and the people carried their ferocity so far as to impale him, yet alive, on a sharp stake, and bear him in triumph, in that dreadful situation, to the National Assembly! Thus were realised those gloomy presentiments which had retained possession of his mind for six months back, and which Bertrand de Molleville had in vain endeavoured to combat; and thus was too fatally verified the mournful prediction of Madame de Montmorin to Madame de Stael, on the first assembling of the States-General.

36. During the crusade against the Albigeois, in the south of France, four hundred men and women were publicly burned at Carcassonne, to "the great joy of the crusading warriors." When the Athenian democracy extinguished the revolt in the island of Mytelene, they passed a decree, ordering the whole vanquished people, with their offspring, to be put to death. When the Irish soldiers in Montrose's army were made prisoners, after the battle of Philiphaugh, they were thrown, with their wives and children, from the bridge of Linlithgow, in Scotland; and the bands of the Covenanters stood on the banks of the river with uplifted halberds, and massacred such of the helpless innocents as were thrown undrowned upon the shore. Soon after, the whole captives of that nation in the prisons of Scotland were slaughtered in cold blood. During the wars of the Roses, quarter

on both sides was, for twenty years, refused by the English to each other. Cruelty is not the growth of any particular country; it is not found in a greater degree in France than it would be in any other state similarly situated. It is the unchaining the passions of the multitude which in all ages and countries produces such effects.

37. During these terrific scenes, the National Assembly, however anxious to arrest the disorders, did nothing; the ministry were equally impotent: the terrible municipality ruled triumphant. At the worst period of the massacres, the legislature was engaged in discussing a decree for the punishment of persons guilty of coining bad money. Two municipal officers intimated, upon the 2d of September, that the people were crowding round the gates of the prisons, and praying for instructions; but they did nothing. Even the announcement by Fauchet, that two hundred priests had been massacred in the prison of Carmes, led to no measure being adopted. When the slaughter of the priests at that place of confinement could no longer be concealed, they sent a deputation to endeavour to save the victims; but they only succeeded in rescuing one. On the following day the commissioners of the magistracy appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and assured the deputies that Paris was in the most complete tranquillity, though the murders continued for four days afterwards. The national guard, divided in opinion, hesitated to act; and Santerre, their new commander, refused to call them out. Roland alone had the courage, at the bar of the Assembly, to exert his talents in the cause of humanity. A few days afterwards, the eloquence of Vergniaud roused the legislature from their stupor; and he had the resolution to propose, and the influence to carry, a decree, rendering the members of the municipality responsible with their heads for the safety of their prisoners. But it was too late; the prisoners were all killed. This tardy act of vigour only rendered the more inexcusable their former treason to the king, and supineness in their duty to the people.

38. The small number of those who perpetrated these murders in the French capital, under the eyes of the legislature, is one of the most instructive facts in the history of revolutions. Marat had long before said, that with two hundred assassins at a louis a-day, he would govern France, and cause three hundred thousand heads to fall; and the events of the 2d September seemed to justify the opinion. The number of those actually engaged in the massacres did not exceed three hundred, and twice as many more witnessed and encouraged their proceedings at each jail; yet this handful of men governed Paris and France, with a despotism which three hundred thousand armed warriors afterwards strove in vain to effect. The immense majority of the well-disposed citizens, divided in opinion, irresolute in conduct, and dispersed in different quarters, were incapable of arresting a band of assassins engaged in the most atrocious cruelties of which modern Europe has yet afforded an example—an important warning to the strenuous and the good in every succeeding age, to combine for defence the moment that the aspiring and the desperate have begun to agitate the public mind; and never to trust that mere smallness of numbers can be relied on for preventing reckless ambition from destroying irresolute virtue. It is not less worthy of observation, that these atrocious massacres took place in the heart of a city where above fifty thousand men were enrolled in the national guard, and had arms in their hands; a force specially destined to prevent insurrectionary movements, and support under all changes the majesty of the law. They were so divided in opinion, and the Revolutionists composed so large a part of their number, that nothing whatever was done by them, either on the 10th August, when the king was dethroned, or on the 2d September, when the prisoners were massacred. This puts in a forcible point of view the weakness of such a body, which, being composed of citizens, is distracted by their feelings and actuated by their passions. In ordinary times it may exhibit an imposing array, and be adequate to the

repression of smaller disorders; but it is paralysed by the events which throw society into convulsion, and generally fails at the decisive moment when its aid is most required.

39. The municipality of Paris wrote an infernal circular to the magistrates of the other cities of France, inviting them to imitate the massacres of the capital.* The advice was not generally followed; but the combined influence of this circular, and of the universal excitement produced by the overthrow of the throne, occasioned in some places tragedies more frightful than had yet stained the progress of the Revolution. On the 30th of August, the magistrates of Paris presented a petition to the Assembly, praying for the transference of the state prisoners in jail at Orleans, with a view to their trial before the high court there, to the capital. This petition, evidently intended, as it afterwards appeared, to bring them within the sphere of the massacres, was ultimately agreed to, and a part of the armed force of Paris, with seven pieces of cannon, was despatched under a vehement Jacobin, named Fournier, to Orleans, where he met with Leonard Bourdon, the commissioner of the Assembly. They immediately entered the prison. On arriving there, they plundered the captives of the whole little property

* The circular sent on this occasion to the other municipalities of France by that of Paris, is one of the most curious monuments of the Revolution. It concluded with these words: "Being informed that hordes of barbarians are advancing against this city, the municipality of Paris loses no time in informing its brethren in all the other departments, that part of the conspirators confined in the prisons have been put to death by the people; an act of justice which appeared indispensable to retain in due subjection the legions of traitors within its walls, at the moment when the principal forces in the city were about to march against the enemy. Without doubt the nation at large, after the long series of treasons which have brought it to the edge of the abyss, will adopt the same means, at once so useful and so necessary, and all the French will be able to say, like the people of Paris, 'We march against the enemy, and we leave none behind us to massacre our wives and children.' (Signed) Duplain, Panis, Sergent, Lenfant, Marat, Lefort, Jordeuil, administrators of the Committee of Surveillance established at the Hotel de Ville. Paris, 3d September 1792."—*Histoire Parlementaire*, xvii. 483.

which they still had on their persons, and on the 2d September these unfortunates set out, under the guard of the armed force sent from Paris, for the capital. When they arrived at Versailles, the vast accumulation of people in the streets, and the hollow murmur amongst the crowd, announced to the wretched captives that some horrid scheme was in contemplation, which was speedily put in execution. The carriages of the prisoners were stopped in the Rue de l'Orangerie, the troops and guns drawn up in battle array, and the mob then fell on the victims. Several, among whom was the Duke de Brissac, formerly governor of Paris, long defended themselves vigorously, but they were all at last destroyed, to the number of fifty-seven. De Lessart, formerly minister of the interior, perished here. At the same time, the philanthropic and enlightened Larochehoucauld, who had entirely retired from political life, was dragged out of his carriage, near Gisors, and murdered in the arms of his wife and mother. Not content with this butchery, the assassins next broke into the prisons at Versailles, and murdered twenty-one prisoners confined there. The whole victims were torn in pieces, and their remains affixed on the tops of the rails of the Orangery. To their eternal disgrace, the national guard of Versailles took a part in these massacres; and Danton, minister of justice, refused to interfere when informed of the preparation for them, saying, "The people were resolved on vengeance, and must have it."

40. A similar massacre, provoked and headed by the commissioners of the Paris municipality, took place at Meaux on 5th September. They proceeded with a furious band to the prison of the town, broke it open, and dragged out fourteen captives, including eight aged ecclesiastics, who were all hewn in pieces in the court of the building. At Lyons, on the 9th, a similar mob, stimulated in the same way, attacked the prisons, and the magistrates, to save the prisoners, ordered them to be removed to Roanne; but the escort was overpowered, and they were all murdered on the road, except one who perished in the river, into

which he had thrown himself in an agony of terror. The band of assassins went on to the prison of Roanne, which they also broke open, and there they murdered seven persons. Among them was the Abbé Lanoix, curé of the parish of St Nizier, a man of a mild and benevolent character, who was cut into pieces, which were brought back by the assassins to Lyons, and suspended in triumph to the trees in the Place Belle-cour. No attempt was made by the national guard, or any of the authorities, to prevent or punish these disorders. Elected by the people, they were as impotent to restrain their excesses as the satraps of an eastern despot are to coerce his acts of vengeance.

41. But all these horrors, dark as they are, sink into insignificance compared with the frightful barbarities which took place at Rheims on the 2d and 3d September. On the first of these days, M. Guérin, postmaster, and his deputy, were beheaded by the mob, and their bloody limbs distributed among the people; while the Abbé de Lescar, and eleven other curés in the environs, who had refused to take the oath to the constitution, were massacred with refined cruelty, and their mangled limbs carried about in triumph. But their fate was merciful compared with that which overtook their brethren on the following day. The mob loudly declared that they would burn alive the priests who did not take the oath; and for this purpose they erected a huge pile of fagots in the principal square of the town, in the construction of which they obliged all the citizens to assist. Next day two priests, the Abbé Romain and the Abbé Alexandre, dean of the cathedral, were brought to the edge of the pile, and desired to take the oath. Both refused, with the constancy of ancient martyrs. Upon this Romain was thrown alive into the flames, and burned to death, his cries being drowned by shouts of "Vive la Nation!"

42. The Abbé Alexandre, overwhelmed with the horrors of the spectacle, now declared he would take the oath; they nevertheless threw him into the fire, and actually sent for his nephew, Heyberger, who lived with him, whom

they compelled to bring fagots to feed the flames. The unhappy victim continued to exclaim, as he burned, he would take the oath, and waved his hand in the midst of the flames : at last he was drawn out, and they enjoyed, with savage yells, the spectacle of his convulsions ! Finally, a common workman, named Laurent, was brought to the stake, where he perished in the midst of the most frightful tortures. His wife was compelled to be the witness of this awful scene : on her knees beside the burning pile, with her hands uplifted to heaven, she awaited her own fate, and the demons were enjoying, in anticipation, the tortures to which they would expose her, when, prompted by a sudden inspiration, she said she was with child. "What does that signify ?" replied the barbarians who stirred the fagots ; but a cry arose in the crowd that she should be examined, and thus she was saved. These frightful cruelties took place in the presence of the whole municipal officers of Rheims, and of five thousand armed national guards ! This was the extreme point of individual cruelty during the Revolution. Infinitely greater numbers were subsequently put to death, but not in so shocking a way. That most awful and atrocious of spectacles, of a human being intentionally burned to death, will not again occur in this history, till it reappears, to their eternal disgrace, under circumstances of greater, because more cold-blooded and unpardonable cruelty, among the Anglo-Saxon race, and amidst the boasted freedom and civilisation of republican America.

43. The plunder arising from the property of so many victims procured immense wealth to the municipality of Paris. Not only were the plate of the churches, and all the movables of the emigrants, seized by their orders, but the whole effects of the victims massacred in the prisons were by them put under sequestration, and deposited in the vast warehouses belonging to the Committee of Surveillance. Neither the Assembly, nor the Convention, nor any other authority, ever could obtain from them either an account of the amount of this plunder, or how it was

disposed of. The magistrates went a step further, and, of their own authority, sold the furniture of all the great hotels, on which the national seal had been put in consequence of the emigration of their proprietors. Nor were their inferior agents behind in the work of spoliation. Bands of twenty and thirty threw themselves on persons seemingly possessed of property, in the streets, and robbed the men of their watches, the women of their rings and chains. Under pretence of domiciliary visits, pillage in private houses was general, and the sufferers were too happy to submit to the loss of their property to save their lives. The minister of the interior was unable to prevent these scandalous abuses, though he loudly complained of them to the Assembly : all the inferior agents of authority were in the interests of the municipality ; and the national guards, remodelled under the title of armed sections, and composed of the most worthless classes, were in a state of complete disorganisation. One night, soon after, the jewel office in the Tuilleries was pillaged, and all the splendid ornaments of the crown disappeared for ever. The seals affixed on the locks were removed, but no marks of violence appeared on them ; which clearly showed that the abstraction was done by order of the city authorities, and not by popular violence. One of the finest jewels afterwards appeared in the hands of Sergeant, a member of the committee who signed the circular calling upon the rest of France to imitate the massacres of the prisons in Paris. Such were the first effects of the popular election of a magistracy in the French capital !

44. Roland was now sensible that the democratic municipality of Paris was wholly inconsistent with any government whatever. "Yesterday," said he, "they declared at the tribune of the Electoral Assembly against the executive power : the people were roused to take vengeance on the deputies who voted against the accusation of Lafayette ; already placards are prepared to announce my own denunciation, which has been read at the municipality, and approved of by them. Eight days have

elapsed since the Assembly was implored (and at this time days are ages) to take measures to support the executive power, and secure respect to the law. Without this, not Paris alone, but the whole kingdom will be overturned." Nor was Roland without good grounds for these anticipations; for already Marat had publicly intimated, in his journal, that the Revolution would retrograde unless two hundred thousand heads fell, and designated four hundred members of the Assembly as the first to be sacrificed to the vengeance of the people; and the temper displayed at the municipality evinced clearly that they would not hesitate to carry these suggestions into effect.

45. It was in the midst of these horrors that the Legislative Assembly approached its termination. Its history is full of interest to those who study the workings of the human mind in periods of national convulsion. Its opening was preceded by a deceitful calm: the ambition of party, the fury of passion, seemed for a time to be stilled; and the monarch, hailed by the acclamations of the multitude, tasted for a few days the sweets of popular administration. The Constituent Assembly had declared the Revolution finished; the king had accepted the constitution: the days of anarchy were supposed to be past. But those who "disturb the peace of all the world can seldom rule it when 'tis wildest." The Legislative Assembly terminated amid bloodshed and carnage; with an imprisoned king, an absent nobility, an insurgent people; in the midst of the murder of the royalist, and with the axe suspended over the head of the patriotic class. Eight thousand three hundred persons perished of a violent death during its short existence of eleven months! The destruction which its measures brought upon the higher ranks was speedily, by its successor, inflicted upon its own leaders. Such is the inevitable march of revolutions, when the passions of the multitude are brought into collision with the unsupported benevolence of the philanthropic, and vigour and unanimity are not displayed by the friends of order and the holders of property;

when reason and justice are appealed to on one side, and selfish ambition is arrayed on the other. With less discussion on abstract rights, and more attention to present dangers, with less speculation, and more action, this Assembly might have arrested the progress of the Revolution: a vigorous prosecution of the victory in the Champ de Mars, a charge of five hundred horse in the Place of the Carrousel on the 10th August, would have prevented the overthrow of the throne and the reign of Robespierre.

46. The NATIONAL CONVENTION began under darker auspices. The 10th August, and the subsequent triumphs of the municipality over the Assembly, had given the ascendant of victory to the democratic class: the great and inert mass of the people were disposed, as in all commotions, to range themselves on the victorious side. The sections of Paris, under the influence of Robespierre and Marat, returned the most revolutionary deputies; those of most other towns followed their example. The Jacobins, with their affiliated clubs, on this occasion exercised an overwhelming influence over all France. The parent club at Paris had, with this view, printed and circulated in every department lists of all the votes passed during the session, to instruct the electors. All the deputies who had voted against the desires of the popular party, and especially all such as had supported the acquittal of Lafayette, were particularly pointed out for rejection. At Paris, where the elections took place on the 2d September, amidst all the excitement and horrors of the massacres in the prisons, the violent leaders of the municipality, who had organised the revolt of the 10th August, exercised an irresistible sway over the citizens. Robespierre and Danton were the first named, amidst unanimous shouts of applause; after them, Camille Desmoulins, Tallien, Osselin, Fréron, Anacharsis Clootz, Fabre d'Églantine, David the celebrated painter, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, Legendre, Panis, Sergent, almost all implicated in the massacres in the prisons,

were also chosen. To these was added the Duke of Orleans, who had abdicated his titles, and was called Philippe Egalité. In a word, the deputies of Paris consisted of the leaders who had organised the revolt of the 10th August, and subsequently prepared and rewarded the massacres in the prisons. The deputies from the rest of France were almost all of the same description, inasmuch that the most conservative part of the new Assembly were the Girondists who had overturned the throne.

47. From the first opening of the Convention, the Girondists occupied the right, and the Jacobins the seats on the summit of the left; whence their designation of "The Mountain" was derived. The former had the majority of votes, the greater part of the departments having returned men of comparatively moderate principles. But the latter possessed a great advantage, in having on their side all the members of the city of Paris, who ruled the mob, always ready to crowd at their call round the doors of the Assembly, and in being supported by the municipality, which had already grown into a ruling power in the state, and had become the great centre of the democratic party. A neutral body, composed of those members whose principles were not yet declared, was called the Plain, or Marais; it ranged itself with the Girondists, until terror compelled its members to coalesce with the victorious side. Connected with the parent club of the Jacobins at Paris was a multitude of affiliated societies in every considerable town of France, who trained up disciples for the parent establishment, disseminated its principles, and sent up continual supplies of energetic ambition to feed the flame in the capital. The magistracy also had established relations with all the municipalities of France, who, elected by almost universal suffrage, had generally fallen, as in all civil convulsions, into the hands of the most violent party. The Jacobins, therefore, ruled the whole effective power of the state; nothing remained to the Girondists but the ministry, who, thwarted by the municipality, had no authority in

Paris. The army, raised during the excitement of the Revolution, could not be trusted against the popular leaders; if it could, the distance at which it was placed, and its active occupation on the frontier, precluded it from being of any service in resisting the insurrections of the capital.

48. The two rival parties mutually indulged in recriminations, in order to influence the public mind. The Jacobins incessantly reproached the Girondists with desiring to dissolve the Republic; to establish three-and-twenty separate democratic states, held together, like the American provinces, by a mere federal union; and though this design was never seriously entertained by them, except when the advance of the Duke of Brunswick threatened to lead to the capture of Paris, the imprudent conversations of Brissot, and other leaders of the party, and the extravagant admiration which they always professed for the institutions of America, were sufficient to give a colour to the accusation. Nothing more was requisite to render them in the highest degree unpopular in Paris, the very existence of which depended on its remaining, through all the phases of government, the seat of the ruling power. The Girondists retorted upon their adversaries charges better founded, but not so likely to inflame the populace. They reproached them with endeavouring to establish in the municipality of Paris a power superior to the legislature of all France; with overawing the deliberations of the Convention, by menacing petitions, or the open display of brute force; and secretly preparing for their favourite leaders, Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, a triumvirate of power, which would speedily extinguish all the freedom that had been acquired. The first part of the accusation was well founded even then; of the last, time soon afforded an ample confirmation.

49. The Convention met at first in one of the halls of the Tuileries, but immediately adjourned to the Salle du Manège, where its subsequent sittings were held. Its first step was, on the motion of the Abbé Grégoire, and amidst

unanimous transports, to declare royalty abolished in France, and to proclaim a republic; and by another decree it was ordered, that the old calendar taken from the year of Christ's birth should be abandoned, and that all public acts should be dated from the first year of the French republic. This era began on the 22d September 1792. Its next care was the state of the finances. From the report of M. Cambon, the minister of finance, it appeared that the preceding Assemblies had authorised the fabrication of two thousand seven hundred million francs in assignats, or £108,000,000 sterling; a prodigious sum to have been issued in three years of almost continued peace, and clearly demonstrating that the revenue, from ordinary sources, had almost entirely disappeared. Of this immense fund, however, only fifteen million francs (£600,000) remained. A new issue, therefore, became indispensable, and was immediately ordered on the security of the national domains, which were rapidly increasing, and, from the continued confiscation of the estates of the emigrants, now embraced more than two-thirds of the landed property of France.

50. A still more democratic constitution than that framed by the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, was at the same time established. All the requisites for election to any office whatever, were, on the motion of Egalité, abolished. It was no longer necessary to select judges from legal men, nor magistrates from the class of proprietors. All persons, in whatever rank, were declared eligible to every situation; and the right of voting in the primary assemblies was conferred on every man above the age of twenty-one years. Absolute equality, in its literal sense, was universally established. Universal suffrage was the basis on which government rested. Roland, at the same time, gave a frightful picture of the massacres which the Jacobin emissaries had spread over all France. "The disorders of Paris," said he, "have been too faithfully imitated in the departments. It is not anarchy which is to be accused as the cause of these calamities, but tyrants

of a new species, who have sprung up in our newly enfranchised France. It is from Paris that these daily incitements to murder proceed. How can we preserve the people from the most frightful misery, when so many citizens are obliged to remain in concealment for fear of their lives; when invitations to pillage, murder, rapine, and lists of proscription, daily appear on the walls of the capital? How shall we frame a constitution for France, if the Convention charged with it deliberates under the daggers of assassins?" After a vehement debate, a decree against the instigators to murder, and for the establishment of a departmental guard, was passed; but subsequent events prevented it from being ever carried into execution.

51. The leaders of the Girondists, foreseeing the character of Robespierre, directed their first attacks against him. Osselin publicly accused him of aspiring to the dictatorship. "I invite," said he, "all the members of the municipality of Paris to come and explain themselves at that bar. Let each of us declare that he wishes to live only for liberty and equality, and that he will support the most democratic constitution possible. There is a contrary party; there is a triumvirate: Robespierre, I denounce you as its head." Robespierre's reply was characteristic of his principles: "Do you really believe that I aspire to the dictatorship? Undecieve yourselves. It is no ground for accusation merely to say I aspire to be dictator. Where are the facts to support such a charge? None such have been brought forward: you seem to suppose that the simple preferring such a charge against me is enough to cause an accusation to be raised. Are you ignorant, then, of the force of truth, of the energy of innocence, when defended with imperturbable courage? You may accuse me; but the nation will be my judge: it is from them that I expect my acquittal. It is full time to know if we are really traitors; if we have in truth harboured designs against the Republic; if we have flattered the people. What do I say?—flattered the people?—you cannot flatter the people: you may

easily flatter a tyrant; but to flatter twenty-five millions of men is as impossible as to flatter the Deity himself.* The leaders of the Girondists, not aware of the formidable character of their opponent, passed to the order of the day, and so quashed the proceedings.

52. Marat was next the object of accusation: a thrill of horror ran through the Convention when he appeared before them: the massacres which he had so strenuously recommended in his journal, "*L'Ami du Peuple*," were still fresh in the recollection of the deputies. Vergniaud read the infamous circular of the municipality of Paris, inviting the authorities of France to imitate the massacres of September, to which his signature was attached; and a number of that journal, where it was coldly calculated that seventy thousand heads must fall before liberty could be established. The galleries openly applauded the proposal. Another of the Girondists soon after read another paper, published a few days before by the accused, in which he said: "One consideration alone overwhelms me, and that is, that all my efforts to save the people will come to nothing without a new insurrection. When I behold the temper of the majority of the deputies in the National Convention, I despair of the public safety. If during its first eight sittings the foundations of a constitution are not laid, nothing more need be expected from its labours. Fifty years of anarchy await you, from which you will never emerge, but in the hands of a dictator, a true patriot and statesman. O misguided people! if you but knew how to act." At these words, furious cries interrupted the reader—some applauding, others exclaiming "To the Abbaye! to the guillotine!"

53. Marat mounted the tribune to reply; it was the first time he had been seen there, and such was the horror at his aspect that it was long before he could obtain a hearing. He acknow-

* These last words paint Robespierre's character to the life. The maxim, "*Vox populi, vox Dei*," and the belief that the masses can do no wrong, whatever individuals may do, were his ruling principles, and steady adherence to them led at once to his long power and to his ultimate ruin.

ledged the writing to be his, however, and refused to disavow its contents. "If the people," said he, "had been wise, they would have cut off five hundred heads on the day the Bastille was taken. Already a hundred thousand patriots have fallen from that omission; a hundred thousand more will fall if it is not now done. If the people halt in their career, anarchy is certain. I have never disguised my opinions. I have published them all with my name. To ask me to retract," he added, "is to insist that I should shut my eyes to what I see, and my ears to what I hear; there is no power on earth which can force me to such a change of ideas: I can answer for the purity of my heart, but I cannot change my thoughts; they have sprung from the nature of things." The galleries rang with acclamations. The Jacobins, with tumultuous shouts, testified their applause; many irresolute members, horror-struck at the prescriptions, but yet afraid of their authors, quitted the Assembly. The accused, perceiving his advantage, drew a pistol from his pocket: "Blush," he exclaimed, "for your rashness, in thus accusing the patriots: If the proposal for an accusation be carried, I will blow out my brains at the foot of the tribune. Such is the reward of my labours, my sufferings, my misery, in the cause of the people!" At this apostrophe the shouts of the gallery were so vehement that the very building shook to its foundation. Terror mastered every heart. The Assembly concealed its fear under the mask of contempt, and, on the motion of Tallien, voted that the Republic was one and indivisible, and dismissed the accused unpunished, to reap the fruits of a real victory.

54. A more formidable accusation was shortly afterwards brought forward by Louvet, one of the ablest and most intrepid leaders of the Gironde, against Robespierre. Roland, as minister of the interior, now thoroughly alarmed both for the Republic and himself, had made a luminous statement of the situation of the metropolis, in which he boldly exposed the sanguinary measures of the municipality. "When the principles of revolt and carnage," said he,

"are openly avowed and applauded, not only in clubs, but in the bosom of the Convention, who can doubt that some hidden partisans of the ancient régime, some pretended friends of the people, veiling their wickedness under the mask of patriotism, have conceived the design of overturning the constitution, and slaking their thirst for blood and gold in the midst of public ruin? The situation of the Republic is expressed in a few words: administrative bodies without power; the municipality despotic; the people good, but deceived; the public force excellent, but ill commanded; the Convention delaying to take the most necessary steps to insure the public safety. I know this statement will ruin my popularity, but I prefer my duty to my life." He then read a letter from the president of the second section of the criminal tribunal, announcing that his own life and that of his colleagues were menaced, and that, in the language of the times, a *new bleeding* was required for the state. At this announcement, all eyes were turned to Robespierre, who immediately mounted the tribune, and exclaimed, "No one will dare to accuse me to my face."

55. "I accuse you," said Louvet with a firm voice and unshrinking eye: "Yes, Robespierre, I accuse you." The tyrant was moved at the glance of his adversary, whose talent and courage he had previously experienced in the hall of the Jacobins. Louvet then, in an energetic and eloquent speech, traced the character and actions of his opponent. He followed Robespierre to the Club of the Jacobins, the Municipality, the Electoral Assembly, eternally calumniating his adversaries and flattering the mob; taking advantage of the passions of a blind multitude, urging it at pleasure to every excess; insulting in its name the majesty of the legislature, and compelling the sovereign power to issue the decrees he commanded, under the pain of rebellion; directing, though unseen, the murders and robberies of September, to support the usurpation of the municipality by means of terror; sending emissaries through all France to instigate the commission of similar crimes,

and induce the provinces to follow the example and obey the authority of Paris; incessantly occupied with his own praises, and magnifying the grandeur and power of the people from whom he sprang. "The glory of the revolt of the 10th August," he added, "is common to all; but the glory of the massacres of 2d September belongs to you. On you and your associates may it rest for ever! The people of Paris know how to combat, but not how to murder; they were seen in a body before the Tuileries on the glorious 10th August; but a few hundred assassins alone perpetrated the massacres of September. The eloquence of Roland spoke in vain; the tutelary arm of Pétion was enchained; Danton refused to move; the presidents of the sections waited for orders from the general in command, which never arrived; the officers of the municipality, with their official scarfs, presided at the executions; and the orders you had given were too fatally obeyed."

56. The Assembly was strongly moved by the eloquence of Louvet, but he was feebly supported by his friends among the Girondists. He repeatedly appealed to Pétion, Vergniaud, and the other leaders, to support his statements; but they had not the firmness boldly to state the truth. Had they testified a fourth part of what they knew, the accusation must have been instantly voted, and the tyrant might have been crushed at once. As it was, Robespierre, fearful of its effects, demanded eight days to prepare for his defence. In the interval, the whole machinery of terror was put in force: the Jacobins thundered out accusations against the intrepid accuser, and all the leaders of the Mountain were indefatigable in their efforts to strike fear into their opponents. "The object of the Girondists," said Robespierre the younger at the Jacobins, "is clear. They want to inculcate the heroes of the 10th August as the authors of the massacres of September, to bring about a counter-revolution. They would destroy in detail all the patriots: Robespierre first; next Danton, Marat, and Santerre; Merlin and Chabot will soon follow; then the municipality of Paris

will be the chosen victim; then the Faubourg St Antoine, and the forty-eight sections of Paris. M. Louvet himself has justified the municipality; for he commenced one of the placards of the *Sentinelles*—“Honour to the grand council of the municipality: it has sounded the tocsin; it has saved the country!” By degrees the impression cooled, fear resumed its sway, and the accused mounted the tribune at the end of the week with the air of a victor. The deputies, mastered by terror, affected to regard the accusation as a private quarrel between Louvet and Robespierre, and felt no apprehension for a man whom they regarded, as Barère said, “as a man of the day—a little mover of discord.”

57. In the conclusion of his address, which was nervous and forcible, Robespierre observed, in allusion to the massacres of 2d September—“Without doubt,” said he, “the massacres in the prisons were illegal; but what was the revolt on 10th August, or on 14th July? If we are to go back to what is *legal*, who can defend the Revolution, or save you all from a conviction for high treason? Beware how, by such doctrines, you cast a doubt on the origin of your own power. Without illegal measures, despotism never yet was shaken; for what sovereign will establish legal means for his own overthrow? The sensibility which laments only the enemies of liberty, is ever suspicious! Cease to agitate the bloody robe of the tyrant before my eyes, or I will believe you wish to replace Rome in its fetters! Eternal calumniators! would you disgrace the Republic in its cradle, and furnish arms to all Europe against the Revolution which has produced it? It is said that an innocent individual has perished. The number of the sufferers has been greatly exaggerated; but supposing there was one such, it was doubtless too much. He was perhaps a good citizen, one of our best friends. Weep for him—weep even for the unworthy citizens who have fallen under the sword of popular justice; but let your grief, like every human thing, have a termination. But let us, at the same time, reserve some tears for more touch-

ing calamities: Weep! a hundred thousand citizens sacrificed by tyranny! Weep! our fellow-citizens massacred in their cradles, or in the arms of their mothers! Have you no brothers, or children, or wives, to revenge? The family of French legislators is their country—is the whole human race, excepting tyrants and their supporters. Weep, then, humanity debased under an odious yoke; but be consoled by the reflection, that by calming unworthy discord, you will secure the happiness of your own country, and prepare that of the world.”

58. Divided by opposite opinions, the Assembly willingly closed with the proposal of Robespierre to put an end to these personal altercations, and pass to the order of the day. Barbaroux and Lanjuinais vainly endeavoured to maintain the accusation; the leaders of the Gironde themselves, irresolute in action, hesitated to support them. “If, indeed,” said Barère, “there existed in the republic a man born with the genius of Cæsar, or the boldness of Cromwell; if there was to be found here a man with the talent of Sylla, and his dangerous means of elevation; if we had amongst us a legislator of vast ability, boundless ambition, and profound dissimulation; a general, for example, returning loaded with laurels to dictate laws to your choice, or insult the rights of the people,—I would be the first to propose against him a decree of accusation. But let us *cease to waste our time on men who will fill no place in history; let us not put pigmies on pedestals*; the civic crowns of Robespierre are mingled with cypress.” The agitation for some time was extreme in the Assembly, and Barbaroux, Lanjuinais, and Louvet strenuously contended for a reply to Robespierre. But they were deserted by their party, who, like all other men without nerve, think they will avert danger by postponing a collision. At length it was nearly unanimously agreed to pass to the order of the day. The Girondists flattered themselves that this would extinguish Robespierre’s influence as completely as exile or death, and actually joined with the Jacobins in presenting the reply of Louvet—a

fatal error, which France had cause to lament with tears of blood.*

59. It was now evident that the Girondists were no match for their terrible adversaries. The men of action on their side, Louvet, Barbaroux, and Lanjuinais, in vain strove to rouse them to the necessity of vigorous measures in contending with such enemies. Their constant reply was, that they would not be the first to commence the shedding of blood. Their whole vigour manifested itself in declamation, their whole wisdom in abstract discussion. They had now become humane in intention, and moderate in counsel, though they were far from having been so in the earlier stages of the Revolution; they were fitted to add to the prosperity of a republic in peace, but totally unequal to the task of guiding it in periods of agitation. They were too honourable to believe in the wickedness of their opponents, too scrupulous to adopt the measures requisite to disarm, too destitute of moral courage to be able to crush them. When warned of the necessity of striking a decisive blow, they replied, with the most deplorable *sans froid*, that it was better not to irritate men of a violent temperament. The only weapons they could be prevailed on to employ were reason and eloquence, while their adversaries were daily sharpening their poniards. "It was easy to foresee," says Louvet, "what would be the issue of such a contest."

* The press in Paris, as usual in periods of revolutionary excitement, had already adopted the system of reporting only the speeches of the popular leaders, and this appears in an especial manner in the report of this debate in the *Moniteur*. This was admitted to Robespierre by its editor.—"You must have remarked, however, that the *Moniteur* has always reported the speeches of the Mountain at greater length than those of any other party. I only gave a short extract from Louvet's first accusation of you, while I published your answer entire. I reported almost in full all the discourses pronounced for the death of the king, and only quoted a few extracts from the others, to preserve some semblance of impartiality. I may say with confidence that the publicity I gave to your two speeches, and to that of Barère, contributed not a little to decide the opinion of the Assembly and the departments."—*Papiers Inédits trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*, ii. 130: *Rédacteur du Moniteur à ROBESPIERRE*, 18th June 1793.

60. But in truth the evil lay much deeper than Louvet is inclined to admit; and the Girondists, now that they had become the executive, and were striving with a lower and yet more ferocious band of democrats, experienced the necessary effects of, and just retribution for, that destruction of the throne which they themselves had accomplished, and that fatal disbanding of the constitutional guard which they had so pertinaciously forced on the reluctant Louis. It was the want of an armed force at their command, to secure the freedom of their deliberations, and protect them from the insurgent mobs of the capital, which was the real evil. The dreadful massacres of the 10th August and the 2d September had struck such a terror into the Assembly, that whenever there was an appearance of rousing the populace, they were fain to submit. Resistance was impossible on the part of an unarmed body of legislators, in presence of an armed and infuriated rabble, which had drunk deeply of blood, and yet thirsted for more. The Jacobins were perfectly aware of this advantage, and accordingly, while they were daily strengthening and increasing the armed force of the sections at the command of the municipality, they strenuously resisted the slightest approach towards the establishment of any guard or civic force for the defence of the Convention. Roland had made repeated attempts to get a decree passed for the establishment of such a force; but they were all defeated by the agitation raised in the Jacobin club, and the threat of an insurrection. It was the destruction of the executive which induced all the horrors of the Revolution, for it left the legislature at the mercy of the mob of Paris!

61. Having at length become sensible of their weakness from this cause, the Girondists brought forward a proposal for an armed guard for the Convention. The populace was immediately put in motion. The menacing language of the deputies of the sections of Paris, who attended at the bar of the Convention to remonstrate against the proposed guard, is one of the most instructive proofs that exists of the state of

thralldom to which they were reduced. "Mandatories of the sovereign people," said they, "you see before you the deputies of the sections of Paris. They come to tell you eternal truths; to recall you to the principles which nature and reason have engraven in the hearts of all freemen. No more words—we demand deeds. It has been proposed to put you on a level with tyrants, by surrounding you with an armed guard." At these words a violent storm arose in the Assembly; the President covered his face in despair. Waiting patiently till the din had ceased, the orator resumed: "I repeat, they have proposed to put you on a level with tyrants, by surrounding you with a guard composed differently from that which now constitutes the public strength. The sections of Paris, after having maturely weighed the principles on which the sovereignty of the people rests, now declare to you, by us, that it regards that project as odious, its execution dangerous. We will attack that principle in front, as vigorously as our armies on the frontiers combat our enemies. We are now defending the entire Republic: Paris has made the Revolution—Paris has given liberty to France—Paris will maintain it." Overawed and subjugated, the Assembly were glad to conceal their weakness by passing to the order of the day, and inviting the deputation to the honour of the sitting.

62. In the midst of these vehement passions, laws still more stringent and sanguinary were passed against the priests and emigrants. So rapidly had the Revolution advanced that they now excited very little attention, and were passed, as it were, by acclamation. First, it was decreed that every Frenchman taken with arms against France in his hands, should be punished with death; and soon after, that "the French emigrants are for ever banished from the territory of France, and those who return shall be punished with death." A third decree directed that all their property, movable and immovable, should be confiscated to the service of the state. These decrees were rigidly executed: and though almost unnoticed amidst the bloody deeds which at the

same period stained the Revolution, ultimately produced the most lasting and irremediable effects.

63. At length the prostration of the Assembly before the armed sections of Paris had become so excessive, that Buzot and Barbaroux, the most intrepid of the Girondists, brought forward two measures which, if they could have been carried, would have emancipated the legislature from this odious thralldom. Buzot proposed to establish a guard specially for the protection of the Convention, drawn from young men chosen from the different departments. Barbaroux at the same time brought forward four decrees, ably conceived, which, if carried into execution, would have effectually checked the usurpations of the municipality. By the first, the capital was to cease to be the seat of the legislature, when it lost its claim to their presence, by failing to protect them from insult. By the second, the troops of the *Fédérés* and the national cavalry were to be charged, along with the armed sections, with the protection of the legislature. By the third, the Convention was to constitute itself into a court of justice, for the trial of all conspirators against its authority. By the fourth, the Convention suspended the municipality of Paris. This would have established an effectual counterpoise to the influence of the populace of Paris, and have been a decisive blow to the Jacobins and municipality of that city. Robespierre combated the proposal with all his power. "Paris is now tranquil," said he.—"The blood of 2d September is yet reeking," replied Vergniaud. "The authority of the Convention is now universally respected." "You yourself daily call it in question in your seditious assemblies, your sanguinary journals." "Such a decree would be a libel on the people of Paris." "They groan, as well as ourselves, under the assassins who oppress them." "You wish to create a tyranny." "On the contrary, we strive to put an end to yours." "You would establish a pretorian band." "You rule by means of a horde of brigands." "You are treading in the steps of Sulla." "You have the ambition of Crom-

well." These angry recriminations had no effect but to divert the Assembly from the importance of the real object at issue; and, fearful of present danger, they rejected the only means of avoiding it in future, by delivering themselves, unprotected, to the mob of the capital. Thus the Girondist ministry experienced the fatal consequences of the base betrayal of their sovereign on occasion of the disbanding of the constitutional guard, and were fast descending the gulf into which that step had precipitated him.

64. The Jacobins skilfully availed themselves of these impotent manifestations of distrust, to give additional currency to the report, that the Girondists intended to transport the seat of government to the southern provinces. This rumour rapidly gained ground with the populace, and augmented their dislike at the ministry. Their opponents treated the accusation with contempt; a striking proof of their ignorance of the trifling foundations on which popular favour or dislike is founded. On every occasion the democrats pressed for a decree in favour of the unity and indivisibility of the Republic; thereby insinuating the belief that a federal union was contemplated by their adversaries—a project of all others the most unpopular in the central city of Paris, and the report of which was afterwards productive of the most ruinous consequences to the moderate party. In truth, the suspicions of the Jacobins on this point were not so destitute of foundation as their leaders in public maintained. Madame Roland conceived it was by a union of federal republics that the freedom of France could alone be secured; and this opinion had in secret now come to be shared by all the leading men of her party, who felt daily the ruinous effects of the armed force of Paris, which their adversaries had at their disposal. In the *Courrier des Départements*, which was conducted by their party, the project of a federal union was openly advocated.

65. All these preliminary struggles were essays of strength by the two parties, prior to the grand question which was now destined to attract the eyes of

Europe and the world. This was the TRIAL OF LOUIS XVI. The Jacobins had several motives for urging this measure. By placing the king's life in peril, they hoped to compel the Girondists openly to espouse his cause, and thereby ruin them without redemption in the eyes of the people: by engaging the popular party in so decisive a step, they knew that they would best preclude any chance of return to a royalist government. They were desirous, moreover, of taking out of the hands of the Girondists, and the moderate part of the Convention, the formation of a republican government; and they were probably of opinion that the vengeance of the dead was less to be feared than that of the living, and that a dethroned king was a dangerous neighbour to an infant democracy. To prepare the nation for this great event, and familiarise them with the tragedy in which it was intended to terminate, the most vigorous measures were taken by the Jacobins over all France. In their central club at Paris the question was repeatedly canvassed, and the most inflammatory harangues were delivered, on the necessity of striking a decisive blow against the royalist faction. The popular societies in the departments were stimulated to present addresses to the Convention, openly demanding the condemnation of the king. The sections of Paris imitated their example. Petitions were daily heard at the bar of the Assembly, praying for vengeance on the murderers of the 10th August, and for the death of the last tyrant. In the barbarous language of the age, the President had frequently promised satisfaction to the numerous petitioners who prayed, "De faire rouler la tête du tyran;"* and in many proclamations the monarch they were about to try had been already condemned by the Convention.

66. A discovery was at this juncture made in the Tuileries, which increased to a very high degree the popular discontent against the unfortunate prince. In a cavity in the wall, behind a concealed iron door, were found a great

* To roll on the ground the head of the tyrant.

variety of secret papers, belonging to the court, placed there, as already mentioned, by order of Louis. Evidence was there discovered of the measures of Talon, the agreement with Mirabeau, the propositions of Bouillé, and many other secret transactions. Roland had the misfortune, by giving publicity to this discovery, to hasten the death of the sovereign he was desirous of saving. The papers discovered threw a doubt on the consistency of many individuals on the popular side; but they in no degree implicated Louis in any sinister or unworthy design. They amounted merely to this, that the monarch, severely pressed by his enemies, and deserted by all the world, was desirous of strengthening his party, or received and entertained projects of deliverance from the most zealous of his adherents. But no trace was discovered of any intention, on his part, to subvert the constitution he had sworn to maintain, or do more than extricate himself from the tyranny to which, in the pretended days of freedom, he was really subjected by the democratic faction. And is the sovereign to be the only person, in a free country, who is to be denied the privilege of making those efforts in favour of his just rights, which are so zealously asserted for the meanest of his subjects?

67. The charges brought against Louis were very numerous. Among others, he was accused of having written to the Bishop of Clermont, on 16th April 1791, "that if he recovered his power he would restore the clergy and the constitution to their ancient state;" of having entertained designs of betraying his oaths and overturning the Revolution; of having corresponded with the emigrant faction, whose avowed object was the restoration of the ancient order of things. Of all these grounds of complaint, it is sufficient to observe, that in so far as they were founded in fact, they were perfectly justifiable in the circumstances in which he was placed; but that in greater part they were base calumnies, equally contradicted by his virtues and his irresolution; and that if he had really been actuated by the principles im-

puted to him, he never would have been reduced to the necessity of vindicating himself before a popular assembly. The preliminary question which occupied the Convention was, Whether Louis could be legally brought to trial before them? The Committee of Twelve, to whom the point was referred for investigation, reported in the affirmative. Mailhé, charged with delivering its report, maintained—"That the inviolability awarded to Louis by the constitution was as *king*, not as an *individual*; that the nation had supplied the inviolability of the sovereign by the responsibility of his ministers; and that, where he had acted as an individual, and not through them, his protection was at an end; that his dethronement was not a punishment, but a change of government; that he was not amenable to the law against traitors and conspirators; finally, that the arraignment should be before the Convention, and not any inferior court, because, as it embraced all those interests which were centred in the maintenance of justice, it was impossible that that supreme tribunal could violate justice, and therefore needless that it should be fettered by its forms."

68. When this report was received in the Convention, a stormy discussion arose. The partisans of Louis, though obliged to profess themselves satisfied of his guilt, maintained "that the inviolability was general; that the constitution had not only provided for secret hostilities on his part, but open warfare, and in either alternative, had prescribed no other pain than dethronement; that the nation had placed him on the throne on these conditions; that the Convention was commissioned by the nation to change the government, but not to judge the sovereign; that if the rules of justice forbade his prosecution, much more did the usages of war, which permitted no severity to the vanquished except on the field of battle; that the Republic had no interest in his condemnation, but only in such measures as were called for by the public safety, which would be sufficiently secured by his detention or exile." There were not wanting, however, some deputies

who courageously supported a more humane opinion. "What," said Ranzet, "was the true position given to the king by the constitution of 1791? He was placed in presence of the national representation as a rival to it. Was it not natural that he should seek to recover as much as possible his lost authority? Did not you yourselves call him to enter upon that strife with the legislative body? In that contest he was overthrown, and he lies now alone and bound at the feet of twenty-five millions of men, and shall they have the baseness to murder the vanquished? Has not Louis repressed, beyond any other man, the eternal desire for power which is so strongly impressed on the human heart? Did he not, in 1789, voluntarily abandon a large part of his authority? Has he not abolished servitude in his domains, admitted philosophers into his councils, and even the empirics imposed upon him by the public voice? Does not France owe to him the convocation of the States-General, and the first establishment of its political rights?" The Girondists supported this opinion; the neutral party was inclined to adhere to the report of the committee.

69. But the Jacobins openly avowed a more manly doctrine, if such an epithet can be fitly applied to severity towards a fallen enemy. "Citizens," said St Just, "I undertake to prove that the opinions advanced on both sides are equally erroneous. The committee who have reported, you yourselves, our adversaries, seek for forms to authorise the trial of the late king—I, on the contrary, affirm that the king is to be regarded more as an enemy, whom we have to combat, than as a criminal whom we are to judge; the forms to be observed are not those of private prosecutions, but of public conflicts. Hesitation, delay, in such a case, are the greatest acts of imprudence. After postponing the formation of laws, no calamity could be so great as that of temporising with a dethroned monarch. The mere act of having reigned is a crime, a usurpation which nothing can absolve, which a people are culpable for having suffered, and which

invests every man with a personal right of vengeance. No one can reign innocently; the very idea of such a thing is ridiculous. We must treat such a usurpation as kings themselves have treated all attempts to dethrone them. Was not the memory of Cromwell arraigned for having overturned the authority of Charles? Yet, in truth, the one was not more a usurper than the other; for when a people is sufficiently base to allow itself to be ruled by a tyrant, power belongs of right to the first person who can seize it, and is not more legitimate when held by one than by the other. The time will come when the world will be astonished that, in the eighteenth century, we should have been so much behind the days of Cæsar: that tyrant was slain in a crowded senate, without any other formality than three-and-twenty strokes of a poniard, and no other warrant than the liberty of Rome. And now you hesitate to engage in the trial of a man, the assassin of the people, arrested in the very commission of his crimes. The men who are charged with the judgment of Louis have a republic to form; those who scruple at inflicting a just punishment on a king, will never succeed in establishing one. If the Roman people, after six hundred years of hatred of tyrants—if England, after the death of Cromwell—saw the race of sovereigns revive in its bosom, what have all to fear among ourselves who see the axe tremble in the hands of those who have only just begun to wield it, and the people, in the first days of their liberty, awed by the recollection of their former fetters?"

70. Robespierre strongly supported these arguments. "Consider," said he, "what audacity the enemies of liberty have already acquired. In August last they sought concealment; now they boldly show themselves, and demand impunity for a perjured tyrant. We have heard of his virtues and benefactions. While we have the utmost difficulty in rescuing the best citizens from a precipitate accusation, the cause of the despot alone is so sacred that it cannot be too fully or patiently discussed. If we are to believe his apolo-

gists, his trial will last several months; it will be protracted till next spring, when the despots will execute a general attack for his rescue. What a career is thus opened to the conspirators! what room afforded for intrigues of the aristocracy! The Assembly has been unconsciously led from the true question before it. There is in reality no criminal process; Louis is not an accused party; you are not judges; you are, and can be, only statesmen; you have not a verdict to pronounce for or against any individual, but a measure of public importance to adopt, an act essential to national existence to perform. A dethroned king in a republic is fit for nothing but one of two objects—either to trouble the public tranquillity and endanger the freedom of the state, or to confirm the one and the other. The punishment of death is in general an evil, for this plain reason, that, by the unchangeable laws of nature, it can only be justified by absolute necessity with regard to individuals or to the social body; and in ordinary cases it can never be necessary, because the government has ample means of preventing the guilty person from injuring his fellow-citizens. But a dethroned king in the midst of an ill-cemented republic—a king whose name alone is sufficient to rekindle the flames of civil war—can never be an object of indifference to the public safety; and that cruel exception from ordinary rules is owing to nothing but the nature of his crimes. I pronounce with regret the fatal truth: Louis must die, that France may live. Louis was once a king; he is now dethroned: the momentous question before you is decided by these simple considerations. Louis cannot be tried; his trial is over, his condemnation recorded, or the formation of the republic is unjustifiable. I demand that the Convention shall declare the king traitor towards France, criminal towards human nature, and instantly condemn him in virtue of the right of insurrection."

71. By these extreme propositions, which they did not expect to carry, the Jacobins in a manner insured the condemnation of Louis. When such doc-

trines were once abroad, the moderate party had no chance of success with the multitude, but in adopting measures of inferior severity. To have contended for an absolute exemption from punishment, would have appeared tantamount to abandoning the whole principles of the Revolution. Every man felt that he could not do so without endangering his own safety, and exposing himself to the imminent hazard of shortly changing places with his dethroned sovereign. Actuated by these motives, the majority of the Convention, composed of the Girondists and neutral party, decided that the king should be put on his trial before it.

72. The prison of the Temple, which has been rendered immortal by the last imprisonment of Louis XVI. and his family, no longer exists. It was situated in the Rue du Temple, in the heart of Paris, and consisted of two towers enclosed within a high exterior wall, and placed adjoining each other. They were called the little and the great towers. In the former, the whole royal family were first immured; to the last the king alone was subsequently removed, when he was separated from his wife and children. The little tower consisted of a small square, flanked with turrets, consisting of four stories. In the first were a small library, parlour, and guard-room; in the second was the bedroom of the king and queen, in which the dauphin slept. The Princess Elisabeth and princess-royal were lodged in an adjoining apartment, entering from the former. During the day, the royal family sat in a large room in the third story, adjoining which was a little one in the turret, where the king's books were kept; and in a room entering from it, Cléry and Hue, the faithful attendants of the fallen sovereign, slept. On the right of the towers, enclosed within high walls, was a small garden, in which the royal family were permitted to walk. It had no flowers or shrubs to give variety to the scene: a few plots of withered grass, and three stunted bushes of arbutus, rendered half leafless by the winds of autumn, constituted the only ornaments of the gloomy enclosure. Such was the last abode of those to

whom the splendour of Versailles once seemed scarcely a fitting habitation.

73. Since his imprisonment in the Temple, the unfortunate monarch had been successively curtailed of his comforts, and the severity of his detention increased. At first the royal family were permitted to spend their time together; and, disengaged from the cares of government, they experienced the sweetness of domestic affection and parental tenderness. Attended by their faithful servants, Cléry and afterwards Hue, the king spent his time in teaching the dauphin the elements of education, the queen in discharging with the princesses the most humble duties; or, like Mary in Lochleven castle, in large works of tapestry. The royal party breakfasted at nine in the apartment of the queen; at one, if the day was fair, they walked for an hour in the garden, strictly watched by the officers of the municipality, from whom they often experienced the most cruel insults. Their son evinced the most engaging sweetness of disposition, as well as aptitude for study; bred up in the school of adversity, he promised to grace the throne by the virtues and energy of a humble station. The princess-royal, in the intervals of instruction, played with her brother, and softened, by every possible attention, the severity of her parents' captivity; while the Princess Elizabeth bore the horrors of her prison with the same celestial equanimity with which she had formerly withstood the seductions and corruptions of a dissipated court. The virtues and graces of the queen won the heart and vanquished the fanaticism of one of the guards, placed over the royal family by the Convention, named Toulan. He was a native of Toulouse, and inherited the warmth and ardour of a southern imagination. To such a disposition the transition was easy—from the enthusiasm of liberty to that of love. Like George Douglas at Lochleven, he devoted himself in secret to the rescue of the royal captives, and engaged one of his colleagues, named Lepitre, in the attempt. The secret countersign given to Toulan by the queen was the words—"He who fears

to die, knows not how to love." But though several persons in Paris, and even in the national guard, were engaged in the attempt, the generous design failed, from the frequent change of guards, which the commissioners' jealousy had ordered.

74. The long evenings of winter were chiefly spent in reading aloud. Racine and Corneille, or historical compositions, were the favourite study of the royal family.* The king perused, again and again, the history of the English Rebellion by Hume, and sought, by reflections on the fate of Charles, to prepare his mind for the catastrophe which he was well aware awaited himself. His firmness seemed to increase with the approach of danger; the irresolution and timidity by which he was formerly distinguished, totally disappeared when his subjects' fate was not bound up with his own. The queen herself took an example from his resolution. After dinner, the king and his family slept peaceably for a short time—a touching spectacle, standing as they did on the verge of eternity. At night the queen undressed the dauphin, and put him to bed with her own hands. He said his prayers to his mother; he petitioned for his parents' life, and for the Princess Lamballe, with whose death he was unacquainted, and for his instructress, the Marquise de Tourzel. After they had been some time in the Temple, the queen taught her son another prayer, which she whispered in his ear as she stooped down to kiss him when lying in his bed before retiring to rest. The prayer has been preserved by the Duchess d'Angoulême, and was as follows: "All-powerful God, who hath created and redeemed me, I love you: preserve my father and mother, and our family. Defend us against our enemies. Give to my mother, my aunt, my sister, strength to endure their trials." When the Commissioners of the Commune were near, he took the precaution, of his own accord, to utter the last supplications in an inaudible voice. The members of the municipality, who al-

* They afterwards occupied the winter evenings of Napoleon at St Helena.—LAS CASES and O'MEARA.

ternately visited the royal family during their captivity, at times displayed the most insolent barbarity, at others a delicate forbearance. Louis conversed with his inspectors on every occasion, and in the most familiar manner, on the subject of their different trades, and frequently surprised them by the extent and accuracy of his practical information. "Are you not afraid," said he to a mason, Mizareau, "that these pillars will give way?"—"They stand firmer than the throne of kings," was the reply of the hard-hearted republican.

75. By degrees, however, the precautions of the municipality became more vexatious. Their officers never for an instant lost sight of the royal family; and when they retired to rest, a bed was placed at the door of each room, where the guards slept. They seemed to take a savage pleasure in all acts which might shock the royal captives, and remind them of their fallen condition.* Santerre, with his brutal staff, every day made them a visit; and a permanent council of civic authorities was held in the lower apartments of the prison. Writing materials were first taken away; soon after, the knives, scissors, needles, and bodkins of the princesses were seized, after the most rigorous search,—a cruel deprivation, as it not only prevented them from relieving the tedious hours by needlework, but rendered it impossible for them any longer to mend their garments. Rigorously excluded from all communication with the city, it was with the utmost difficulty that they could receive any intelligence as to the events which were going on there. But the ingenuity of the faithful Cléry discovered a method, to a certain degree, of satisfying their desires in this particular, by means of a public crier, with whom he opened a communication, and who placed himself under the windows of the king,

and, under pretence of selling the journals, recounted their leading articles with as loud a voice as he could. Cléry at the appointed hour placed himself at the window, and eagerly listened to the details, which in the evening, after the king had retired to bed, he told him in a whisper, without the city officers being aware of the communication.

76. But before long, the magistrates of Paris envied the royal captives the simple consolation which they derived from sharing their misfortunes together. By a resolution of the municipality, on 29th September, it was determined that the king and the dauphin should be separated from the queen and the princesses. This decree, as unnecessary as it was barbarous, rent the hearts of the whole family. With anxious eyes they gazed in the faces of the municipal officers, to gather the object of this separation from the king, which they feared was his death. Their grief was so poignant, that it even melted the hearts of the commissioners of the magistracy, who left the room that they might escape its influence. Cléry, the king's valet, who accompanied Louis to the large tower, where he was to be confined, was not even allowed to see the dauphin, or assist him in dressing; and the king was not permitted for some time to behold his family at all. The allowance of food brought to Louis in his seclusion was barely adequate to the sustenance of a human being. One morning, the piece of bread presented for his breakfast, and that of Cléry, was so palpably insufficient, that the latter refused to share it. The monarch insisted, and they eat together in silence and in tears their humble allotment. Shortly after, the sorrow of the royal family received some relief by their being permitted to dine together; their joy at meeting was so excessive that even their stern jailers were moved to tears. The queen, during their whole captivity, performed the duties of a common menial servant in the rooms; this, at all times a source of regret to the king, was especially so on the anniversary of their marriage, and the birth of their children, or other joyous events. On one of these occasions he recalled to her recollection the

* "Rocher (the jailer) sung before us the Carmagnole and other horrors; knowing that my mother dreaded the smell of a pipe, he puffed the smoke in her and my father's face when they passed. He was always in bed when we went to supper, sometimes even when we dined."—*Journal du Temple, par Madame la DUCHESSE D'ANGOULÊME*, 43, 44.

days of their happiness, and asked her pardon for having implicated her in the fate of one who had so changed them into mourning. "Ah! Madam!" said he one evening, on seeing Marie Antoinette engaged in one of these humble pursuits, "what an employment for a queen of France! Could they see it at Vienna! Who could have foreseen that, in uniting your lot to mine, you would have descended so low!"—"And do you esteem it as nothing," replied the queen with inexpressible dignity, "the glory of being the wife of the best and the most persecuted of men? Are not such misfortunes the noblest honours?"

77. On the day on which it had been determined that Louis should appear at the bar of the Convention, he was engaged teaching the dauphin his lesson, when the commissioners entered, and informed the king that they were ordered to take the young prince to his mother. He tenderly embraced his son, and was profoundly afflicted at the separation. At one, the mayor of Paris, Chambon, entered, and read the decree, by which it was ordained that Louis Capet should attend at the bar of the Convention. "Capet is not my name," he replied, "but that of one of my ancestors. I could have wished, gentlemen, that you had left my son with me during the last two hours; but that deprivation is a part of the treatment which I have experienced ever since my confinement. I am ready to follow you, not because I recognise the authority of the Convention, but because they have the power to compel me." When Madame Elizabeth was informed of the measures adopted in regard to the king, she expressed herself fully prepared for the catastrophe which followed. "The queen and I," she said, "are prepared for the worst: we do not attempt to shut our eyes to his approaching fate—he will die the victim of his love for the people, for whose happiness he has never ceased to labour since his accession to the throne. How cruelly the country has been deceived! The religion of the king, his firm reliance on Providence, can support him in that cruel extremity. Cléry, you will be left alone with my brother; redouble

your attentions to him; we have now none to depend on but you."

78. The crowd was immense as the king passed through the streets. Amidst a thousand revolutionary cries, some countenances indicated the most profound grief. His own appearance differed in no respect from what it had been when he passed, in the days of his prosperity, from one palace to another. Six hundred infantry, and a large body of cavalry, with three pieces of loaded cannon, preceded and followed the carriage. The Convention, warned of the approach of the king, earnestly recommended tranquillity when he entered. "Representatives," said Barère, the president, "you are about to exercise the right of national justice. You will answer to all the citizens of France for your conduct. Europe observes you; history will collect your thoughts—your actions; incorruptible posterity will judge you with inflexible severity. Let your attitude suit the dignity of your situation. Give, by your organs, a great lesson to kings—an example useful to the emancipation of nations. Remember the terrible silence which attended his appearance from Varennes—silence prophetic of the judgment of kings by nations." Louis appeared. The president, Barère, immediately said, with a faltering voice, "Louis, the French nation accuses you: you are about to hear the charges that are to be preferred: Louis, be seated." The king sat down with an intrepid air: no signs of emotion appeared on his countenance. The dignity and mildness of his presence were such that the Girondists were melted to tears; and the fanaticism of St Just, Robespierre, and Marat, for a moment yielded to the feelings of humanity.

79. The charges consisted of an enumeration of the whole crimes of the Revolution, from its commencement in 1789, all of which were laid to his account. They were, according to the custom in French courts, read to him by the clerk, and he was required to answer each charge separately. His answers, by the admission even of his enemies, were brief and firm: he displayed a remarkable degree of presence

of mind; and, in most cases, was victorious over his adversaries, or touched them by the simplicity of his replies. The affair of Nancy, the journey to Varennes, the suppression of the revolt in the Champ de Mars, were justified by the decrees of the Assembly; the catastrophe of the 10th August, by the power of self-defence conferred on him by the laws. To every question of the president he replied with clearness and precision; denying some of the alleged crimes, showing that others were the work of his ministers, justifying all by the powers conferred on him by the Constitution. When charged with shedding the blood of the people on the 10th August, he, for the first and last time, exclaimed with a loud voice, "No, sir, it was not I that did it." He was careful, in his answers, never to implicate any members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies: many who then sat as his judges trembled lest he should betray them. The Jacobins beheld, with dismay, the profound impression made on the Convention by the simple statement of truth, by the firm but temperate demeanour of the sovereign. The most violent of the party proposed that he should be hung that very night; a laugh, as of demons, followed the proposal from the benches of the Mountain. But the majority, composed of the Girondists and the neutrals, decided that he should be formally tried, and defended by counsel.

80. When Louis returned to the Temple, the cruel resolution of the Commune was communicated to him, that he was no longer to be permitted to see his family. "My son, at least!" he exclaimed with the most heart-rending

* "If we shall meet again with more delight,
Then draw my life in length; let me sustain,
In hopes of his embrace, the worst of pain.
But, if your hard decrees—which, O! I
dread—

Have doomed to death his undeserving
head;

This, O! this very moment let me die,
While hopes and fears in equal balance lie;
While, yet possessed of all his youthful
charms,

I strain him close within these aged arms—
Before that fatal news my soul shall
wound!"—*Brecht*, viii.

† On the same day, the municipality passed a decree, directing "that the two counsel of

accent—"am I never again to see my son? What needless cruelty to deprive me of that sweet infant!"* At half-past eight, the hour when the dauphin usually went to bed, he earnestly entreated that he might see him for a moment to give him his blessing; but even this favour was refused by the relentless municipality. For some time after, he was in the deepest distress; but he soon recovered his composure—read for two hours a work on religion—and never again lost his serenity of mind. The Convention, less barbarous than the magistrates, the day after, at the petition of the king, decreed that he might enjoy the society of his children, provided they did not return to the queen during his trial. "You need not give yourself the trouble to pass such a decree," said the Jacobins, "for unless the municipality choose, they will not carry it into execution." The king, thinking the children more necessary to the queen's comfort than his own, declined to take them from her, and submitted to the painful separation with a resignation which nothing could overcome.

81. On the following day the deputies of the Convention announced to him, that he was to be permitted to choose his counsel. He selected M. Tronchet and M. Target.† The first accepted, and faithfully discharged his duty; the latter had the baseness to decline.‡ The venerable Malesherbes, whose official career had been distinguished by so many sage and useful reforms, now came forward, and volunteered his services on behalf of his sovereign. In a letter addressed to the president of the Convention, he said—"I have

Louis XVI. should be strictly searched, and that, after being stripped, they should, under the surveillance of the commissioners, be dressed in other garments, which they could not send out of the tower until after judgment had been pronounced on the king."—*BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE*, x. 276, 277.

‡ Napoleon knew how to admire heroism, even when exerted in another cause: one of his first acts was to promote Tronchet, then an old man, to the important duty of aiding in the formation of the legal code, which has given such durable lustre to the name of its author; and he was soon after appointed to the head of the Supreme Court of Cassation. —*BOURBAHNS*, iv. 68; v. 122.

been twice honoured with a place in the councils of my master, when it was the object of ambition to all the world; I owe him the same service, when it imposes a duty which many consider dangerous." This generous offer drew tears from the eyes of many in the Convention: the Jacobins were silent; even reckless ambition, for a moment, felt the ascendant of heroic virtue. Louis was deeply affected at this proof of devotion on the part of his aged friend. When he entered the Temple, he clasped him in his arms, and exclaimed, with tears in his eyes—"Ah! it is you, my friend! You see to what I am reduced by the excess of my affection for my people, and the self-denial which led me to remove the troops intended to protect the throne from the enterprises of the factious. You fear not to endanger your own life to save mine; but it is in vain. They will bring me to the scaffold, I am well aware; but that is of no moment. Let us enter upon the defence as if I were sure to be successful: I will gain it in reality through your exertions, since my memory will descend unspotted to posterity."*

82. Malesherbes and Tronchet afterwards called in the assistance of M. de Sèze, a celebrated pleader, who at first had espoused the popular side, but had withdrawn from political life since the sombre days of the Revolution commenced. He entered with great earnestness, and his wonted ability, upon his arduous duties. "I have often wished," said the king to Malesherbes, "that I had the means of recompensing the zeal of your colleagues: I have thought of leaving them a legacy; but would it be respected by the Convention? Would it not endanger them?"—"Sire," replied Malesherbes, "the

* How identical is heroic virtue in all ages! how well have the poets prefigured its most noble efforts!—

"Et serai du parti qu'affligera le sort.
Egale à tous les deux jusques à la victoire,
Je prendrai part aux maux sans en prendre
la gloire;
Et je garde au milieu de tant d'après rigueurs,
Mes larmes aux vaincus, et ma haine aux vainqueurs."

CORNÉILLE, *Les Horaces*, Act I. scene 1.

legacy is already bequeathed: in choosing them for your defenders, your majesty has immortalised their names." His counsel were in continual astonishment at his serenity of mind. "Believe me," said he, "religion has more consolation than philosophy." When the eloquent peroration of de Sèze was read to the king the evening before it was to be delivered to the Assembly, he requested that it might be struck out. "I have to request of you," said he, "to make a sacrifice, which I know will be painful; strike out of your pleading the too touching peroration. It is enough for me to appear before such judges, and demonstrate my complete innocence; but I will not condescend to move their feelings." The same day he composed his immortal testament; the most perfect commentary on the principles of Christianity that ever has come from the hand of a king.† "I recommend to my son," said he, in that touching memorial, "if he ever has the misfortune to become king, to feel that his whole existence should be devoted to the good of his people; to bury in oblivion all hatred and resentment, especially for my misfortunes; to recollect that he cannot promote the happiness of his subjects but in reigning according to the laws; but, at the same time, that a king cannot carry into execution his good intentions without the requisite authority; that, otherwise, being continually thwarted in his operations, he rather injures than benefits. I pardon all those who have injured me in my misfortunes; and I pray my son to recollect only their sufferings. I declare before God, and on the eve of appearing at his tribunal, that I am totally innocent of the crimes laid to my charge."

83. On the 26th December the king was conducted to the Convention. He was taken in the carriage of the mayor, with the same military force as before. He evinced, in passing through the city, as great coolness as on the former occasion; spoke of Seneca, Livy, and the public hospitals; and addressed himself in a delicate vein of pleasantry to one of the municipality, who sat in the carriage with his hat on. When wait-

† See Appendix A. chap. VIII.

ing in the antechamber, Malesherbes, in conversing with the king, made use of the words, "Sire, your Majesty." Treillard, a furious Jacobin, interrupted him, exclaiming—"What has rendered you so bold as to pronounce these words, which the Convention has proscribed?" "Contempt of life," replied the intrepid old man. When they were admitted into the Assembly, Louis seated himself between his counsel, surveyed with a benignant eye the crowded benches of his adversaries, and was even observed sometimes to smile as he conversed with Malesherbes. In the speech which followed, de Sèze ably argued the inviolability of the sovereign, and proved that, if it was destroyed, the weaker party in the Convention had no security against the stronger: a prophetic truth, which the Girondists soon experienced at the hands of their implacable enemies. He examined the whole life of the king, and showed that, in every instance, he had been actuated by the sincerest love of his people.

84. "On the 10th August," he observed, "was the monarch under the necessity of submitting to an armed multitude? Was he constrained by law to yield to force? Was not the power which he held in the constitution a deposit, for the preservation of which he was answerable to the nation? If you yourselves were surrounded by a furious and misguided rabble, which threatened, without respect for your sacred character, to tear you from this sanctuary, what could you do other than what he has done? The magistrates themselves authorised all that he did, by having signed the order to repel force by force. Notwithstanding their sanction, the king was unwilling to make use of this authority, and retired into the bosom of the Assembly, to avoid the shedding of blood. The combat which followed was undertaken neither for him nor by his orders; he interfered only to put a stop to it, as is proved by the fact, that it was in consequence of an order signed by him that the Swiss abandoned the defence of the chateau, and surrendered their lives. There is a crying injustice, therefore, in reproaching him

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with the blood shed on the 10th August; in truth, his conduct in that particular is above reproach." His conclusion was in these words:—"Louis mounted the throne at the age of twenty; and even then he set the example of an irreproachable life; he was governed by no weak or corrupted passion; he was economical, just, and severe. He proved himself, from the beginning, the friend of his country. The people desired the removal of a destructive tax; he removed it: they wished the abolition of servitude; he abolished it in his domains: they prayed for a reform in the criminal law; he reformed it: they demanded that thousands of Frenchmen, whom the rigour of our usages had excluded from political rights, should enjoy them; he conceded them: they longed for liberty; he gave it. He even anticipated their wishes; and yet it is the same people who now demand his punishment. I add no more: I pause before the tribunal of history: remember that it will judge your decision, and that its decision will be the voice of ages."

85. When the defence was concluded, the king rose and spoke as follows:—"You have heard my defence; I will not recapitulate it: when addressing you, probably for the last time, I declare that my conscience has nothing to reproach itself with, and that my defenders have said nothing but the truth. I have no fears for the public examination of my conduct; but my heart bleeds at the accusation brought against me, of having been the cause of the misfortunes of my people, and, most of all, of having shed their blood on the 10th of August. The multiplied proofs I have given, in every period of my reign, of my love for my people, and the manner in which I have conducted myself towards them, might, I had hoped, have saved me from so cruel an imputation." Having said these words, he withdrew with his defenders. He embraced de Sèze, and exclaimed in a transport of gratitude, "This is true eloquence: I am now at ease: I shall have an honoured memory: the French will regret my death."

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86. A stormy discussion immediately arose in the Assembly. Lanjuinais had the boldness to demand a revocation of the decree by which the king had been brought to the bar of the Convention. "If you insist on being judges," he concluded, "cease to be accusers. My blood boils at the thought of seeing in the judgment-seat men who openly conspired against the throne on the 10th of August, and who have in such ferocious terms anticipated the judgment without hearing the defence." The most violent agitation followed these words. "He accuses," exclaimed the Jacobins, "the 10th August in the midst of the Convention, which owes its existence to that revolt! He wishes to save the tyrant; to-morrow he will deliver us up to his vengeance. To the Abbaye with the perjured deputy! Let the friends of the tyrant perish with him." The Girondists felt the force of this reply. They did not venture to call in question an event which had established the Republic, and could not be arraigned without consigning their power to the dust, themselves to the scaffold. Duhesme exclaimed, from the benches of the Mountain: "I demand that he be instantly judged; all the forms have been gone through: it will be time enough to print his defence after his execution." A vehement debate, interrupted constantly with cries of fury, took place, which was at length appeased by a proposal of Couthon to discuss the proposition made of an appeal to the people. This discussion took place, and lasted twenty days.

87. St Just was the most powerful declaimer against the sovereign. "Posterity," he said, "will bless your work: every generous heart throughout the world will respect your courage. What people has ever made such sacrifices for liberty? What people has been so often betrayed? what so slow in vengeance? Is it before the prince that we must justify our proceedings, and is that prince to be inviolable? The system of the king was apparent gentleness and goodness: everywhere he identified himself with his country, and sought to fix on himself the affections which should be centred on her. He sapped

the laws by the refinement of his conduct—by the interest which unfortunate virtue inspires. Louis was truly a tyrant, and a perfidious and deceitful one. He convoked the States-General; but it was only to humble the noblesse, and reign absolute through their divisions. On the 14th July, and the 5th October, he had secretly provided the means of resistance; but when the national energy had shattered them in pieces, he made a virtue of necessity, and testified a hypocritical joy for the victory of the people. Since that time, being no longer able to employ force, he has never ceased to strive to corrupt the friends of the people; he employed the most perfidious dissimulation before the 10th August, and now assumes a feigned gentleness to disarm your resentment. He then filled the palace with soldiers and assassins, and came to the Assembly with peace and conciliation on his lips. It is in vain to talk of an appeal to the people; it would be an appeal only to anarchy. The Revolution does not in reality commence till the tyrant is no more. The French long loved the king who was preparing their slavery; he has since slain those who held him foremost in their affections. The people will no more revolt if the king is just, than the sea will rise if it is not agitated by the winds."

88. Robespierre said: "There are sacred forms, unknown to the bar; there are indestructible principles, superior to the common maxims, concentrated by habit, or confirmed by prejudice. The true condemnation of a sovereign is to be found in the spontaneous insurrection of a people driven to desperation by his oppression; it is the most sure and the most equitable of all judgments. Louis was condemned long before the decree which called him to your bar. The last and greatest proof which freemen can give of their love to their country, is to sacrifice to it the first movements of returning sensibility. The humanity which trembles in presence of the accused, the clemency which compounds with tyranny, is the worst kind of oppression. What motive can there be

for delay? The defence of the accused has terminated—why should we not give judgment? Do you doubt of his guilt? If so, you doubt of the sacred right of insurrection: you throw an imputation on the whole Revolution: you transfer the accusation of the king into an indictment against the whole French nation. It is a mere pretext to talk of an appeal to the people. Have the people heard the evidence? Are they qualified to give judgment? The people have energy, they have courage; but they are often the dupe of scoundrels: they strike down tyrants; but they often yield to hypocrites. The majority of the nation!—Why, virtue has ever been in a minority on the earth. But for that, would it have been peopled by tyrants and slaves? Hampden and Sidney were in the minority, for they expired on the scaffold: Cato was in the minority, for he tore out his entrails: Socrates was in the minority, for he swallowed poison. The motion to submit the question to an appeal to the people, is nothing but an effort to arrest the cause of justice, and, instead of the solemn judgment of the national representatives, induce the distractions and horrors of a civil war."

89. Vergniaud replied in a strain of impassioned eloquence. A profound silence prevailed when he arose; the members listened with breathless anxiety to the first orator of France, pleading the cause of its first subject. "We are accused of provoking a civil war; the accusation is false. But what do they desire, who incessantly preach up assassination against the partisans of tyranny, and apply that name to all those who thwart their ambitious projects; who invoke poniards against the representatives of the people; who are never satisfied, unless the minority of the legislature rules the majority, and enforces its arguments by the aid of insurrections? They are the real promoters of civil war, who thunder forth these principles in all the public places, and pervert the people, by stigmatising justice with the name of pusillanimity, humanity with that of conspiracy. Who has not heard in the streets the exclamations of the rabble, who ascribe

every calamity to the influence of the sovereign? If bread is dear, the cause is in the Temple; if money is scarce, if the armies are ill-paid, the cause is in the Temple; if we are daily obliged to witness misery in the streets, the cause is in the Temple. Who will assure me, that those men who are so ready in exciting such complaints, will not hereafter direct them against the Convention? and those who assert that the tyranny of the legislature had succeeded to that of the throne, and that a new 10th of August is necessary to extinguish it; that a defender is required for the Republic, and that one chief alone can save it—who will assure me that these same men will not exclaim, after the death of Louis, with still greater violence than before, If bread is dear, the cause is in the Convention; if money is scarce, if our armies are ill-provisioned, the cause is in the Convention; if the machine of government is overcharged, the cause is in the Convention; if the calamities of war have been increased by the accession of England and Spain to the league of our enemies, the cause is in the Convention, which provoked their hostility by the condemnation of Louis? Who will assure me that, among the assassins of 2d September, there will not be found what you now call a *defender*, but who, in reality, will prove a dictator, yet reeking with the blood of his victims; and if so, to what unheard-of calamities will Paris be subjected? Who will inhabit a city tenanted only by desolation and death? And when the industrious citizens shall be reduced to beggary, who will then relieve their wants? who will succour their famishing children? I foresee the thrilling reply which will meet them: 'Go to the quarries, and snatch from the earth the bleeding remains of the victims we have murdered. You have asked for blood in the days of your power: here are blood and corpses; we have no other food now to offer you.' You shudder at the thought: oh! then unite your efforts with mine to avert so deplorable a catastrophe."

90. At the conclusion of the debate, the Assembly *unanimously* pronounced

that Louis was guilty.* The appeal to the people was rejected by a majority of 423 to 281.

"Falsa è l'accusa; ognun lo sa; ma ognuno Per se tremante, tacendo l'afferma."†

The question remained, what punishment should be inflicted on the accused? The vote lasted forty hours. During its continuance, Paris was in the last degree of agitation; the club of the Jacobins re-echoed with cries for his death; the avenues of the Convention were choked with a furious multitude, menacing alike his supporters and the neutral party. Deputations innumerable from the sections, from the national guard, from the municipality, from the citizens, succeeded each other at the bar of the Assembly. The sittings of the Jacobin Club were permanent; night and day menacing speeches were poured forth in that awful den of guilt. Every effort that vehemence, faction, revenge, and terror combined could make, was incessantly put in practice to secure his condemnation. As the termination of the vote drew near, the tumult increased; a dense crowd in every direction surrounded the hall of the Convention; the most breathless anxiety pervaded the Assembly; and at length the President, Vergniaud, announced the result in these words: "Citizens, I announce the result of the vote: when justice has spoken, humanity should resume its place: there are 721 votes; a majority of twenty-six have voted for death. In the name of the Convention, I declare that the punishment of Louis Capet is DEATH."‡ He was the first of the Girondists who was called on to vote: and it was well

known they would all follow his example. Indescribable, in consequence, was the sensation in the Assembly and capital when he voted for death. Every one felt that the baseness of this party had brought their sovereign to the scaffold. "Now, boast of your orators," whispered Danton to Brissot, when the vote was given: "sublime words, dastardly deeds. What can you make of such men? speak no more of them; their party is gone."

91. But for the defection of the Girondists the king's life would have been saved. Forty-six of their party, besides Vergniaud, voted conditionally or unconditionally for his death. They were anxious to save the king; but the democratic fury of the times rendered no mode of doing so practicable in their opinion but by the appeal to the people. Vergniaud spent the whole night after the fatal result in tears. Almost all of them subsequently perished on the scaffold they had prepared for their sovereign. The Duke of Orleans, when called on to give his vote, walked with a faltering step, and a face paler than death itself, to the appointed place, and there read these words: "Exclusively governed by my duty, and convinced that all those who have resisted the sovereignty of the people deserve death—my vote is for death." Important as the accession of the first prince of the blood was to the bloodthirsty faction, his conduct in this instance was too obviously selfish and atrocious not to excite a general feeling of indignation: the agitation of the Assembly became extreme: it seemed as if by this single vote the fate of the monarch was irrevocably sealed.

92. When the counsel of the unfortunate monarch were called in to hear the sentence, their tears for some time choked their utterance. Malesherbes strove in vain to speak; de Sèze at length read a protest, in which the king solemnly declared his innocence; and Tronchet earnestly entreated the revocation of a decree passed by so slender a majority. "The laws," it was said, "are passed by a simple majority."—"Yes," it was replied, "but the laws may be repealed: but who shall recall

* Eight members were absent from bad health; thirty-seven declared Louis guilty, but voted only for precautionary measures; 683 declared him guilty. Not one Frenchman deemed it safe to assert the truth, that the illustrious accused was entirely innocent.—*THIERS*, lii. 377.

† "The accusation is false: all know it; but all

Trombling for themselves, by silence affirm it."—*ALFIERI, Filippo*.

‡ It is now generally admitted that this statement of the number was incorrect; and that the real majority which condemned Louis to death was only five.

human life!" As a last resource, the Girondists proposed a delay for a limited time; but here, too, their fatal divisions gave the victory to their enemies, and sentence of death was pronounced by a majority of 510 to 269. This decisive step produced the utmost emotion in Paris. All the members of the *Cotté Droit*, all the avowed or secret royalists, were in consternation; the Jacobins could hardly believe that so great a victory had been gained, as the condemnation of a king in the midst of a people over whom, a few years before, he was an absolute monarch. They redoubled their activity—put all their forces on foot—kept up an incessant agitation—thundered night and day at their infernal hall, and at the Cordeliers—and earnestly besought all their adherents to be vigilant for the next two days, and secure the fruits of so great a triumph. This audacity had the usual effect which force energetically applied produces on the masses of men; it paralysed and put to silence the greater number, and excited the most profound indignation in a few resolute minds.

93. Louis was fully prepared for his fate. During the calling of the vote, he asked M. de Malesherbes, "Have you not met, near the Temple, the White Lady?"—"What do you mean?" replied he.—"Do you not know," resumed the king with a smile, "that when a prince of our house is about to die, a female, dressed in white, is seen wandering round the palace? My friends," added he to his defenders, "I am about to depart before you to the land of the just; we shall there be reunited: and even this world will bless your virtues." His only apprehension was for his family.—"I have no hope, and wish for none: I should be distressed if there was a disturbance on my account; it would cause new victims to perish. I shudder to think in what a situation I leave my children: it is by prayer alone that I can prepare my mind for my last interview with them. And my faithful servants who have not abandoned me, and have no means of subsistence but what I gave them! And the poor people, they will be de-

livered over to anarchy: crimes will succeed crimes; long dissensions will tear unhappy France! O my God! was this the result to which I looked for all my sacrifices! Was it for this that I strove on every occasion for the happiness of the French!" These were the only desponding expressions which escaped him during this period of his captivity. When M. de Malesherbes came to the prison to announce the result of the vote, he found Louis alone, with his forehead resting on his hands, and absorbed in a deep reverie. Without inquiring concerning his fate, or even looking at his friends, he said: "For two hours I have been revolving in my memory, whether, during my whole reign, I have voluntarily given any cause of complaint to my subjects; with perfect sincerity I can declare, when about to appear before the throne of God, that I deserve no reproach at their hands, and that I have never formed a wish but for their happiness." The old man encouraged a hope that the sentence might be revoked: he shook his head, and only entreated his friend not to leave him in his last moments. But he was denied this consolation by the cruelty of the municipality: Malesherbes repeatedly applied at the gate, but never again obtained admittance. The king then desired Cléry to bring him the volume of Hume's history which contained the narrative of the death of Charles I.; he read it sedulously for the few days which intervened before his execution. During the five preceding months, he had perused two hundred and fifty volumes.

94. At length, on the 20th January, Santerre appeared, with a deputation from the municipality, and read the sentence of death. The king received it with unshaken firmness, and demanded a respite of three days to prepare for heaven, to be allowed an interview with his family, and to obtain the consolation of a confessor. The two last demands alone were conceded by the Convention, and the execution was fixed for the following morning at ten o'clock. He then resumed his tranquil air, and dined as usual. The officers

who guarded him had removed the knives. "Did they suppose me," said he, "base enough to kill myself? I am innocent, and can die without apprehension." The last interview with his family presented the most heart-rending scene. "At half-past eight," says Cléry, "the door of his apartment opened, and the queen appeared, leading by the hand the princess-royal and the Princess Elizabeth; they all rushed into the arms of the king. A profound silence ensued for some minutes, broken only by the sobs of the afflicted family. The king sat down, the queen on his left, the princess-royal on his right, Madame Elizabeth in front, and the young dauphin between his knees. This terrible scene lasted nearly two hours: the tears and lamentations of the royal family, frequently interrupting the words of the king, sufficiently evinced that he had himself communicated the intelligence of his condemnation. At length, at a quarter past ten, Louis rose; the royal parents gave each of them their blessing to the dauphin, while the princess still held the king embraced round the waist. As he approached the door, they uttered the most piercing shrieks. 'I assure you, I will see you again in the morning,' said he, 'at eight o'clock.' 'Why not at seven?' exclaimed they all at once. 'Well, then, at seven,' answered the king. 'Adieu, adieu!'—he pronounced these words with so mournful an accent that the lamentations redoubled, and the princess-royal fainted at his feet. At length, wishing to put an end to so trying a scene, the king embraced them all in the tenderest manner, and tore himself from their arms."

95. The remainder of the evening was spent with the confessor, the Abbé Edgeworth, who, with heroic devotion, discharged the perilous duty of attending the last moments of his sovereign. He was brought to the Temple in the carriage of M. Garat, who, in that privacy, disclosed to the minister of religion his secret admiration for the illustrious accused. "Great God!" said he, "with what a mission am I charged! What a man is the king! what resignation! what courage! No; unassisted

nature could not give such strength; there is something superhuman in it." Nothing further was said till they arrived at the gate of the Temple; their hearts were too full for utterance. The king shed tears when the confessor entered. "Pardon," said he, "a moment of weakness; I have lived so long surrounded by my enemies, that habit has hardened my heart. I thought I could never weep again; but the sight of a faithful friend revives the sensibility, which I thought had been for ever extinguished. Ah! why should I love so, and be so beloved? What a heart-rending interview I have had; but let us forget all but the great object of salvation: on that let us concentrate all our thoughts!" Cléry then brought in supper; the king hesitated a moment, but on reflection sat down for five minutes, and eat with composure. At twelve he went to bed, and slept peaceably till five. He then gave his last instructions to Cléry, and put into his hands the only property which he had still at his disposal, a ring, a seal, and a lock of hair. "Give this ring to the queen," said he, "and tell her with what regret I leave her; give her also the locket containing the hair of my children; give this seal to the dauphin; and tell them all what I suffer at dying without receiving their last embraces; but I wish to spare them the pain of so cruel a separation." He asked for scissors to cut off his hair with his own hands, to avoid that humiliating operation being performed by the hands of the executioners; but the officers refused his request. He then received the sacrament from his confessor, at a little altar prepared by Cléry, in his chamber, and heard the last service for the dying at the time when the rolling of the drums, and the agitation in the streets, announced the preparations for his execution.

96. At nine o'clock, Santerre presented himself in the Temple. "You come to seek me," said the king; "allow me a minute." He went into his closet, and immediately came out with his last Testament in his hand. "I pray you," said he, "to give this packet to the queen, my wife." "That is no concern

of mine," replied the worthy representative of the municipality; "I am here only to conduct you to the scaffold." The king then asked another member of the commune to take charge of the document, and said to Santerre, "Let us set off." The municipality next day published the Testament, "as a proof of the fanaticism and crimes of the king:" without intending it, they thereby raised the noblest monument to his memory.* In passing through the court of the Temple, Louis cast a last look to the tower which contained all that was dear to him in the world; and immediately summoning up his courage, seated himself calmly in the carriage beside his confessor, with two gendarmes on the opposite side. During the passage to the place of execution, which occupied two hours, he never ceased reciting the Psalms which were pointed out by the venerable priest. Even the soldiers were astonished at his composure. An attempt at rescue, made by a few gallant royalists near the Port St Martin, failed from the magnitude of the military force, and the want of general support. The streets were filled with an immense crowd, who beheld in silent dismay the mournful procession: a large body of troops surrounded the carriage; a double file of soldiers and national guards, and a formidable array of cannon, rendered hopeless any attempt at rescue.

97. When the procession arrived at the place of execution, between the gardens of the Tuileries and the Champs Elysées, near the centre of the Place Louis XV., the carriage stopped, and he whispered to M. Edgeworth, "This is the place, is it not?" The Place was lined with cannon, and an innumerable multitude of heads extended as far as the eye could reach. He then descended from the carriage, and undressed himself without the aid of the executioners, but testified momentary indignation when they began to bind his hands. "No!" said he, "I will never submit to that! Do what you are ordered; but do not think of that." The executioners called for aid, and the king looked to the Abbé Edgeworth, who exclaimed, with almost inspired

felicity—"Submit to that outrage as the last resemblance to the Saviour, who is about to recompense your sufferings!" "Nothing," said the king, "but such an example would make me submit to such an affront. Now, do as you please, I will drink the cup to the dregs!" At these words he resigned himself, and walked to the foot of the scaffold. He there received the sublime benediction from his confessor—"Son of St Louis, ascend to heaven!" No sooner had he mounted, than, advancing with a firm step to the front of the scaffold,† with one look he imposed silence on twenty drummers, placed there to prevent his being heard, and said with a loud voice, "I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I pardon the authors of my death, and pray God that my blood may never fall upon France. And you, unhappy people"—At these words Beaufranchet, Count of Ozat, a natural son of Louis XV., the chief of the staff, by orders of Santerre, commanded the drums to beat; the executioners seized the king, and the descending axe terminated his existence. One of the assistants seized the head, and waved it in the air; the blood fell on the confessor, who was still on his knees beside the lifeless body of his sovereign.

98. The body of Louis was, immediately after the execution, removed into the ancient cemetery of the Madeleine, at the end of the Boulevard Italienne, where it was placed in a grave of six feet square, with its back against the wall of the Rue d'Anjou. Large quantities of quicklime were immediately

† "Souvent avant le coup qui doit nous acabler,
La nuit qui l'enveloppe a de quoi nous troubler,
L'obscur pressentiment d'une injuste disgrâce
Combat avec effroi sa confuse menace;
Mais quand ce coup tombé vient d'épuiser le sort
Jusqu'à n'en pouvoir craindre un plus barbare effort,
Ce trouble se dissipe, et cette âme innocente,
Qui brave impunément la fortune impuisante,
Regarde avec dédain ce qu'elle a combattu,
Et se rend tout entière à toute sa vertu."

CORNWILLE, *Œdipe*, Act v. scene 9.

* See Note A, Appendix, chap. viii.

thrown into the grave, which occasioned so rapid a decomposition, that when his remains were sought after in 1815, with a view to their being conveyed to the royal mausoleum in St Denis, it was with great difficulty that any part could be recovered. Near the place where he was interred, Napoleon commenced the splendid Temple of Glory, after the battle of Jena, professedly as a memorial of the Grand Army, but with the secret design of converting it into a monument to the victims of the Revolution, which he did not intend to reveal for many years, and till monarchical feelings were to a certain degree restored. The exact spot was afterwards marked by a little temple of elegant proportions, which still attests the humble grave. In this, as in so many other great designs, he was interrupted by the calamities which occasioned his fall, and the superb edifice was completed by the Bourbons, and now forms the church of the Madeleine, the most beautiful of the many beautiful structures in Paris. The king suffered almost in the centre of the Place Louis XV., but rather nearer the buildings on the northern side, on the same ground where the queen, the Princess Elizabeth, and so many other of the noble victims of the Revolution perished; where Robespierre and Danton, and nearly all who had been instrumental in his destruction, were afterwards executed; and where the Emperor Alexander and the allied sovereigns took their station, when their victorious armies entered Paris on the 31st March 1814. The greatest of revolutionary crimes was perpetrated, the greatest of revolutionary punishments was consummated, on the same spot. The history of modern Europe has not a scene fraught with equally interesting recollections to exhibit. It is now marked by the colossal obelisk of blood-red granite, which was brought from Thebes, in Upper Egypt, in 1833, by the French government. The monument, which witnessed the march of Cambyse, and survived the conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, is destined to mark, to the latest generation, the scene of the martyrdom of Louis, and of the final triumph of his avengers.

99. The character of this monarch cannot be better given than in the words of the ablest of the republican writers of France.—“Louis inherited a revolution from his ancestors: his qualities were better fitted than those of any of his predecessors to have prevented or terminated it; for he was capable of effecting reform before it broke out, and of discharging the duties of a constitutional throne under its influence. He was perhaps the only monarch who was subject to no passion, not even that of power, and who united the two qualities most essential to a good king,—fear of God, and love of his people. He perished the victim of passions which he had had no share in exciting; of those of his supporters, to which he was a stranger; of the multitude, which he had done nothing to awaken. Few kings have left so venerated a memory. History will inscribe as his epitaph, that, with a little more force of mind, he would have been a perfect sovereign.” The great and touching qualities, however, exhibited by this unhappy monarch in his later days, his unexampled sufferings and tragic fate, must not throw into oblivion the ruinous consequences of the indecision and weakness of his conduct on the throne; or make us forget that the calamities, the bloodshed, and irretrievable changes in society produced by the Revolution, sprang from his amiable but unhappy and unconquerable aversion to resolute measures. The man in existence who knew France and the Revolution best, has left a decided opinion on the subject. “Had Louis XVI.,” said Napoleon, “resisted manfully; had he evinced the courage, the activity, the resolution of Charles I. of England, he would have triumphed.” The emigration of the nobility, indeed, deprived him of the principal stay of the throne; but it was the known irresolution of his character which was one main cause of that defection, by rendering the whole class of proprietors desperate, when such a chief was at the head of affairs; and the prolonged struggle in Lyons and La Vendée, proved what elements of resistance remained in the nation, even after they had withdrawn.

100. Among those who voted for death there were many, such as the Duke of Orleans, influenced by base or selfish motives; but the Girondists as a body did so, and afterwards struggled for an appeal to the people, in the hope of saving his life. In adopting this timid course, they erred as much in statesmanlike wisdom as in moral virtue. Their conduct is thus stigmatised by one of the greatest masters of political ability whom modern Europe has produced.—“The Girondists and Jacobins,” says Napoleon, “united in condemning the king to death; and yet the majority of the former had voted for the appeal to the people, which was intended to save him. This forms the inexplicable part of their conduct. Had they wished to preserve his life, they had the power to have done so: nothing more was necessary but to have adjourned the sentence, or condemned him to exile or transportation; but to condemn him to death, and, at the same time, endeavour to make his fate depend on a popular vote, was the height of imprudence and absurdity: it was, after having destroyed the monarchy, to endeavour to tear France in pieces by a civil war. It was this false combination which ruined them. Vergniaud, their main pillar, was the very man who pronounced, as president, the sentence of death on Louis; and he did this at the moment when the predominance of their party was such in the Assembly that it required several months of labour, and more than one popular insurrection, to overturn it. That party would have ruled the Convention, destroyed the Mountain, and governed France, if they had at once pursued a manly, straightforward course. It was the refinements of metaphysicians which occasioned their fall.” It is remarkable that Napoleon, in this instance, notwithstanding his great penetration, did not perceive the real motive which influenced the Girondists in adopting this course. It was terror and selfishness. By voting for the appeal to the people, they took a popular line, and if they had saved him, would have compromised others; in voting directly to preserve his life, they would have taken an un-

popular one, and compromised themselves.

101. But there were others, doubtless, of a different character—many great and good men, who mournfully inclined to the severer course, from an opinion of its absolute necessity to annihilate a dangerous enemy, and establish a republic still unsettled. Among these must be reckoned Carnot, who, when called upon for his opinion, gave it in these words—“Death! and never did word weigh so heavily on my heart.” But the fate of Louis affords a signal proof that what is unjust never is expedient, and that its ultimate tendency is to injure the cause for which it was committed. The first effect may frequently answer the expectations of its perpetrators; the last invariably disappoints them. For a few years the death of the king, by implicating so large a body of men in the support of the republic, was favourable to democracy: it ultimately led to the restoration of the monarchy. With what eagerness do the royalist historians now recount the scenes in the Temple! what would the republican writers give to be able to tear the record of them from the French annals! It must always be remembered that the actions of public men will be subjects of thought at a future period—when interest is stifled, and passion is silent—when fear has ceased to agitate, and discord is at rest; but when conscience has resumed its sway over the human heart. Nothing but what is just, therefore, can finally be expedient, because nothing else can secure the permanent concurrence of mankind.

102. But most of all, the *unanimous* vote of the Convention upon the guilt of Louis is the fit subject of meditation. That among seven hundred men great difference of opinion must have existed on the subject is quite certain, and is abundantly proved by the division which followed, and the narrow majority by which his death was ultimately voted. Yet even the friends of Louis were compelled to commence their efforts for his salvation by voting him guilty. The real grounds of his vindication, those on which the opinion of posterity will

be founded, were by common consent abandoned. Upon a point on which history has unanimously decided one way, the Convention unanimously decided another. This result could hardly have taken place in an ordinary court of justice, composed of a few individuals whose situation was permanent, whose responsibility was fixed, whose duties were restricted to the consideration of evidence. It was the combination of political considerations which proved fatal to Louis: terror at a relapse into the ancient bondage to the throne; fears for the just punishment of their innumerable crimes; dread of the revolutionary axe, already suspended over the country. Such is the general effect of blending the legislative and the judicial functions; of intrusting the life of a man to a popular assembly, in which numbers diminish the sense of responsibility, without increasing the power of thought; and the contagion of a multitude adds to the force of passion, without diminishing the influence of fear.

103. But this is not all. This extraordinary vote is a signal proof of the effects of democratic institutions, and of the utter impossibility of free discussion existing, or public justice being done, in a country in which the whole weight is thrown into the popular scale. It is well known that in America the press, when united, is omnipotent, and can, at any time, drive the most innocent person into exile; and that the judgments of the courts of law, though unexceptionable between man and man, are often notoriously unjust on any popular question, from the absence of any counterpoise to the power of the people. The same truth was experienced, in the most cruel manner, on the trial of Louis. That those who were inclined to save him in the Convention were men of the greatest talents, is evident from their speeches; that they were possessed of the noblest courage, was afterwards proved by their deaths. Yet these intrepid men were obliged, for his sake, to commence the struggle by voting him guilty. To have done otherwise, would have been to have delivered him unsupported into the hands of his enemies—to have totally destroyed their influence

with the people—to have ruined themselves, without saving him. So true is it, that the extreme of democracy is as fatal to freedom as unmitigated despotism; that truth is as seldom heard in the assemblies of the multitude as in the halls of princes; and that, without a due equipoise between the conflicting ranks of society, the balance may be cast as far the one way as the other, and the axe of the populace become as subversive of justice as the bowstring of the sultan.

104. But truth is great, and will prevail. The reign of injustice is not eternal; no special interposition of Providence is required to arrest it; no avenging angel need descend to terminate its wrathful course. It destroys itself by its own violence: the counteracting force arises from its own iniquity; the avenging angel is found in the human heart. In vain the malice of his enemies subjected Louis to every indignity; in vain the executioners bound his arms, and the revolutionary drums stifled his voice; in vain the edge of the guillotine destroyed his body, and his remains were consigned to unhallowed ground. His spirit has triumphed over the wickedness of his oppressors. From his death has begun a reaction in favour of order and religion throughout the globe. His sufferings have done more for the cause of monarchy than all the vices of his predecessors had undone. The corruptions had become such, that they could be expiated, as has been finely said, only "by the blood of the just ascending to heaven by the steps of the scaffold."*

105. It is by the last emotions that the great impression on mankind is made. In this view it was eminently favourable to the interests of society that the crisis of the French monarchy arrived in the reign of Louis. It fell not during the days of its splendour or its wickedness—under the haughtiness of Louis XIV., or the infamy of Du Barri. It perished in the person of a spotless monarch, who, most of all his subjects, loved the people; whose life had literally been spent in doing good;

* DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Histoire de Louis XV.* II. 533.

whose failings, equally with his virtues, should have protected him from popular violence. Had he possessed more daring, he would have been less unfortunate; had he strenuously supported the cause of royalty, he would not have suffered from the fury of the populace; had he been more prodigal of the blood of others, he would in all probability have saved his own. But such warlike or ambitious qualities could not with certainty have been relied upon to arrest the Revolution; they would have postponed it to another reign, but it might, under the rule of an equally irresolute prince, have then come under darker auspices, when the cessation of tyranny had not extinguished the real cause of popular complaint, and the virtues of the monarch had not made unpardonable the fury of the people. The catastrophe occurred when all the generous feelings of our nature were awakened on the suffering side, to a sovereign who had done more for the cause of freedom than all the ancestors of his race; whose forbearance had been rewarded by encroachment; his meekness by licentiousness; his aversion to violence by the thirst for human blood. A monarch of a more energetic character might have done more to post-

pone the Revolution; none could have done so much to prevent its recurrence.

106. Nor has the martyrdom of Louis been lost to the immediate interests of the cause for which he suffered. His resignation in adversity, charity in suffering, heroism in death, will never be forgotten. The terrors of the republican reign, the glories of the imperial throne, have passed away; but the spotless termination of the monarchy has left an impression on mankind which will never be effaced. In the darkest night of the moral world a flame has appeared in the tower of the Temple, at first feeble and struggling for existence, but which now burns with a steady ray, and has thrown a sainted light over the fall of the French monarchy. The days, indeed, of superstition are past: multitudes of pilgrims will not throng to his tomb, and stone will not be worn by the knees of his worshippers; but the days of admiration for departed excellence will never be past. To his historic shrine will come the virtuous and the pious through every succeeding age: his fate will be commiserated, his memory revered, his murderers execrated, so long as justice and mercy shall prevail upon the earth.

CHAPTER IX.

STATE OF EUROPE PRIOR TO THE WAR, AND CAUSES WHICH LED TO IT.

1. "A REVOLUTION in France," says Napoleon, "is always, sooner or later, followed by a Revolution in Europe." Placed in the centre of modern civilisation, this great country has, in every age, communicated the impulse of its own changes to the adjoining states. It was not to be expected that so important an event as the French Revolution, rousing as it did the passions of one, and exciting the apprehensions of another portion of mankind, all the

world over, should long remain an object of passive observation to the adjoining states. It addressed itself to the hopes and prejudices of the great body of the people in every country, and, exciting their ill-smothered indignation against their superiors, superadded to the sense of real injuries the more powerful stimulus of revolutionary ambition. A ferment, accordingly, immediately began to spread through the neighbouring kingdoms;

extravagant hopes were formed, chimerical anticipations indulged; and the labouring classes, inflated by the rapid elevation of their brethren in France, deemed the time approaching when the distinctions of society were to cease, and the miseries of poverty to expire, amidst the universal dominion of the people. The rise of this terrible spirit, destined to convulse the globe, excited the utmost alarm in all the European monarchies. From it sprang the bloody wars of the French Revolution, undertaken to crush the evil, but which at first tended only to extend its devastation by ingrafting on the energy of democratic ambition the power of military conquest. With them began a new series of strifes; they terminated the contests of kings among each other, and commenced that of one social principle against another. Wars, thenceforward, became the result of conflicting opinions rather than of contending interests, and the jealousies of sovereigns amongst each other were forgotten in the vehement animosities of their subjects. They assumed a less interested but more terrible character; the passions which were roused brought whole nations into the field, and the strife which ensued involved everything which was most dear to all classes of society.

Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia were the most powerful monarchies, apart from France, that then existed in Europe; and some account

of them is indispensable before entering on the events which led to the war.

2. If we consider the geographical extent and physical resources of Great Britain, nothing in the whole annals of mankind appears more extraordinary than the vast and durable impression that country has made in human affairs. Including Ireland, the British islands comprise only 91,000 geographical or 122,000 square English miles. This extent is little more than half of the area of France, not more than a third of that of Austria, and scarce a thirteenth of that of Russia in Europe alone.* A large part of this diminutive territory is sterile and unproductive. In Scotland alone, the mountain wastes, part of which are improvable, extend over fourteen millions of acres, being nearly four-fifths of that whole country. The wastes in Great Britain and Ireland cover no less than 30,871,000 acres, being about three-sevenths of the entire territory, which contains 77,000,000 acres. Of the part which is under cultivation, not 20,000,000 acres in both islands are under the plough, the meadows and pasturage which cover so vast an extent of England being above 27,000,000. Thus the arable land which furnishes the staple of subsistence to the population of the British islands, which is now just 27,000,000 souls, is under 20,000,000 acres, or three-fourths of an acre to each.† This is after taking into view the grain that is absorbed in

	Sq. Geog. Miles.
* Great Britain and Ireland contain	91,000
France,	156,000
Austrian Empire,	271,208
Russia in Europe,	1,200,000

—MALTE-BRUN, vi. 638; v. 726; iii. 197-198; iv. 257.

† The following table exhibits the several proportions of arable land, meadow, and waste, in the United Kingdom at this time (1843):—

	Arable and Garden.	Pasture and Meadow.	Waste Cultivable.	Waste Unimprovable.	Total.
England, acres,	10,252,800	15,879,200	3,484,000	8,256,400	32,332,400
Wales, ..	890,670	2,226,430	530,000	1,105,000	4,752,000
Scotland, ..	2,468,950	2,771,050	5,950,000	8,523,830	19,738,930
Ireland, ..	5,388,040	6,736,240	4,900,000	2,416,664	19,441,944
Lesser islands, ..	106,630	274,000	166,000	569,469	1,119,999
	19,135,990	27,886,920	14,980,000	15,871,468	77,894,438

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, i. p. 177.

maintaining horses and cattle ;—an astonishing fact, when the large proportion of the produce of arable land which is consumed in brewing and distillation is taken into consideration.

3. The aspect of nature is very various in the different parts of the British islands. In the south of England, and in the level parts of Ireland, the earth is fertile, the climate temperate. Vegetation, unaided, springs up in rich luxuriance, and huge trees, the sure mark of a prolific soil, adorn and give variety to the landscape. A range of mountains, almost uninterrupted by plains, runs along the whole western parts of Great Britain, and forms successively the western and southern Highlands of Scotland, the mountains of Cumberland and Wales, and the high grounds of Devonshire. Another ridge of inferior height, and often rather a series of elevated plateaus than a range of hills, runs parallel to the former, and, with few interruptions, intersects from north to south the whole of the island. It forms successively the green hills and grassy dells of southern Scotland, the dark and shapeless swells of Stanmore and Ingleborough, and the romantic slopes of Derbyshire. But this ridge does not extend to the south of the Thames; its vast moors and dark heaths are confined to the northern parts of the island; to the south of that river the hills are gentle, fertility general, and the wide expanse of arable land spreads out into level plains, rivalling those of Lombardy and Flanders in extent and fertility.

4. The chief rivers of Great Britain, accordingly, from this inclination of the ground, flow from the high grounds in the centre of the island to the sea on either side. Of these the principal are the Thames, which, after stealing past the spires and domes of Oxford, flows through green meadows to that mighty capital, the modern Babylon, where nearly all the commerce of the world has found its emporium; the Severn, which winds through beauteous vales and flowering orchards, to the great mercantile outlet of Bristol; the Mersey, which beholds at its estuary the whole commerce of England and America accumulated in a single harbour;

the Tyne and the Humber, which, meandering to the eastward through the rich plains of Yorkshire and Durham, float in their bosoms, where they join the sea, the vast coasting navy of England.—Nor are the rivers of Scotland less noted by the efforts of industry and the magic of song. The Clyde, after descending over cataracts inferior only to that of Schaffhausen in sublimity, flows through luxuriant beauty to the vast commercial city of Glasgow, and issues to the sea beneath the noble mountains of Arrian; the Forth, separating, as it were, the island into two parts, opens into the beautiful estuary that bears its name, and gives life to the matchless landscape of Edinburgh; the Tay, long fed by mountain torrents, and winding through Highland glens, at length issues into the plains by the magnificent gorge of Dunkeld, and washes successively the rich fields of Perthshire, and the rising harbour of Dundee; the Dee, flowing in a sequestered valley, between lofty mountains, meanders far amidst pine forests, till it joins the sea beside the crowded harbour and indefatigable industry of Aberdeen; and the Tweed, albeit never losing its pastoral character, nor mingling with the busy scenes of men, has yet acquired deathless renown, for it first inspired the genius, and now flows past the grave of Scott.

5. The soil and climate of Scotland, even where it is susceptible of cultivation, is incomparably less favoured by nature than that of the southern parts of the island. The level portions of the country are few and narrow, generally spreading little more than a few miles on either side of the numerous streams and rivers which descend from its hills and elevated moors. The intermediate districts, covered with heath or rushes, variously elevated from three to fifteen hundred feet above the sea, are in great part incapable of profitable cultivation; and even after the efforts of husbandry have been applied to them, constant industry and no small expenditure of capital are required to prevent them from being overrun by their original vegetation, and becoming again the abode of the moorfowl and the plover. In the

Highlands, which cover four-fifths of the region beyond the Forth, nature has stamped a character upon the country which must remain for ever the same. All the efforts of man there appear as nothing amidst the gloomy immensity of the mountains, or the dark shades of the forests; and the eloquent description by Gibbon of Caledonia in the days of the Romans, is there still applicable, at least to inanimate objects—"The masters of the fairest and the most wealthy portion of the globe turned with contempt from gloomy hills assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths, over which the deer of the forest were chased by a troop of naked barbarians."

6. Ireland, if the natural capabilities of the country are alone considered, appears to have been more bountifully dealt with by nature than any part of equal extent in Great Britain. Without the vast mountain ranges of Scotland, without the sharp gravelly downs which it is so difficult to bring to fertility in England, it has a soil generally level and rich, and a temperature equally removed from the scorching heats of tropical, or the cold storms of northern climates. Such is the mildness of the air in the southern parts of the island, where it projects into the Atlantic waves, that snow seldom lies more than a single day; and the rocks of Killarney and Bantry Bay are covered with a luxuriant fringe of arbutus, on which its brilliant scarlet berry is often to be seen—a proof of the softness of winter which is not again to be met with till the traveller, after traversing the Pontine marshes, reaches the foot of the rocks of Terracina. Owing to the maritime character of the climate, the warmth of summer is not proportionate to the mildness of winter, and frequent rains attest the agency of the clouds which have become charged with humidity in their passage over the Atlantic. But this humidity is itself a prolific source of riches; it promotes a rapid and almost ceaseless vegetation, which appears in the vast produce of the pastures, and the extraordinary rapidity with which trees and evergreens spring up in every sheltered situation.

7. It is perhaps the most extraordinary proof that ever occurred of the superior influence of mental qualities over physical circumstances, in the production of human felicity, that this fertile and beautiful island has always been incomparably the worst-conditioned part of the British dominions; and that Scotland, which has been blessed rather than cursed with a rigorous climate and sterile soil, is by universal consent admitted to be the best. From the investigations made by the parliamentary committee of the Lords in 1836 and 1837, it distinctly appeared that the average produce of an acre in Ireland is not a fourth of what it is in England, although the amount of labour bestowed upon it is twice as great; in other words, an equal amount of agricultural labour produces *eight times* as much subsistence in England as in Ireland. And while the average produce in all the counties of England is two quarters and five bushels of wheat an acre,* in Scotland it is, of the same grain, somewhat above three quarters; and the value of the agricultural produce raised from the 5,600,000 acres of arable and grass land of the latter country, is £20,435,000 annually. Thus, on a much inferior soil, and under the influence of a much ruder climate, the produce of an equal amount of agricultural labour is fully *ten times* greater in Scotland than in Ireland—a fact which speaks volumes as to the incalculable influence of national character and industrious habits on the permanent prosperity of nations.

8. The population of the British islands, which, by the census in 1841, was above 27,000,000, had certainly not attained in 1793, when the contest commenced, to much more than half that number. By the census of 1801, which was the first regular one that ever was taken, the population of Great Britain was 10,942,000 souls; and eight years before, it certainly could not have exceeded 10,000,000. If to this is added 4,000,000 for the population of Ireland at the same period, the result will be about 14,000,000, for the whole inha-

* Of oats, the average is 4 quarters, $\frac{3}{4}$ bushels; of barley, 4 quarters, $\frac{1}{4}$ bushel.—M'Culloch's *British Empire*, i. 476.

bitants of the British islands when the war broke out.* This limited population, and the slow progress which it had made during the preceding century, is very remarkable, whether we consider the wonderful achievements of the country with those inconsiderable numbers, the much greater population of the country to which it was opposed, which had in France alone 25,000,000 souls, or the prodigious start which the numbers of the people have since made, during and subsequent to the strife. The population of the British Isles had not advanced more than seventy per cent in the preceding century, whereas in the half century that next elapsed it doubled; † and this great increase has taken place during a contest for life or death with an enemy, which, beginning with 25,000,000 under its rule, at one period came to have 42,000,000, besides as many more arrayed among its allied or tributary states. Nothing can evince more clearly the desperate nature of the contest, or the prodigious influence of the energy it developed upon the future growth and destinies of mankind.

9. The contrast afforded by the present situation of the southern and western parts of Ireland (for the north is

peopled by the British race, and in character much resembles Great Britain) affords decisive evidence that it is in the dispositions of the inhabitants that we are to look for the main cause of the greatness of the British empire. Philosophers may have some difficulty in explaining how it happens; but the slightest acquaintance with history must be sufficient to demonstrate, that there is an essential difference in the intellectual qualities and ruling propensities of the various races of mankind; and that to the indelible influence of this cause, more even than to the effect of climate, situation, or institutions, the extraordinary diversities in the history and ultimate fate of nations are to be ascribed. While some are industrious, energetic, and persevering, others, under precisely similar physical circumstances, are impassioned, volatile, and capricious. While some have an elasticity which causes them to rise superior to the greatest calamities, and often extract good out of the extremity of evil, others are distinguished by a heedlessness which nothing can overcome, and an insensibility to the future which renders valueless in their hands the greatest present advantages. Institutions, which philo-

* The census of 1841, which combines the general results of all those hitherto made by authority of government, exhibits the following picture of the progress of the population of the empire from the commencement of the present century:—

	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.
Great Britain—viz.:					
England,	8,382,434	9,538,827	11,261,487	13,091,005	14,995,138
Wales,	547,346	611,788	717,439	806,182	911,603
Travelling,					5,016
Scotland,	1,599,068	1,805,688	2,095,456	2,365,114	2,620,184
Great Britain,	10,472,048	11,906,303	14,072,231	16,262,301	18,531,941
Ireland,	5,896,436	5,987,836	6,801,827	7,767,401	8,175,124
Lesser islands,			89,488	105,600	124,040
Army, navy, &c.	470,686	640,300	319,300	277,017	188,458
	16,838,102	18,534,659	21,262,966	24,410,429	27,019,553

—Census 1841, p. 7, 8.

† The progress of population in England and Wales, during the preceding century, had been very different:—

1700	5,134,516	1760	6,479,730
1710	5,066,337	1770	7,227,586
1720	5,345,351	1780	7,814,827
1730	5,687,993	1790	8,540,738
1740	5,829,705	1800	9,187,176
1750	6,039,684		

—FORSTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, i. 14.

sophers contemporary with the French Revolution generally represented as the real moulders of human character, it is now seen, are in reality more frequently moulded by it. Forms of government are rather the result of national temperament, long and imperceptibly acting on the administration of public affairs, than the means of producing any durable alteration in the disposition of the inhabitants subjected to their influence. No calamities have been found to be so overwhelming as those arising from the forcible transference to the people of one race of the institutions of another. The example of Poland sinking into ruin, at the very time when the neighbouring empires of Austria, Russia, and Prussia were rising to greatness; of Britain, great, powerful, and prosperous, when the people of the south and west of Ireland are poor, indolent, and discontented; of the South American republics, lost in an endless maze of convulsions, at the time when the Federal Union of the north of the same continent is blessed with remarkable social prosperity; of the enthusiasm of the French Revolution terminating in a monarchy as despotic as that of Louis XIV.; and of Spain, well-nigh blotted from the book of nations by the iniquitous forcing upon it of liberal institutions, under which other states have risen to durable celebrity, — have not been written in vain in the annals of history.

10. The character of the Anglo-Saxons, which has now become that of nearly the whole of Great Britain, and of the province of Ulster, where their race has long been predominant, is very remarkable, and differs in many essential particulars from any which has yet appeared among mankind. It is not that which is peculiar to any one family of men, or it would never have done such great things. Formed by the successive inroads of many different hordes, who settled at different times in their territories, that race early acquired in the school of adversity a character almost exclusively its own. Upon the original stock of the Celts or Gaels, the descendants of whom, in nearly unmixed purity, are still to

be seen among the mountains of the western parts of Scotland, Cumberland, and Wales, there has been successively ingrafted the blood of the brave and persevering Romans, of the simple and honest Saxons, of the ruthless and rapacious Danes, and of the chivalrous and haughty Normans. That the Anglo-Saxons were the most numerous and powerful of those different races of conquerors, need be told to none who reflect on the language which the English speak, the name which they bear, the light hair and blue eyes by which they are in general distinguished. But it is not the German blood alone which runs in the veins of the British people, it is not German simplicity alone which appears amongst them. Other nations have bequeathed to them their peculiarities and dispositions; and it is the blending of the whole which has produced the mingled virtues and vices of the British character.

11. The grand peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon race are their **ENERGY** and **PERSEVERANCE**. The history of nations, as much as the experience of common life around us, must convince every one, that although these qualities, if turned into a wrong direction, may often become the source of the greatest calamities, yet they are an element essential both for national and individual success; and that, if kept in the right channel, they are the only sure foundation for public or private elevation. The Germans are as persevering, the Normans as ardent; it is the union of ardour with perseverance, of energy with industry, of fixity of purpose with effort in pursuit, which characterises England, and has been the cause of its long-continued greatness. And these qualities appear in the clearest manner both in its past history and present situation. In other states, great and heroic, but generally transient, efforts in defence of freedom have been made; but in England the people have never ceased to contend for that blessing since the days of Edward the Confessor — a period now of a thousand years. In other free communities, the aristocracy have uniformly in the end yielded to the pressure of internal ambition,

or the force of external power; but in England, though often sorely straitened, and at times to all appearance entirely overthrown, the nobles have ever in the end reasserted their pre-eminence, and acquired the lead in the state. Impatient of injury, the English are submissive to taxation, when they see its necessity, and hence the astonishing national efforts which this nation has repeatedly made.* In other countries, wealth has for a season, generally fleeting, attended the victories of power, or the combinations of wisdom; but in England the efforts of the nation to acquire opulence, though often misdirected and calamitous, have been so incessant, that they have now acquired a colossal amount of power and riches unknown in any former age of the world.† In other countries, external success has been various, and successive ebbs and flows in the national progress have attested the mutability of the smiles of fortune: but in England alone in modern, as in Rome in ancient times, this general instability in human affairs seems to have been mastered by some higher power; and though calamities, numerous and dreadful, have been sus-

tained, yet they have been all speedily repaired, until the empire has encircled the globe in its arms, and attained a magnitude unattained either by the legions of Cæsar or the phalanx of Alexander.

12. But this energy and perseverance are valuable national qualities only when properly directed; they are nearly allied to corresponding vices, and may, if turned to selfish or unworthy purposes, become the source of unbounded corruption and irreparable calamities. The English will do nothing by halves; if they become corrupt, they will be corrupt indeed. A bad Englishman may not be so cruel, but he is in other respects a more profligate and hardened villain than the wicked of any other European state. The same fixity of purpose and ardour in pursuit, which, rightly directed, leads to greatness and renown, if turned to selfish or degrading objects, must end in the most overwhelming corruption. The inhabitants of Great Britain are grave; and it is in grave nations, as in individuals, that intensity and durability of passion are to be found. It is shallow streams only that sparkle and

* "The Britons are willing to supply our armies with new levies; they pay their tribute without a murmur; and they perform all the services of government with alacrity, provided they have no reason to complain of oppression."—TACITUS, *Agricola*, c. 13. National character seems indelible and unchangeable: this might pass for a description of the English at the present day.

† The following Table exhibits a picture of the British Empire at this period (1841):—

	Population.	Extent in English sq. miles.
GREAT BRITAIN,—viz.:		
England, . . .	14,995,138	50,387
Wales, . . .	911,603	7,425
Scotland, . . .	2,620,184	32,167
Travelling, . . .	5,016	—
Total, Great Britain, . . .	18,531,941	89,979
Ireland, . . .	8,175,124	32,512
Lesser Isles, . . .	114,040	332
Dependencies in Europe, . . .	158,729	124
do. in Asia, India, . . .	83,300,000	630,000
do. in Ceylon and Hong Kong, . . .	1,242,000	24,664
do. in Africa, . . .	288,613	200,723
Carry forward, . . .	111,310,447	978,334

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	Population.	Extent in English sq. miles.
Brought forward, . . .	111,310,447	978,334
Dependencies in North America, . . .	1,530,400	754,577
do. in S. America, . . .	100,800	52,400
do. in West Indies, . . .	790,800	77,552
do. in Australasia, . . .	197,912	474,000
	114,429,859	2,336,863
Army and Navy, . . .	169,463	—
Total British Empire, . . .	114,619,312	—
Protected States in Europe (Ionian Islands), . . .	221,057	1,041
Protected States in India, . . .	40,000,000	550,000
Total British Empire and dependencies, . . .	154,840,369	2,887,904

—Census 1841; and MALTE BRUN, iv. 154, 257.

The Roman empire at the period of its greatest elevation contained 120,000,000 of inhabitants; that of Alexander the Great about 80,000,000. The former embraced 1,600,000 square miles, for the most part fertile; the latter about half that extent.—GIBBON, chap. i. vol. i. pp. 37, 57.

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ripple in their course; the greater the force of the current in the deep one, the more smooth is its surface. Already the national temperament has given evident marks of a tendency to set in toward the wrong direction, and woe to the nation when that becomes general! An insatiable thirst for excitement and pleasure in some classes, an unbounded desire for wealth or distinction in others, have become as it were national characteristics, and scruples in the means by which these objects are to be gained are fast melting away before the increasing ardour in the pursuit. The prodigious extent to which the passions for intoxication and sexual licentiousness are indulged in all our great towns, may prove to what lengths the temperament of the Anglo-Saxons will lead them when directed to sensual gratification; and although the objects of physical desire change as opulence progresses, the desire itself is rather increased than diminished. There will be no "*dolce far niente*" in Great Britain when corruption becomes general; they will do enough, but it will be little else than evil.

13. Perhaps no two nations ever exhibited a more striking contrast in national qualities than the inhabitants of Great Britain and those of the genuine Hibernian race in the south and west of Ireland. Unlike their countrymen in Ulster, who are laborious, active, and steady as their progenitors of the Norman or Anglo-Saxon blood, their character is the very reverse of that of the British, and much more closely resembles that of the French, though with some important distinctions from theirs also. Brave, both individually and collectively; kind, charitable, light-hearted, and grateful, they possess many virtues which, in private life, must command esteem or win affection. But they appear to be almost entirely destitute of those more commanding qualities which are necessary to success in the world, and which, for good or for evil, stamp a great destiny on nations. Ever vehement, often impassioned, they yet want the regulated ardour which sustains great undertakings. Indolent and excitable, they seek gratification

rather in taking vengeance on their enemies than in improving themselves. They are too short-sighted to see what is necessary to durable success—too volatile and inconsiderate to make the sacrifices necessary to attain it. Ever since their conquest early in the twelfth century by Henry II., they have never ceased to nourish a feeling of hatred towards the Saxons, which has frequently burst forth in frightful acts of vengeance; but they have never seen that it was only by adopting the arts and imitating the industry of the stranger, that they could be enabled to contend with him. Though possessing more than double the population, and quadruple the physical resources, of the northern neighbours of England, they were conquered with ease by eleven hundred English men-at-arms and two thousand archers, who followed the Plantagenet standard; while eighty thousand English soldiers have been repeatedly hurled back from the comparatively desolate and ill-peopled realm of Scotland. They were for long after retained in subjection by so small a force, that even in the time of Elizabeth it only amounted to one thousand, and on emergencies to two thousand men. So true in every age has been the character given of them by Agricola—"Sæpe ex eo (Agricola) audivi, *legione unâ et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse*."*

14. They have proved themselves as incapable of rivalling the British in peace as they were of resisting them in war. They have neither imitated their husbandry nor adopted their manufactures. Their noble natural harbours are desolate, their magnificent fisheries untouched, their rich mineral fields unexplored. Nay, so far has their animosity gone, that, like the American Indians, they repel or shun the approach of civilisation. If an English manufacturer, bringing bread to thousands, settles in their country, they burn down his factory; if a Scotch farmer appears, capable of quadrupling

* "I have often heard from him (Agricola), that by a single legion and a few auxiliaries Ireland might be conquered and retained in subjection."—TACITUS, *Agricola*, c. 24.

the produce of their soil, they shoot him through the head. To maintain an idle and barbarous independence is their idea of freedom; to repel the first advances of industry their principle of patriotism.* They have gained their object. Capital shuns their fertile and peopled shores; and the overflowing wealth of England seeks rather the risks of South American insolvency, or North American repudiation, than the certainty of Irish violence. Equal, perhaps superior, to the English in genius, they have seldom directed it to any useful purpose: this want of steadiness in pursuit, this absence of a practical turn, have been their perpetual bane. Constantly complaining of evils, they have never suggested any efficient remedy for them; ever exclaiming against misgovernment, they have never given the remotest indication of a capacity to govern themselves. With the exception of numerous brave recruits which they have ever furnished for our armies, they have scarcely at any time contributed anything to the general support of the empire. Though treated with extraordinary, perhaps unmerited, indulgence in taxation,† their national resources are hardly drawn forth; and the most fertile part of the British dominions is disgraced by two

millions of paupers, in a land which might with ease maintain three times its present number of inhabitants.‡

15. The second great circumstance which has contributed to the steady progress and present greatness of the British empire, is the insular situation of Great Britain, and its happy position in the European seas. Though the territorial extent of the British islands is so inconsiderable, yet that of its sea-coast is comparatively very great; and two islands, which embrace only 122,000 square English miles of surface, are encircled by above 3000 miles of sea-coast. Numerous natural harbours in this ample circuit, especially on the west coast, provide secure asylums for shipping. Milford haven in South Wales, and Lamlash bay in the island of Arran, in Scotland, are both magnificent natural havens, either of which is capable of containing the whole British navy. By far the finest harbour, however, which nature has given to the British islands, are to be found on the western coast of Ireland, where they lie ready, as it were, to receive the whole trade of the New World in their capacious bosoms. But the indolence and want of perseverance of the inhabitants of those highly favoured regions have rendered them, hitherto at least, of no service to the

* They did the same from the earliest times. Shan O'Neil, the great chieftain, who in 1560 commenced the Tyrone Rebellion, "put to death several of his followers, because they endeavoured to introduce the use of bread after the English fashion."—HUME, c. 44, iv. 145.

† The Irish never paid either the income-tax, nor any assessed or direct taxes, and do not do so at this hour; and the excise and the custom-house duties were, till very lately, and in some articles still are, materially lower than in the neighbouring island of Great Britain. Large sums have been paid for above half a century to the charitable establishments of Ireland from the public funds of the empire, while England and Scotland maintained their own poor from local taxation; and in the famine of 1847, produced by the failure of the potato crop, *ten millions sterling* was given from the British treasury to relieve the distress of Ireland, with scarcely any prospect of repayment; while Scotland, albeit afflicted by a similar calamity, got nothing.

‡ It is hardly necessary to remark, that these observations apply to the Irish race as a whole, and in that respect only. The author is well aware that many men of great talents, as well as the most estimable character, are to be found among them. But that the de-

scription given regarding them in general is not overcharged, appears from the following account of his countryman, given by the able Catholic bishop, Dr Doyle.—"What," says he, addressing his flock, "are the sources of your evils? A disregard of yourselves, springing out of your own worthlessness, your own idleness, your own drunkenness, your own want of energy and industry in improving your own condition. These are your vices, the fruits of long-continued and grinding oppression, the almost hereditary vices of the Irish people. Your situation never can or will improve until unceasing industry succeed to idleness, until obedience to the laws and self-respect become the characteristic of the Irish people. Till then, you may complain of oppression, but it will not cease. You may rail at the law; but it will persecute you. No power on earth can at once remedy your evils. The Government and Legislature are endeavouring to heal them, but time is necessary for the accomplishment of so great a work. More depends on you than on acts of Parliament. All the laws that ever were enacted would not make an idle or a violent people rich or happy."—BISHOP DOYLE'S *Pastoral Charge*, 1851; *Lords' Report on Tithes*, 1832, ii. 52.

community; and the vast trade of America passes on to the Mersey, where, amidst dangerous shoals and an open beach, industry and perseverance have reared the now magnificent docks of Liverpool.

16. But if in this quarter the heedlessness of man has hitherto rendered nugatory the choicest gifts of nature, in other parts of the British islands his energy and vigour have converted the apparent hardships of his situation into the elements of strength and the source of riches. Around the stormy and inhospitable Hebrides, and in the dark and dangerous seas that flow round the Orkney Islands, thirty-five thousand hardy seamen are engaged in fisheries, which now cause to flow into the British empire that stream of wealth which the republic of Holland so long drew from the deep-sea fisheries in the North Seas. The tempestuous German Ocean, and iron-bound east coast of England, which render a voyage from London to Edinburgh more perilous to the inexperienced navigator than one to the East Indies, have conspired to produce that incomparable race of seamen—in every age the nursery of the British navy—who carry on the vast coasting trade by which coal is conveyed from the mouth of the Tyne to the Thames; while the whole southern coast of Great Britain is studded with active fishing-stations, whose indefatigable seamen supply the huge metropolis with the delicacies of the table, and are superior to any in the world in hardihood and daring.

17. So favourable is the situation of Great Britain for foreign commerce, that it is recorded by the ancient historians, that when Carausius, the Roman governor of the island, threw off the yoke of the Capitol, he succeeded, by means of his fleets, in maintaining his independence for sixteen years, and the future mistress of the waves, in Gibbon's words, had already assumed its station as a respectable maritime power. It is not merely the extent of its sea-coast, and the intrepidity which necessity has imparted to its seamen, which is the cause of this superiority; it is owing, also, in an equal degree, to its happy situation with reference to ex-

ternal commerce. Placed midway between northern and southern Europe, the English ships had only half the distance to go to supply the wants of either; and thus their vessels became the readiest vehicle by which the productions of the north and the south were mutually exchanged for each other. When the passage round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, the situation of England was found to be the best adapted of any in Europe for the formation of a great emporium for Asiatic merchandise; and thus it became, to the destruction of Venice, the centre of that lucrative traffic which in every age has constituted the principal source of commercial greatness. When America was gradually peopled with British descendants, and the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon race in the New World opened a market for manufacturing industry greater than any other in existence, the British Isles still remained in the very front of the traffic, and their cliffs formed the first landmarks to the Transatlantic mariner on approaching the European shores. Thus Great Britain, alike by its situation, its advantages, and its dangers, was fitted by nature for commercial greatness; and the empire of the seas was in a manner forced upon it by Providence, as a part of the mysterious design going forward for the colonisation and peopling of the earth.

18. But if this object is apparent from the external situation of the British Isles, what shall be said to the astonishing mines of wealth which they contain in their bosom? It is in them that the Anglo-Saxon race have found treasures far exceeding those of Mexico or Peru. Valueless to the unskilled barbarian, unknown during many subsequent ages of national advancement, they have come to yield boundless streams of wealth to reward civilised industry, and contain the elements of the greatest achievements for the ceaseless efforts of practised knowledge. Across England there runs, in a diagonal direction, dipping towards the south-west, a broad belt of coal and ironstone. Similar strata in Scotland lie beneath the basins of the Clyde and the Forth; and these valu-

able seams, often in close juxtaposition to each other, at once furnish the means of obtaining the great moving power of Steam, which subsequent discoveries have rendered the indispensable foundation of manufacturing opulence, and the materials of the most extensive and durable manufacture which the wants of man require in civilised life.* It is to the presence of those invaluable elements of manufacturing greatness that the fabrics of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and South Wales in the southern, and Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire in the northern division of Great Britain, are to be ascribed; their astonishing present magnitude demonstrates the vast influence of these subterraneous treasures, when applied to their destined purpose by human knowledge and industry. The approach to this mineral region is indicated by its prodigious population, its boundless wealth, its provinces of houses; but with them are connected, as usual in human affairs, the prolific seeds of evil. Agriculture, overlooked for the gambling speculations of commerce, is generally neglected; tall chimneys everywhere attest the frequent steam-engine; the sky is loaded with sulphurous clouds; pallid countenances and diminutive forms

* Sixty years ago James Watt said, speaking of the cotton fabrics of Glasgow—"The manufacturers of Glasgow are quite wrong in seeking the materials for their fabrics in America; *their cotton is to be found under their own feet.*" Subsequent times have abundantly proved the sagacity of the prophecy. There are now sixty-five blast furnaces in Lanarkshire, consuming annually 650,000 tons of coal, and producing 260,000 tons of iron. This immense manufacture is almost entirely the growth of the last fifteen years.—See Dr WATT'S *Statistics of Glasgow, Lanarkshire*, p. 57, a most curious and valuable work.

indicate the long-continued influence of unhealthy employments: the jails are loaded with criminals, the spirit-cellars with profligates: female virtue and usefulness are lost amidst the fatal precocity of labour. Wealth accumulates and men decay; and the universal thirst for excitement and riches spreads corruption, and lays the foundation of ruin.†

19. The commerce and manufactures of Great Britain, which, under the influence of the war, and of these causes, have now risen to such an astonishing pitch of greatness, were in 1792, when the contest commenced, comparatively speaking, in a state of infancy. If the exports, imports, and shipping‡ of three

† The following list exhibits the population of the principal cities in the empire, according to the census of 1841. Their magnitude may well excite astonishment, and can be accounted for only from the vast increase of commerce and manufactures. In 1793 London was not half, many of the other cities not a fourth, of their present size.

Population of the chief cities and towns in England and Scotland in 1841.

The Metropolis,	1,873,677
Manchester, Salford, and suburbs,	296,183
Liverpool,	236,437
Birmingham and suburbs,	182,922
Leeds,	153,064
Bristol,	132,296
Plymouth,	80,059
Sheffield,	63,186
Rochdale (part of parish),	67,889
Norwich,	62,344
Newcastle-on-Tyne,	49,860
Hull,	41,629
York city,	28,842

Edinburgh city (including North and South Leith),	166,450
Glasgow city and suburbs,	274,556
Palaley,	60,437
Aberdeen,	64,767
Dundee,	62,794
Greenock,	36,986

‡ Table showing the exports, imports, and shipping of Great Britain in 1789, 1790, 1791, and 1839, 1840, 1841, respectively.

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Declared Value of Exports.	Tons British Shipping.
1789	£18,372,149	£22,147,361	£29,946,391	1,273,114
1790	18,921,347	23,021,472	29,862,112	1,321,231
1791	19,659,858	24,904,851	29,671,462	1,363,483
1839	62,004,000	110,198,716	53,238,580	8,000,000
1840	67,432,964	116,479,678	61,406,430	8,512,480
1841	64,377,962	116,903,668	61,634,523	8,619,860

—*Parl. Papers*, 1843; and Mr ADDINGTON'S *Finance Resolutions*, 1801; *Parl. Hist.* xxxv. 1568.

years ending with 5th January 1792, be compared with what they had respectively reached fifty years afterwards, they appear each to have tripled; a prodigious increase, and amply explaining the duplication of population during the same period. It may safely be affirmed that this half century exhibits a progress in commerce and opulence in the British empire which is unparalleled in the history of mankind. But it is impossible now to contemplate it without the deepest apprehension. The social balance has become overloaded on the side of urban labour. An amount of population has now come to depend on the precarious and fluctuating interests of commerce, which exceeds anything yet witnessed among men, and has induced that unstable equilibrium in the state, which threatens, in the event of any serious external disasters or internal convulsions, the most dreadful calamities.

20. Those who are accustomed to regard foreign commerce and manufactures as the main source of the wealth and grandeur of Great Britain, will be surprised to learn that, not only in 1793, when the war broke out, but even at this time,* notwithstanding the prodigious increase they have since undergone, these sources of opulence bear but a small proportion to that which is

derived from the cultivation of the soil. The total amount of British manufactures annually produced is in value about £180,000,000, of which only £47,000,000 is taken off by the whole external trade of the world put together, while no less than £133,000,000 is consumed in the home market; and of the foreign consumption, fully a third is absorbed by the British colonies in different parts of the world. So that the home and colonial trade is to the whole foreign put together as 5 to 1. And, while the total produce of manufactures is £180,000,000 annually, and of mines and minerals £13,776,000, the amount of agricultural produce annually extracted from the soil is not less than £300,000,000; or above a half more than the whole manufactures and mines put together.

21. In truth, though less noticed than the dazzling splendour of commercial greatness, the marvel of British agriculture exceeds all other marvels in this land of wonders. Perhaps there never was a country in which the cultivation of the soil has been exposed to so severe a strain as that of Great Britain has been for the last half-century, or in which it has so wonderfully kept pace, during the whole period, with the wants of the community. Not only has it been called upon, in an old state, with a territory narrow and wholly appropriated, to keep pace with an increase of population, which has doubled in that time, and an increase of horses and the wants of luxury, which have advanced in a still greater proportion, but it has been exposed to the constant abstraction of capital and enterprise into the more tempting transactions of commerce and manufactures, then advancing in the same community with unheard-of rapidity. Yet in spite of this constant and increasing strain upon its produce, and abstraction of the capital which should sustain it, the agriculture of the British Islands has fully kept pace with the wants of the community, and until the late unprecedented occurrence of *five* bad harvests in succession, the average amount of foreign grain imported was steadily diminishing, and at length had become a perfect

* MANUFACTURES AND MINES IN 1840.

For manufacturing exportation,	£47,257,766
For home markets,	133,500,000

Total manufactures,	£180,757,766
Mines and minerals,	13,776,286

Manufactures and mines,	£194,534,052
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AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

19,135,000 arable acres, at £7 each,	£133,945,000
27,000,000 acres of meadows, at £6 each,	162,000,000
15,000,000 do. of wastes, . . .	5,000,000

£300,945,000

Exports of manufactures to British colonies, . . .	16,500,000
Home consumption, . . .	133,500,000

Home and colonial, . . .	£150,000,000
All the rest of the world, . . .	30,757,766

—SPACKMAN'S *Stat. Tables for 1842*, p. 45 (a most useful work); and PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, i. 177.

trifle.* And while a deluded generation was believing the doctrine, that population in the later stages of society has a tendency to increase faster than food can be provided for it, Nature was silently, in that very community, rebuking their error, and furnishing decisive demonstration of its fallacy. For at the time that, in the basin of the Mississippi, and surrounded by the virgin riches of the Far West, seven cultivators existed for one manufacturer, on the narrow territory and amidst the crowded population of Britain, one agriculturist was raising food sufficient for three manufacturers; in other words, in the old and dense community, the power of labour in producing food for other classes of society was ONE-AND-TWENTY TIMES what it was in the young and advancing one.†

* Annual Average of foreign grain imported into Great Britain—

1801 to 1810,	600,946 qrs.
1811 to 1820,	458,578 "
1821 to 1830,	534,992 "
1831 to 1835,	898,509 "
1836 to 1840,	1,992,543 "

Five bad years in succession.

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, i. 146; *Parl. Tables*, ix. 548.

† Agriculturists beyond the Alleghany mountains in America,	2,092,250
All other classes,	287,751
Or about 7 to 1.	
Agriculturists all over America,	3,717,756
All other classes,	1,078,680
Or about 3½ to 1.	
Agricultural families in Great Britain in 1831,	961,134
All other classes,	2,453,041
	3,414,175

—or about 1 agriculturist to 2½ other classes. By the census of 1841, the proportion of agriculturists to other classes is about 1 to 7, the numbers being as follows:—

	Engaged in Agriculture.	Consumers dependent on Agriculture.	Consumers dependent on Manufactures and Manufacturers.
England,	1,157,816	7,540,543	6,296,779
Wales,	103,682	650,748	157,223
Scotland,	229,337	1,159,259	1,231,588
Ireland,	1,844,696	4,158,801	2,171,627
Islands,	8,493	95,564	19,983
	3,343,974	13,604,915	9,877,200
			13,604,915
Total producers of food, }	3,343,974	Consumers of food, }	23,482,115

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, i. 59; and *Census of 1841*; and *American Census of 1841*.

22. The government of Great Britain, which was supposed by theoretical observers to have been, anterior to the great change of 1832, a mixed constitution, in which the crown, the nobles, and the commons mutually checked and counteracted each other, was in reality an aristocracy, having a sovereign for the executive, disguised under the popular forms of a republic. The system of separate powers controlling and limiting each other sounds well in theory, but in practice it induces an immediate stoppage of the most important functions of government. England had enough of it from 1832 to 1840. But although the practical direction of affairs was, by the old constitution, generally vested in the majority of the nobles, yet was the spirit of the country so essentially democratic, and so large the intermixture of popular institutions which had grown up under the monarchy, that a strong check existed on the power of the magnates, which in periods of excitement became irresistible, and always operated as a powerful restraint on the abuses into which that form of government has a tendency to run. The close, or nomination boroughs, long so much the object of invective, had become, situated as the British empire was, not the least valuable part of its constitution; for they furnished an inlet to commercial and colonial wealth, which practically represented their interests, and prevented the selfish views of the dominant island from resulting in excessive oppression on the unrepresented distant dependencies. They furnished a ready entrance to talent which might disdain the arts requisite to win the suffrages of a numerous constituency, and they admitted a body of men into the legislature who had the invaluable quality of independence, for many of them had purchased their seats. A legislature entirely composed of such men would be highly objectionable, because it would be destitute of the element of popular representation; but a certain number was an invaluable addition to an assembly ruling a vast multitude of distant dependencies, with interests adverse to those of the dominant

people in the heart of the empire : and time will show whether anything has been gained by subjecting the whole legislature to the direct nomination of numbers in the British Islands.

23. Society existed in Great Britain, when the war commenced, in a form which had never before been witnessed since the beginning of the world, and which may well arrest attention ; for it never will be seen in it again. Manufactures and commerce, though considerable and increasing, were as nothing to what they have since become : not only did the strength of the state consist, as it still does, in the land, but the national feelings and customs were formed by its attachments. Commercial fabrics existed in many quarters ; numerous towns were rising on all sides ; but their influence was felt rather in the quickened sale of produce, and the stimulus given to general wealth and agricultural industry, than in any change they had effected in the national habits or dispositions. The heart of the nation was still in the country ; and a variety of circumstances had given it a peculiar and delightful character. The long security from foreign warfare or domestic dissension—the necessity of cultivating the yeomanry with a view to parliamentary influence—the passion for field sports which seems indelible in the Anglo-Saxon blood, had combined to make the nobles and landholders almost universally reside upon their estates. The principal ones had houses in London or Edinburgh, but their homes were in the country. Their libraries, their pictures, their palaces, their tombs, their hearts were there. Thus they were identified in feeling, interest, and amusements with the rural population ; and a feeling had grown up between them akin to that which subsisted in La Vendée between the seigneurs and peasants. They followed the same hounds, joined in the same festivities, sat in the same church, were carried at last to the same churchyard. One common faith united the rich and the poor. The graceful steeple of the parish church frequently arose from amidst the oaks of the nobleman's park, and his younger brother held the liv-

ing. The noble pastor, often highly educated, visited the poor in their affliction ; he joined the rich in their festivity ; he was the link which united the extremes of society, too apt in the progress of opulence to be severed from each other. The counties were covered with manor-houses, the fields with cottages ; fearless poverty spread into nature ; haughty opulence sought to improve its beauties. The abundance of enclosures and hedge-row timber gave the country the appearance of a continued forest ; but the frequent green meadow, trim garden, flowering orchard, and ornamented cottage, bespoke the abode of happy and contented man.

24. A monarch was on the throne peculiarly fitted for the stormy period in which his lot had been cast. With little education, and no great acquired information, George III. had yet that solid judgment, that native sagacity, which so often compensates all other deficiencies, and for the want of which all the most laboured accomplishments can seldom afford any compensation. Simple in his tastes, correct and decorous in his manners, essentially patriotic in his affections, he faithfully represented the feelings of the best part of the British people. Though he frequently, from the effects of external disaster or internal faction, became, for a time, the object of vehement obloquy to the noisy multitude, yet these ebullitions were transient, and he never failed, ere long, to regain that favour with the unthinking many which he never lost with the thinking few. He was a more valuable king of England, at that period, than one with more shining talents or extensive knowledge might have been ; for he was in less danger of being swept away by philosophical theories of which he was ignorant, or delusions which arose out of views that he did not possess. His temper was obstinate ; but, directed by good sense, this peculiarity seldom led him into error, and often was productive of incalculable advantage. He was the very opposite of Louis XVI. ; without his philosophic speculation, with less unforeseeing philanthropy,

he had incomparably more firmness and resolution.*

25. Nine years of peace had enabled Great Britain to recover, in a great degree, the losses and exhaustion of the American War. If she had lost one empire in the Western, she had gained another in the Eastern world. The wealth of India began to pour into her bosom; and a little island in the west of Europe already exercised a sway over realms more extensive than the arms of Rome had reduced to subjection. A vast revenue, amounting to £7,000,000 annually, was already derived from her Indian possessions; and, although nearly the whole of this great sum was absorbed in their costly establishment, yet her rulers already looked forward with confident hope to the period, now never likely to be realised, when the empire of Hindostan, instead of being as heretofore a burden, should be a source of revenue to the ruling state, and the wealth of India really become that mine of gold to Britain, which it had long proved to numbers of her children. Her national debt, amounting to

£244,000,000, and occasioning an annual charge of £9,317,000, was indeed a severe burden upon the industry of the people; and the taxes, though light in comparison of what have been imposed in later times, were still felt as oppressive. But, nevertheless, the resources of the state had augmented to an extraordinary degree during the repose which had prevailed since the conclusion of the former contest.

26. Commerce, agriculture and manufactures, had rapidly increased; the trade with the independent states of North America had been found to exceed what had been enjoyed with them when they were in a state of colonial dependence; and the incessant exertions of every individual to better his condition, had produced a surprising effect upon the accumulation of capital and the state of public credit. The three-per-cents from 57, at the close of the war, had risen to 90; and the overflowing wealth of the capital was already finding its way into the most circuitous foreign trades, and hazardous distant investments. The national revenue amounted to £16,000,000, and the army included 32,000 soldiers in the British Isles in the pay of government, besides an equal force in the East Indies maintained by the Company, and thirty-six regiments of yeomanry. But these forces were rapidly augmented after the commencement of the war, and, before 1796, the regular army of Britain amounted to two hundred and six thousand men, including forty-two thousand militia. More than half of this force, however, was required for the service of the colonies; and experience has proved, that Britain can never collect much above forty thousand men at any one point on the continent of Europe. The real strength of England consisted in her inexhaustible wealth, in the public spirit and energy of her people, in the moral influence of centuries of glory, and in a fleet of a hundred and fifty ships of the line, which gave her the undisputed command of the seas.*

* An eminent instance of this had recently occurred. When London was in flames during the dreadful riots of Lord George Gordon in 1780, and the cabinet was assembled to deliberate on what should be done, an order to the military to fire upon the people, if in the act of breaking into or destroying, was made out; but the lord chancellor and other cabinet ministers declined to sign it, from doubts as to its legality. Upon this the king asked the attorney-general (Wedderburn) "If the order was agreeable to the law of England." The attorney replied that it was. "Give me the papers," cried the monarch, "and I will sign it myself." He did so; the troops immediately acted upon it, and in six hours the devastation was at an end. But George III. was ready in his riding-school, if tranquillity had not been restored, to have ridden at the head of his Guards into his burning capital.—*WRAXALL'S Memoirs*, i. 356, 357. The same account is given in substance by Lord Campbell in his life of Lord Loughborough—an impartial, though rather unwilling, witness to the merits of George III. or Lord Loughborough. His Majesty, on the attorney-general's answer, said, that "this had been decidedly his opinion, though he would not previously venture to express it; but that now, as supreme magistrate, he would see it carried into effect. The requisite orders were issued to the troops, and the conflagrations were stopped."—*Lives of the Chancellors*, vi. 138.

* The British Navy on 5th January 1792 contained—

27. But, though abounding in all the resources, England, at this period, had little of the moral strength so necessary in war. During the disastrous contest in America, the national glory had been seriously tarnished. Two large armies had laid down their arms to the enemy; and even the ancient supremacy of the seas seemed to be in hazard, when the combined fleets of France and Spain rode triumphant in the British Channel. The glorious defence of Gibraltar had alone maintained the ancient celebrity of the English land forces; the splendid victory of the 12th April, under Rodney, vindicated the long established prowess of her seamen. Nor was either the army or the navy in such a state as to render any early success probable in any new contest. Abuses of the most flagrant description existed in every department of the land forces: young men were appointed to commissions by purchase, or in consequence of parliamentary influence, without any knowledge of their profession; promotion was seldom awarded to real merit; and no academies or schools were in existence to teach the inexperienced officer even the rudiments of the military art.* It was by slow degrees, and in the school of adversity, that the British army was improved, and her commanders rendered capable of turning to good account that undaunted courage, which in every age has formed the

honourable characteristic of the British people.

28. England, like the other monarchies of Europe, had slumbered on, contented, prosperous, and for the most part inglorious, during the eighteenth century. The bright aurora with which it was ushered in, in the days of Eugene and Marlborough, had afforded no true promise of the general character of the political era which followed. The fierce passions, the heart-stirring feelings, the enduring energy of the civil wars, had passed into the page of history, and, with the licentious profligacy of Charles II., were pictured only in contemporary annals, or the reflective mirror of the national theatre. "The period," says Mackintosh, "from the English to the French Revolution, was the golden age of authentic history. Governments were secure: nations tranquil, improvement rapid, manners mild, beyond the example of any former age. The English nation, which possessed the greatest of all human blessings, a wisely constructed popular government, necessarily enjoyed the largest share of every other benefit. The tranquillity of that fortunate period was not disturbed by any of those calamitous or even extraordinary events which excite the imagination and inflame the passions."† The administration of Chatham, and the victories of Frederick, alone cast a fleeting lustre over the general monotony of the period; but even their glories were the result of the ambition of kings or the rivalry of cabinets, and partook not of the profound interest of the theological contests which had preceded, or the political struggles which followed them. The strife of religion had ceased, that of equality had not commenced; between the two there intervened a long repose of a hundred years, illustrated by few glories, stained by still fewer crimes, during which the fervour springing from the former great convulsion insensibly expired, and the seeds destined to produce a still fiercer collision were gradually ripening to maturity.

29. It was a generally received opinion among the philosophers and statesmen

† Mackintosh's Works, ii. 512.

	Fit for Service.	Old and Guard Ships.	Total.
Line,	115	38	153
Frigates,	84	5	89

—JAMES's *Naval History*. I. Append. 247.

The European powers had the following naval establishments at this time:—

Line.		Line.
England, 153	Holland, . . .	23
France, . 86	Denmark, . . .	24
Spain, . 68	Portugal, . . .	13
Russia, . 86	Turkey, Naples, &c. 13	
Abstract—British, . . .		153
" Other Powers, . . .		208
Balance against England, —		115

* To such a length was this system carried, that it was not unusual for infants to obtain commissions in the cradle, and draw pay regularly for sixteen years before they joined their corps. The well-known answer when a loud noise was heard in a nursery in Scotland, "Oh, it's only the *Major roaring for his parritch!*" shows how common this abuse had become in families of influence.

of this period, that society had at length assumed a settled and permanent form, that all the great causes of discord had been extinguished, and that history would never again have to commemorate the vehement contentions and tragic incidents which had arisen in an early period of human existence. Adam Smith observed, that while the population of America was doubling every five-and-twenty years, that of Europe was slumbering on with an increase which would hardly arrive at the same result in five hundred; while Gibbon lamented that the period of interesting incident was past, and that the modern historian would never again have to record the moving events and dismal catastrophes of ancient story. Such were the anticipations of the greatest men of the age, on the verge of a period destined to present the tyranny of Robespierre, the constancy of Pitt, and the triumphs of Nelson; when the human race, mowed down by the merciless sword of Napoleon, was to spring up again with an elasticity almost equaling the far-famed rapidity of Transatlantic increase.*

30. The opinions of the country, as might have been expected on so great an event, were divided on the French Revolution. The young, the ardent, the philosophical, were sanguine in their expectations of its success; a new era seemed to have dawned upon the world; from the rise of freedom in that great empire, the fetters of slavery, and the bonds of superstition, appeared to be dropping from the hands of the human race. It was not merely the factious, the restless, and the ambitious, who entertained these opinions; they were shared by many of the best and wisest of men; and in England it might with truth be said, as an eloquent historian has observed of Europe in general, that the friends of the French Revolution comprised at that period the most enlightened and generous of the community. It was not then that its

tendency was, or could be, generally perceived. But though the highly educated classes generally inclined to these opinions, those entertaining extreme views were comparatively few in number. The vast majority of the population was decidedly loyal; in the country it was almost invariably so. The confirmed democrats in Great Britain at that period were by no means numerous. They were estimated by Mr Burke, who was noways inclined to diminish the dangers of the time, at eighty thousand.

31. But if the changes in France were regarded with favour by one, they were looked on with utter horror by another class of the community. The majority of the aristocratic body, all the adherents of the church, all the holders of office under the monarchy, in general the great bulk of the opulent ranks of society, beheld them with apprehension or aversion. Many of those who had life before them, rejoiced in the changes which society seemed about to undergo; those who had passed through it, trembled at their approach: those who had nothing to lose, had no fears of the consequences of innovation; those who had acquired, or inherited much, were justly apprehensive that they would be the first objects of spoliation. Such were the general divisions of opinion prevalent in Britain; but of course these opinions were modified by the temper or habits of thought in different individuals, and the partisans of innovation numbered among their ranks many of the most ancient and illustrious noble families. There will always be found a certain portion, generally a small minority, of the aristocracy, who, from the various motives of ambition, jealousy, envy, delusion, discontent, or insolvency, will break off from the order to which they belong, and put themselves at the head of any popular movement. In them the most dangerous, because the most influential, and least suspected, leaders of it are to be found.

32. At the head of the first party was Mr Fox, the eloquent and illustrious champion of freedom in every part of the world. Descended of a noble family,

* The population of Prussia is now doubling in 26; that of Britain in 52; that of Austria in 69; that of France in 105; that of Russia in 66 years.—DUPIN, *Forces Com. de France*, t. 36.

which combined political distinction with literary talent, he seemed born to wield both the mighty levers which move mankind. He was the third son of Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland, whose great talents raised him to the situation of Secretary of State for the War department during the Seven Years' War; and who was long the antagonist of Mr Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham. His father, who was a man of refined and cultivated taste, as well as forensic ability, took infinite pains with the education of young Fox, whose great talents were soon conspicuous. Unfortunately his excessive indulgence to his son gave too early a development to his dissipated propensities, which were as precocious as his power of acquiring languages; and when he set out on his travels at the age of twenty, he was already a deep gamester, an experienced rake, and excessively expensive in his dress and habits. Distinction was his constant passion: in youth he sought it by elegance in attire or extravagance in expenditure; in maturer years by oratorical power and the lead of a party. He returned from the Continent in 1767 deeply in debt, a thorough libertine, but without any diminution of his elegant tastes or natural powers.* In 1768 he entered parliament as member for Medhurst in Sussex, and made his first speech on a petition of the celebrated democrat Wilkes. His great powers of speaking soon made themselves conspicuous, and early attracted the notice of the author of Junius, who, in his celebrated Letters, warmly praised the rising orator. Down to 1772, he voted in general with ministers, though his independent disposition was on many occasions conspicuous; but in that year he united himself to the Opposition, of which he soon became the acknowledged leader. This was confirmed by the death of his father in 1774, which set him free from all ministerial ties; and by his ardent admiration of Mr Burke, whom he justly

denominated the finest genius of the eighteenth century, and with whom he combated Lord North and the Tory ministry through the whole course of the American War.

33. He inherited the love of liberty which had long been hereditary in his race, and, by the impetuous torrent of his eloquence, long maintained his place as leader of the Opposition of the British empire. His talents for debate were of the very highest order; and in the impassioned energy with which he delivered his opinions, he never was exceeded by any orator in the British parliament. Though he was a refined classical scholar, and well acquainted with the poets of antiquity, as well as those of modern times, yet he was too indolent to have acquired extensive erudition, and was often indebted, like Mirabeau, for the facts connected with the subjects of discussion rather to the industry of his friends than to his own research. Yet no one could make a more skilful use of the information with which he was furnished, or which he gathered in the course of debate; or descant with more originality on a subject apparently exhausted by the efforts of others. Profuse, dissipated, and irregular in private life, he had none of the weight, ever so powerful in England, which arises from the purity of personal character; but, amidst all his frailties, the warmth of his heart and generosity of his disposition secured him the ardent attachment of a numerous body of private friends, embracing a large proportion of the ablest men and oldest families in the state; while his vehement and impassioned oratory readily commanded the admiration of that numerous class who longed after more popular government, or the general license of a revolution. But his intellect was not equal to his eloquence; his judgment was inferior to his debating powers. Mr Gibbon observed, that "his inmost soul was tinged with democracy;" and such in truth was his character. He saw no danger to liberty but in the power of the crown: the violence of the people never occurred to him as likely to put it in peril. Sincere in his attachment to freedom, he advocated,

* His debts amounted to the enormous sum of £140,000; and he had travelled with a mistress whose presence scandalised even Gibbon, at Lausanne, not the most fastidious of men in such particulars.

during the best part of his life, a political system which was entailing upon the country where it arose the most degrading bondage; passionately devoted to the cause of liberty, he continued constant in his admiration of those frantic innovations which, more than the coalition of kings, against which the thunders of his eloquence were directed, rendered impossible its duration in the first of European monarchies.

34. Mr Pitt was the leader of the second party, which, at the commencement of the French Revolution, was in the full possession of government, and supported by a decided majority in both Houses of Parliament. He was born at Hayes in Kent, on the 28th May 1759, the second son of William first Earl of Chatham. His mother, a lady of great talents and uncommon strength of understanding, was Lady Hester, only daughter of Richard Grenville, Esq., and Countess Temple. At first young Pitt's constitution was uncommonly feeble, inasmuch that great fears were entertained that he could not be reared to maturity; but notwithstanding this disadvantage, his diligence and ability were such that, at the age of fourteen, when he was sent to Cambridge, his proficiency in Greek and Latin was truly extraordinary. By Lord Chatham's desire, Thucydides was the first Greek book he read after coming to college; and such was the facility he had already acquired in that difficult language, that he could read six or seven pages he had never previously seen, without more than two or three mistakes. With such penetration did he seize the meaning of this great writer, and so rapidly imbibe his ideas, that it was observed of him at the time by his preceptor, "that he never seemed to learn, but only to recollect." At this period, and during all the time he remained at college, his conduct was correct, his conversation easy, his application ceaseless. Lord Chatham had from the first conversed with him on every subject,—the true system of education, but one which is hardly safe except in a parent's hand. His knowledge of Scripture was extensive and

accurate, inasmuch that long after, and when immersed in political life, he could distinguish at once a quotation from the Bible from one from the Apocrypha.

35. After being some years at college, he read habitually the orators and historians of antiquity; particularly Livy, Thucydides, and Sallust. It was his favourite occupation to compare opposite speeches upon the same subject, and to examine how each speaker managed his own side of the question, and obviated or answered the reasoning of his opponent. When alone, he dwelt for hours upon striking passages of these historians and orators, and was particularly captivated by their inimitable brevity and force of expression. He had little turn for the minute details of grammar; could never be induced to construe word by word, or attend to the rules of syntax; but read several sentences straight on, and then rendered them at once into free English, to the great astonishment and no small annoyance of his masters. He was set on things, not words. All his leisure hours were devoted to translating the finest passages of the classic authors into English,—the most useful, as the opposite one of turning English into Greek or Latin is the most useless, occupation which can be given to youth.* With equal diligence he applied to mathematics, and displayed such skill in the solution of problems, that it was evident he would have reached the very highest eminence in science, if fortune had not thrown him into public life. With not less avidity

* In this practice he followed the example and precept of Cicero—"Afterwards I took pleasure, and it was my habit as a young man, in translating the best Greek orations. In these readings I endeavoured, in rendering them from Greek into Latin, not only to use the best words, and those in common use, but to express by imitation such as were new to us, provided this could be suitably done."—*De Oratore*, lib. i. cap. 34. Cicero never thought of translating Latin into Greek; and, had he done so, he never would have rivalled the Philippics, and certainly never composed the orations against Catiline. He is a bold man who, on the education of an orator, gainsays the united authority and disregards the similar practice of Cicero and Pitt.

strengthening the human mind. He went through college respectably, but with no extraordinary distinction—reading incessantly, but often poems and novels rather than the works of the Academic curriculum, dwelling much on the sublime passages of Shakspeare, Milton, and Young, and not unfrequently essaying his own powers in their career. He was destined for the bar, to which he was entered in 1747, in London; but before this period the bent of his genius to historical and political subjects was very apparent, having been signally evinced in the debates of the Historical Society in Dublin College, of which he was a zealous member. After arriving in London, in 1750, to prosecute his legal studies, he found them wholly distasteful to his diffusive genius, and, possessing an adequate independence, quitted the law for the more attractive paths of literature. He soon after published his *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*; and in 1758, began to write the historical part of the *Annual Register*, which he superintended for many years. Little of the fire of the orator, however, or the depth of the philosopher, is to be found in these compositions; he was then only collecting the materials on which the immortal superstructure of his fame was afterwards to be reared. In 1765, he was, from the reputation he had acquired as a writer, appointed private secretary to Lord Rockingham; and soon after entered parliament as member for Wendover, in Buckinghamshire. Thenceforward his biography forms part of the history of England.

40. Mr Burke had long combated in the ranks of Opposition with Mr Fox, and the closest private friendship had cemented their political alliance; but, on the breaking out of the French Revolution, they embraced different views. Mr Fox warmly applauded its principles, and declared in the House of Commons, that "the new constitution of France was the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any age or country." Mr Burke, on the other hand, gifted

with greater political sagacity and foresight, early exerted his talents to oppose the levelling principles which that convulsion had introduced; and his work on the French Revolution produced, perhaps, a greater impression on the public mind than any which has yet appeared in the world. It abounds in eloquent passages, profound wisdom, and discriminating talent; but, vast as its influence, and unbounded as its reputation were when it first appeared, its value was not fully understood till the progress of events had demonstrated the justice of its principles. Their division on this vital question for ever alienated these illustrious men from each other, and drew tears from both in the House of Commons—an emblem of the effects of this heart-stirring event upon the charities of private life, of the variance which it introduced into the bosom of families, and between friendships which "had stood the strain of a whole lifetime."

41. The occasion on which this momentous separation took place, was in the debate on the new constitution proposed for the provinces of Canada, in 1791—a remarkable coincidence, when the subsequent events in that colony are taken into consideration, and the vehement strife between the monarchical and republican principles, of which it afterwards became the theatre. So strongly did both these illustrious statesmen, but especially Mr Burke, feel on the all-engrossing topic of the French Revolution, that they mutually introduced it into almost all the debates which took place in the House of Commons at that period; and it was especially the subject of vehement and impassioned declamation, on occasion of the debate on Mr Baker's motion relative to a war with Russia, and the first introduction of the Canada Government Bill,—subjects which not unnaturally led to consideration of the supposed tendency of the French Revolution with regard to the external relations and internal happiness of nations. From that time a rupture between these two great men was distinctly foreseen both by their friends and the public. It was, in truth, un-

avoidable; and is to be regarded as the index to the schism which must ensue in every free community, on occasion of strong democratic excitement, between those who adhere to the landmarks of the past, and those who are willing to adventure on the dark sea of innovation. Still, however, the external appearances of friendship were maintained between them; they visited, though not so frequently as in former years; and, on the 6th of May, when the Canada Bill was to be debated in committee, they not only walked to the House together, but Mr Fox treated Mr Burke, in a previous conversation, with confidence, and mentioned to him a political circumstance of some delicacy. But the feelings of the latter were too ardent to be restrained; the future, big with disaster, revealed itself so clearly to his view, that it obliterated the past, and overshadowed the present; and in the debate which followed on that night, these two illustrious men were for ever severed, and the popular party in Great Britain permanently rent in twain. The debates on this subject possess the highest interest. They not only embrace the most thrilling event in the biography of both, but they constitute an era in the history of Europe during its most eventful period. The destinies of civilisation hung upon their words.

42. On the part of Mr Fox, it was urged on this occasion, and in the previous debate on the Russian armament—"Without entering into the question whether hereditary honours are in themselves an advantage or an evil, the point which the House has now to consider is, Whether there is anything in them so peculiarly advantageous as to incline us to introduce them into a country where they are unknown, and by such means distinguish Canada from all the other colonies of the New World? In countries where they make a part of the constitution, it is not wise to destroy them; but it is a very different matter to give them birth and life in a country where they at present do not exist. It is impossible to account for such an attempt, except on the prin-

ciple that, as Canada was formerly a French colony, there might be an opportunity of reviving those titles of honour, the extinction of which some gentlemen so much deplore, and of reviving in the West that spirit of chivalry which has fallen into disgrace in a neighbouring country. Are those red and blue ribbons, which have lost their lustre in the Old World, again to shine forth in the New? What can be so absurd as to introduce hereditary honours in the New World, where they are so much the object of undisguised aversion? The proposed upper chamber would be equally objectionable if the council were hereditary; for such an assembly would be nothing more than a tool in the hands of the royal authority. Not less so is the clause for making provision for the Protestant clergy, by enacting that, in all grants by the crown of unappropriated lands, one-seventh should be given to them. What can be so monstrous as such a fundamental rule in a country where the great bulk of the people are Catholics? Even if they were all Protestants, it would still be unsuitable; how much more so, therefore, when the whole of the Protestants, such as they are, are much subdivided, and the large proportion of them are Presbyterians, dissenters, or subordinate sects.

"Feeble as my powers are in comparison with my honourable friend's, whom I must call my master—for everything that I know in politics I owe to him—I should yet ever be ready to maintain my principles even against his superior eloquence. I will maintain that the rights of man, which he states as chimerical and visionary, are in fact the basis and foundation of every rational constitution, and even of the British constitution itself, as the statute-book abundantly proves; for what is the original compact between king and people there recognised, but the recognition of the inherent rights of the people as men, which no prescription can supersede, and no accident remove or obliterate? If these principles are dangerous to the constitution, they are the principles of my right honourable friend, from whom

I learned them. During the American War we have together rejoiced at the success of a Washington, and mourned almost in tears for the fate of a Montgomery. From him I have learned that the revolt of a whole people cannot be the result of incitement or encouragement, but must have proceeded from provocation. Such was his doctrine when he said, with equal energy and emphasis, 'that he could not draw a bill of indictment against a whole people.' I grieve to find that he has since learned to draw such an indictment, and to crown it with all the technical epithets which disgrace our statute-book, such as—false, malicious, wicked, by the instigation of the devil, or not having the fear of God before your eyes. Taught by my right honourable friend, that no revolt of a nation can spring except from provocation, I could not help feeling joy, ever since the constitution of France was founded on the rights of man—the basis on which the British constitution itself is rested. To vilify it is neither more nor less than to libel the British constitution; and no book my right honourable friend can write, how able soever, no speech he can deliver, how eloquent soever, can induce me to change or abandon that opinion.

"I was formerly the strenuous advocate for the balance of power, when France was that intriguing restless nation which she had formerly proved. Now that the situation of France is altered, and that she has erected a government from which neither insult nor injury can be apprehended by her neighbours, I am extremely indifferent concerning the balance of power, and shall continue so till I see other nations combine the same power with the same principles of government as that of old France. The true principle of the balance of power is not to keep every state exactly in its former condition, for that is impossible, but to prevent any one obtaining such an ascendancy as to be dangerous to the rest. No man can say that Russia will be the successor of France in this respect. Her extent of territory, scanty population, and limited revenue, render her strength by no means formidable to us: she is a power whom

we can neither attack nor be attacked by; and is it with such a power we are to commence hostilities, in order to prop up the decaying Turkish empire, the overthrow of which would be more likely to prove advantageous than injurious to our interests? If we compare the present state of France with its past condition, both as respects the politics of Europe and the happiness of the people, even those who most detest the Revolution must see reason to rejoice in its effects. I cannot but applaud the government of France, in its internal tendency, as good, because it aims at the happiness of those who are subject to it. Different opinions may be entertained by different men as to the change of system that has taken place in that country; but I, for one, admire the new constitution of France, considered altogether, *as the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which has been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any age or country.*"

48. Mr Burke commenced his reply in a grave and solemn tone, befitting the solemnity of the occasion, and the rending asunder of ties which had endured unbroken for a quarter of a century. "The House," said he, "is now called upon to do a high and important act—to appoint a legislature for a distant people, and to affirm its own competency to the exercise of such a power. On what foundation is such an assumption to rest? Not, surely, on a vague conception of the rights of man; for, if such a doctrine is admitted, all that the House should do, is to call together the whole male inhabitants of Canada, and decide by a majority of their votes what form of government they are to receive. Setting aside so absurd a proposition, on what must this House found its competence to legislate at all on this matter? Clearly on the law of nations, and the acquired title so to legislate from the right of conquest, and a cessation of the rights of the old government, obtained by us in the treaty which confirmed it. These principles bind us to legislate in an equitable manner for the people of Canada, and they are in return to owe allegiance to us. The question then, is, On what basis is this new government to be

formed? Are we to frame it according to the old light of the English constitution, or by the glare of the new lanterns of the clubs at Paris and London?

"In determining this point, we are not to imitate the example of countries which have disregarded circumstances, torn asunder the bonds of society, and the ties of nature. To the constitution of America, doubtless, great attention is due, and it is of importance that the people of Canada should have nothing to envy in the constitution of a neighbouring state. But it is plain that they have not the same elements for the enjoyment of republican freedom which exist in the United States. The people of America have a constitution as well adapted to their character and circumstances as they could have; but that character, and these circumstances, are essentially different from those of the French Canadians. The Americans have derived from their Anglo-Saxon descent a certain quantity of phlegm, of old English good-nature, that fits them better for a republican government. They had also a republican education; their form of internal government was republican, and the principles and vices of it have been restrained by the beneficence of an overruling monarchy in this country. The formation of their constitution was preceded by a long war, in the course of which, by military discipline, they had learned order, submission, and command, and a regard for great men. They had learned what a king of Sparta had said was the great wisdom to be learned in his country—the art of commanding and obeying. They were trained to government by war, not by plots, murders, and assassinations.

"But what are we to say to the ancient Canadians, who, being the most numerous, are entitled to the greatest attention? Are we to give them the French constitution—a constitution founded on principles diametrically opposite to ours, that could not assimilate with it in a single point; as different from it as wisdom from folly, as vice from virtue, as the most opposite extremes in nature—a constitution founded on what was called the rights of man? But let this constitution be examined by

its practical effects in the French West India colonies. These, notwithstanding three disastrous wars, were most happy and flourishing till they heard of the rights of man. As soon as this system arrived among them, Pandora's box, replete with every mortal evil, seemed to fly open, hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the earth. Blacks rose against whites, whites against blacks, and each against the other, in murderous hostility; subordination was destroyed, the bonds of society were torn asunder, and every man seemed to thirst for the blood of his neighbour.

'Black spirits and white, blue spirits and grey,
Mingle, mingle, mingle.'

All was toil and trouble, discord and blood, from the moment that this doctrine was promulgated among them; and I verily believe that, wherever the rights of man are preached, such ever have been, and ever will be, the consequences. France, which had generously sent them the precious gift of the rights of man, did not like this image of herself reflected in her child, and sent out a body of troops, well seasoned too with the rights of man, to restore order and obedience. These troops, as soon as they arrived, instructed as they were in the principles of government, felt themselves bound to become parties in the general rebellion, and, like most of their brethren at home, began asserting their rights by cutting off the head of their general.

"Dangerous doctrines are now encouraged in this country, and dreadful consequences may ensue from them, which it is my sole wish and ambition to avert, by strenuously supporting, in all its parts, the British constitution. The practice now is, with a certain party, to bestow upon all occasions the very highest praise upon the French constitution; and it is immaterial whether this praise be bestowed upon the constitution or the revolution of that country, since the latter has led directly to the former. To such a length has this infatuation been carried, that whoever now disapproves of the anarchy and confusion that have taken place in

in this most remarkable woman. She may almost be said to have been the real founder of the Austrian empire, for she found it on the verge of perdition, and she raised it, by the vigour of her counsels and heroism of her conduct, to the highest pitch of glory. When the Hungarian chiefs, with tears in their eyes, drew their swords, and said with one voice, "*Moriatur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa!*" they expressed the sympathy of noble minds for such signal intrepidity and resolution as she evinced in her distress. Unlike Catherine of Russia, her private character was irreproachable. Profoundly influenced by religion, she found in its consolations a bulwark of strength amidst all her difficulties; strictly regular in her conduct, she maintained unsullied purity amidst all the seductions of the Imperial court. Her elevation of mind may be judged of by one circumstance. When on her deathbed, she was so feeble as to be with difficulty preserved from dropping into a slumber; but she insisted upon being prevented: "*I would meet,*" said she, "*my Creator awake.*" The annals of Rome contain nothing more sublime.

49. At the accession of her son Joseph II. in 1780, new maxims of government succeeded: the ancient spirit of the monarchy seemed about to expire. His mind was cultivated, his views benevolent, his habits simple; but these amiable qualities were combined with others of a more dangerous nature. An ardent reformer, a philanthropic philosopher, deeply imbued with the delusions of perfectibility, he was impatient to change everything in the civil, religious, and military administration of his vast states; and, in the warmth of his benevolence, urged on many reforms neither called for by, nor beneficial to, his subjects. Endowed with an ardent and innovating temperament, he at the same time was animated by a desire for territorial acquisition and military glory. Strongly impressed with the inconvenience and expense attending the possession of the Low Countries—so much exposed to France, so far removed from the hereditary states—and relying on the support of Catherine, empress of

Russia, in whose ambitious designs on Turkey he was participant, he was extremely desirous of incorporating Bavaria with his vast possessions, by giving the elector the Low Countries in exchange, with the title of king. Frederick of Prussia instantly sounded the alarm on this dangerous proposal, and, by his influence, a treaty was concluded at Berlin between Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, which was the last act of that great man, and for the time caused this ambitious project on the part of Austria to miscarry. But the Imperial cabinet never lost sight of the design; and their attempts to carry it into execution, during the course of the revolutionary war, became, as will appear in the sequel, the source of numberless calamities to themselves and to Europe.

50. The Austrian forces, at the commencement of the war, amounted to two hundred and forty thousand infantry, thirty-five thousand cavalry, and one hundred thousand artillery; and the extent and warlike spirit of the Imperial dominions furnished inexhaustible resources for the maintenance of the contest. Sincere and honest in principle, attached to old institutions, and powerfully swayed by religion, the inhabitants of these varied dominions were, with the exception of some of the Italian provinces, unanimous in their horror of the French republican principles; while the power and firm ascendant of the nobility gave steadiness and consistence to their efforts to oppose it. The cavalry was in the finest order, and performed splendid services during the course of the war; but the infantry, though well adapted for plain fighting in a good position, was incapable of the energetic movements which the new system of military operations required, and was disgraced by the frequent occurrence of large bodies laying down their arms. The provinces of Croatia, Transylvania, and the Banat, lying on the frontier of Turkey, were organised in a military manner; all the inhabitants were trained to the use of arms, and thus from them the government derived inexhaustible supplies of irregular troops. Hungary and the Low

Countries supplied the *élite* of the infantry, and the recruits who formed the principal part of the Imperial Guard. The cavalry, admirably mounted, were skilled in all the movements of war, and the artillery respectable, and in good equipment; but the officers of the infantry were deficient in military information, and the soldiers, though well disciplined, wanted the fire and vivacity of the French troops.

51. The Flemish dominions of Austria had recently been the theatre of a revolt so different from that of France, that it is difficult to conceive how they could both have arisen in countries so near each other in the same age of the world. The Emperor Joseph II. had alienated the affections of these provinces, by the proposal, already mentioned, to exchange them for Bavaria; and had next excited their alarms by a variety of reforms, founded on philosophical principles, totally unsuited to the character, religious spirit, and degree of information possessed by the people. At length the proposal to give a colony of Genevese and Swiss, established near Ostend, the free exercise of their religion, brought matters to a crisis; the universities protested against the innovation, and he replied by abolishing the seigniorial jurisdictions, and authorising the sale of a great proportion of the estates of the monasteries, establishing schools independent of the clergy, and curtailing the privileges of the Estates, by introducing intendants, who almost superseded their authority. These changes excited a universal spirit of disaffection in the provinces, and led to a measure the most extraordinary and the most fatal which modern history has to record.

52. The barrier towns of the Netherlands, extorted from France after so much bloodshed, or erected at so vast an expense, were demolished, and the level country left open and unprotected, as if done expressly to invite the invasion of their enterprising neighbours. It seemed as if the Emperor imagined that the marriage of his sister Marie Antoinette to the king of France had made the union between the two kingdoms perpetual, and that his whole

danger arose from the discontented disposition of his own subjects; or as if the project of exchanging these distant provinces for Bavaria had taken such hold of the Imperial cabinet, that they were desirous only of rendering them incapable of defence in the hands of their new possessors. But the wise in all the adjoining states regarded this suicidal act with very different feelings, and were filled with the most gloomy presentiments as to its effects. "Europe," says Jomini, "beheld with astonishment those celebrated fortresses, so famous in former wars, demolished by the very power which had constructed them; and the Flemings, proud of the recollections with which they were associated, sighed as they saw the plough razing the vestiges of so much historical glory. The event soon proved the fatal tendency of the measure. The Low Countries, bereft of their fortresses, destitute of mountains, and too distant from the centre of the empire to be effectually defended, fell a prey to any successful invader; and the Austrian government were first apprised of the ruinous tendency of their measures by the loss of that ancient province of their empire."

53. The discontents and indignation of the Flemings at this disastrous measure preyed so severely on the susceptible heart of Joseph II. as to shorten his life. Upon his death, which happened on 16th February 1790, he was succeeded by his brother Leopold, whose paternal and benevolent system of government in Tuscany had long been the object of admiration to all the philosophers of Europe; but whose character, admirably adapted for the pacific administration of that tranquil duchy, was little suited for the government of the great and varied provinces of the Austrian empire. He found the monarchy shaken in all its parts by the reforms and innovations of his predecessor; the Belgian provinces in open insurrection; Bohemia and Lower Austria in sullen discontent; and Hungary in a state of menacing insubordination. To complete his difficulties, the seeds of a revolution were rapidly expanding in Poland; while the distracted habits

and feeble government of that unbridled democracy afforded little hope that it would be permitted to extricate itself from its embarrassments without foreign invasion. It was easy to foresee that the spoliation of its rich and defenceless plains would throw the apple of discord among the ambitious military monarchies by which it was surrounded.

54. The ill-humour of the Flemings had already broken out into open insurrection. In the autumn of 1789, at the very time that the French were revolting against the privileged classes and the authority of the church, the inhabitants of the Netherlands took up arms to support them. France sought to impose liberal measures upon its government, Flanders to resist those introduced by its sovereign; France to abolish religion, Flanders to support it.* Brussels, Ghent, and Mons, speedily fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the rapidity of the disasters accelerated the death of the Emperor Joseph. But this success was of short duration. Leopold, his successor, took the most energetic measures to re-establish his authority; the partisans of the aristocracy in the revolted provinces came to blows with the adherents of the democracy; the free-thinking French, indignant at the rejection of their principles by the insurgents, refused their support; the march of Marshal Bender, at the head of the Imperialists, was a continual triumph; and the Austrian forces resumed possession of the whole of their Flemish dominions, with as much facility as they had lost them.

55. The house of Hapsburg was still in possession of the imperial dignity; but the high-sounding titles and acknowledged supremacy of the Cæsars could not conceal the real weakness of their authority. The vast but unwieldy fabric of the German empire was governed by the diet assembled at Ratisbon, which consisted of three colleges—that of the electors, that of the princes, and that of the free towns. The first,

which had been fixed by the treaty of Westphalia at eight electors, to whom Hanover was afterwards added, possessed the sole right of appointing the emperor; the second, composed of thirty-three ecclesiastical and sixty-one lay princes, enjoyed little influence, and afforded only an inviting prospect to the rapacity of their superiors; the third, consisting of forty-seven towns, was consulted only for form's sake, and had no real deliberative voice in public affairs. Each circle was bound to furnish a certain contingent of troops for the defence of the empire; but their soldiers, disunited and various, formed but a feeble protection, and its real strength consisted in the Austrian and Prussian monarchies.

56. The military strength of Prussia, raised to the highest pitch of which its resources would admit by the genius and successes of the Great Frederick, had rendered this inconsiderable kingdom a first-rate power on the continent of Europe. Its army, one hundred and sixty thousand strong, comprising thirty-five thousand horse, was in the highest state of discipline and equipment; but this force, considerable though it was, formed but a small part of the strength of the kingdom. By an admirable system of organisation, the whole youth of the nation were compelled to serve a limited number of years in the army in early life, the effect of which was, not only that a taste for military habits was universally diffused, but that the state always possessed within its bosom a vast reserve of trained soldiers, who might, in any emergency, be called to its defence. The aversion evinced in so many other countries to the military service, from the unlimited length to which it extended, was unknown where it reached only to four years. It came rather to be regarded as an agreeable mode of spending the active and enterprising period of youth. Prussia reaped the full benefit of this judicious system, when she withstood the three greatest powers in Europe during the Seven Years' War; and she was indebted to the same source for those numerous and courageous defenders who flocked to her standard

* It is very remarkable, that those opposite principles were precisely those which, forty years afterwards, led to the nearly simultaneous revolutions of France and Belgium in 1830.

during the latter part of the revolutionary contest.

57. At the death of the Great Frederick, the Prussian army was considered the first in Europe. Proud of a struggle without a parallel in modern times, and of the unrivalled talent of their commander, the Prussian soldiers possessed not only the moral strength so necessary in war, but had been trained, in a variety of exercises, to the rapid movement of great masses. Annual evolutions, on a large scale, accustomed the army to that necessary piece of instruction; and under the scientific auspices of Seidlitz, the cavalry had become the most perfect in Europe. In great schools at Berlin, and other places, the young officers were taught the military art; and there, as elsewhere in the northern monarchies of Europe, the whole youth of any consideration were destined for the profession of arms. The higher situations in the army, however, were reserved for the nobles; but, by degrees, that invidious restriction was abandoned, and in the arduous struggle of 1813, when the co-operation of all classes could alone save her from destruction, Prussia had reason to felicitate herself upon the change.

58. The states which composed the Prussian monarchy were by no means so coherent or rounded as those which formed the Austrian dominions. Nature had traced out no limits like the Rhine, the Alps, or the Pyrenees, to form the boundary of its dominions; no great rivers or mountain chains protected its frontiers; few fortified towns guarded it from the incursions of the vast military monarchies by which it was surrounded. Its surface consisted of fourteen thousand square leagues, and its population, which had been doubled under the reign of Frederick the Great, amounted to nearly eight million souls. But they were composed of various races, spoke different languages, professed different religions, and were protected by no external or internal line of fortresses. Towards Russia and Austrian Poland, a frontier of two hundred leagues was totally destitute of places of defence: Silesia alone enjoyed the double advantage of three

lines of fortresses, and the choicest gifts of nature. The national defence rested entirely on the army and the courage of the inhabitants; but, animated by the recollections of the Seven Years' War, they were both elevated to the highest pitch. The government was a military despotism; no privileges of individuals or corporations restrained the authority of the sovereign; the liberty of the press was unknown, but the public administration was tempered by the wisdom and beneficence of an enlightened system of state policy. This system, begun by Frederick the Great, had passed into settled maxims, which regulated the administration of his successors. In no country of Europe, not even in England or Switzerland, was private right more thoroughly respected, or justice more rigidly observed, both in the courts of law and the domestic measures of government. "Everything for the people, nothing by them," was the principle of its administration. Toleration, established even to excess, had degenerated into its fatal ally, indifference and infidelity, in many of the higher orders; manners approaching the corruption of Paris were prevalent in the capital; while the middle ranks, united in secret societies of free-masonry, already indulged those ardent feelings which afterwards exercised so important an influence on the destinies of Europe.

59. The might of Russia, first experienced by Frederick at the terrible battle of Cunnnersdorf, was now beginning to fill the north with apprehension. This immense empire, comprehending nearly half of Europe and Asia within its dominions, backed by inaccessible frozen regions, secured from invasion by the extent of its surface and the severity of its climate, inhabited by a patient and indomitable race, ever ready to exchange the hardships and monotony of the north for the luxury and adventure of the south, was daily becoming more formidable to the liberties of Europe. The Empress Catherine, endowed, amidst all her feminine passions, with masculine ambition, was urging a bloody war with Turkey, in which the zeal of a religious crusade

was directed by the sagacity of civilised warfare. The campaign had commenced with the taking of Oczakoff, which easily yielded to the audacity and fortune of Prince Potemkin; but the courage of the Turks, though long dormant, was at length roused to the highest pitch. Undisciplined and unstable in the field, they were almost invincible behind walls; and the most inconsiderable forts, manned by such defenders, became impregnable save at an enormous expense of blood and treasure. But a new and terrible enemy to the Ottomans arose in SUWARROFF, one of those extraordinary men, who sometimes, by the force of their individual character, alter the destiny of nations. This determined man and dauntless general, who to the highest talents for war united a religious influence over the minds of his soldiers, joined the Austrians with eight thousand men, when, with seventeen thousand, they were maintaining a doubtful contest with a hundred thousand Turks on the banks of the river Rymniski. His arrival infused such energy into the combined army, that they gained a complete victory over their formidable enemies. He was afterwards employed in the siege of Ismael, and, chiefly by the ascendancy of real greatness over the minds of his soldiers, succeeded in carrying by assault that celebrated fortress, though defended by twenty-four thousand of the bravest troops in the Turkish dominions. British diplomacy was employed before it was too late to avert the threatened calamities of the Ottoman empire; new objects of contention arose; fresh contests sprang out of the Western Revolution, and the glory of placing the cross on the dome of St Sophia has been reserved for a future age.

60. The Russian infantry had long been celebrated for its immovable firmness. At Pultowa, Cunnersdorf, Choczim, and Ismael, it had become distinguished; and the cavalry, though greatly inferior to its present state of discipline and equipment, was inured to service in the war with the Turks, and mounted on a hardy and admirable race of horses. The artillery, now so splendid,

was then remarkable only for the cumbersome quality of the carriages, and the obstinate valour of the men. The armies were recruited by a certain proportion of conscripts drawn out of every hundred male inhabitants—a mode of raising troops which, in an immense and rapidly increasing population, furnished an inexhaustible supply of soldiers. They amounted in 1792 to two hundred thousand men; but the half of this force alone was disposable for active operations, the remainder being cantoned on the Pruth, the Caucasus, and the frontiers of Finland. In this enumeration, however, was not comprised either the youth of the military colonies, who afterwards became of great importance, or the well-known Cossacks of the Don. The last composed an immense military force in the southern provinces of the empire. This irregular force, drawn from the pastoral tribes in the southern provinces of the empire, costs almost nothing to the state. The government merely issues an order for a certain number of this hardy band to take the field, and crowds of active young men appear, equipped at their own expense, mounted on small but indefatigable horses, and ready to undergo all the hardships of war, from their sense of duty to their sovereign, and their hopes of plunder or adventure. Gifted with all the individual intelligence which belongs to the pastoral and savage character, and yet subjected to a certain degree of military discipline, they make the best of all light troops, and are more formidable to a retreating army than the *élite* of the French or Russian guards.

61. Inured to hardships from his infancy, the Russian soldier is better calculated to bear the fatigues of war than any in Europe. He knows no duty so sacred as obedience to his officers; submissive to his discipline as to the ordinances of religion, no fatigue, no privation, can make him forget its obligations. Through every march, through entire campaigns, you behold the cannoner near his piece, at the post assigned to him by his commander; and, unless authorised to do so, nothing will

induce him to abandon it. The waggon-train wax their harness in bivouacs under a cold of 15 deg. of Reaumur, corresponding to 5 deg. above zero of Fahrenheit, as they would do for a day of parade in the finest weather. This admirable spirit of precision renders their defeats extremely rare; and the soldiers are so accustomed, in their wars with the Turks, to look for safety only in closing their ranks, and to expect destruction if they fly, that they are hardly ever broken. If they have not the facility of rallying after a defeat, which their high degree of individual intelligence has given to the French soldiers, they have greater firmness in resisting it.

62. The whole energies of the nation are turned towards the army. Commerce, the law, and all civil employments, are held in no esteem; the whole youth of any consideration betake themselves to the profession of arms. Immense military schools, in different parts of the empire, annually send forth the whole flower of the population to this dazzling career. Precedence depends entirely on rank in the army; and the heirs to the greatest families are compelled to enter its ranks in the lowest grade. They face hardship and danger with the same courage as the private soldiers; they were to be found by their sides in the breach of Imael and amid the snows of Finland. Promotion is open equally to all: a government depending entirely on its military prowess, finds itself obliged to promote real merit; and great part of the officers at the head of the army have risen from the inferior stations of society. But, formidable as the power of Russia appeared even at that period, the world was far from anticipating the splendid part which she was destined to play in the approaching conflict. Her immense population, amounting in Europe alone to nearly thirty-five millions, afforded an inexhaustible supply of men. The ravages of war or pestilence were speedily filled up, in a country whose numbers were doubling every fifty years. Her soldiers, inured to heat and cold from their infancy, and actuated by a blind devotion to the Czar, united the steady valour of the English to the im-

petuous energy of the French troops. Dreaded by all her neighbours, and too remote to fear attack, she could afford to send forth her whole disposable force on foreign service; while the want of pecuniary resources was of little importance, so long as the wealth of England could be relied on to furnish the sinews of war. Before the conclusion of hostilities, France saw one hundred and fifty thousand Russian soldiers reviewed on the plains of Burgundy—a force really greater than that with which Attila combated on the field of Chalons.

63. Poland, the destined theatre of glorious achievements, was, at the commencement of the French Revolution, groaning under the weight of foreign oppression. This heroic country, long the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks, the deliverer of Germany under John Sobieski, the ancient conqueror of Russia, had been the victim of the insane democratic passions of its people, and an atrocious conspiracy of the neighbouring kings. The flatness of its surface, the want of fortified towns, and the weakness incident to an elective monarchy and turbulent democracy, had rendered all the valour of the people unavailing, and the greater part of its dominions had been reft from it by its ambitious neighbours at the disastrous epoch of 1772. In 1792, the neighbouring sovereigns found a new pretence for renewing their spoliations. Stanislaus Augustus, the last nominal king, had granted a constitution to his subjects, better adapted to their peculiar situation than could have been hoped for. By it, the crown was declared elective, but the dynasty hereditary—the Princess of Saxony was proclaimed heiress of the throne after the demise of the king. Legislative measures and decrees were to be proposed by the crown, and sanctioned by the Chambers of Lords and Commons. The nobles abandoned their privilege of engrossing every employment under government; and, to provide for the gradual elevation of the people, the king was obliged, during the sitting of each diet, to ennobles thirty of the bourgeois class. The Catholic religion was declared the established faith. This constitution was

proclaimed amidst the universal acclamations of the people; and new life, it was fondly imagined, had been infused into the ancient monarchy, from the intermixture of popular vigour. But these transports were of short duration. Stanislaus Augustus, however enlightened in framing a constitution, was ill qualified to maintain it. The people, disunited for centuries, were incapable of any measures for their common defence. The jealousy of the Empress Catherine was awakened by the prospect of Poland again emerging into political vigour; and her fears, by the proximity of revolutionary principles to her hereditary states. A new treaty of partition was signed between the three adjoining powers, and the conqueror of Ismael was called from the Turkish war, to give the last blow to the ancient defenders of the Christian faith.

64. Though deprived of the weight arising from unity of empire, the native valour of the Poles destined them to perform an important part on the theatre of Europe. Napoleon has characterised them as the people who most rapidly become soldiers; and their ardent patriotism rendered them the ready supporters of any power which held out the prospect of restoring the national independence. The valour of the Polish legions made them distinguished in the wars of Italy and Spain; they followed the French standards to Smolensko and Moscow, and maintained an unshaken fidelity to them during all the disasters of the subsequent retreat. Though cruelly abandoned by Napoleon in the commencement of the Russian campaign, they adhered to his fortunes through all the subsequent changes; and, amidst the general defection of Europe, kept their faith inviolate on the field of Leipzig.

65. Sweden was too remote from the scene of European conflict to have much weight in the political scale. Secure in a distant and almost inaccessible situation, blessed with a hardy, intrepid, and honest peasantry, she had nothing to dread but from the insatiable progress of Russian ambition. She had recently, however, concluded a glorious war with

her powerful neighbour; her arms, in alliance with those of Turkey, had taken the Imperial forces by surprise; and Gustavus, extricating himself by a desperate exertion of valour from a perilous situation, had destroyed the Russian fleet, and gained a great victory so near St Petersburg that the sound of the cannon was heard in the palace of the empress. But, such is the weight of Muscovite power, that its enemies are always glad to purchase peace, even in the moments of their greatest success. Catherine hastened to get quit of the Swedish war, by offering advantageous terms to her courageous rival, and flattered his chivalrous feelings into accepting them, by representing that the efforts of all sovereigns should now be directed towards resisting the progress of the French Revolution, and that he alone was worthy to head the enterprise.

66. Placed on the other extremity of the Russian dominions, the forces of Turkey were still less capable of affecting the balance of the European states. Formidable during the period of its vigour and rise, the Ottoman power, like that of all barbarous nations, had rapidly and irrecoverably declined, after the zenith of its greatness had been attained. It was defended chiefly by the desert and inaccessible nature of its frontiers, the result of the incessant and grievous oppression of its government, and by the jealousies of the European powers, who never failed to interfere when the danger became imminent to its independent existence. Its cavalry, brave, skilful, and admirably mounted, was the most formidable in the world; but the desultory temper of its people was incapable of the submission and constancy requisite to form an experienced and disciplined body of infantry. Sometimes, however, the spirit of fanaticism roused them to extraordinary exertions, and on such occasions it was not unusual to see a hundred and fifty thousand armed men on the banks of the Danube. But these efforts were of short duration; the first serious reverse dissipated the mighty host, and reduced its leaders to the command of a few regiments of horse. But though these causes rendered the Otto-

mans incapable of foreign conquest, they were still extremely formidable to an invading army. Their desert and waterless plains afforded no resources to an enemy; while the total want of roads fit for the passage of wheeled carriages, made it almost impossible to bring supplies from the adjoining states, or advance the artillery requisite for the siege of their fortresses. Behind the walls of the most inconsiderable towns, the Janizaries fought with desperate, and often successful valour; the whole inhabitants took to arms in defence of their lives and their religion; and, lined with such defenders, trifling cities frequently offered a more formidable resistance than the most regular fortifications of Western Europe.

67. The incessant and grinding oppression, however, of the Ottoman government, had implanted a principle of weakness in the Turkish power, little attended to in former times, but of which the effects have since been strikingly displayed. This consisted in the constant and rapid decay of the population, which soon rendered the Osmanlis unequal even to those sudden and vehement exertions, which at former periods had struck such terror into the neighbouring states. At the same time the ignorant and brutal pride of the government, which prevented them from acquiring any knowledge of the situation of the European powers, rendered them incapable of availing themselves of the advantages which their desperate struggles frequently afforded, and on more than one occasion made them throw away the only remaining chance of recovering their lost ground from the unceasing hostility of Russia.

68. From a different cause, the political importance of Italy had sunk as low as that of the Turkish states. Inhabiting the finest country in Europe, blessed with the richest plains and the most fruitful mountains, defended from invasion by the encircling sea and the snow-covered Alps, venerable from the recollections of ancient greatness, and containing the cradle of modern freedom, the people of Italy were yet as dust in the scale of nations. The loss of military courage and of private vir-

tue seems to have been the cause of this sad degradation. When conducted by foreign leaders, the inhabitants of its northern states, like the Portuguese and the Hindoos under British direction, have risen to honourable distinction beneath the standards of Napoleon; but led by their own officers, and following their national colours, they have never, for many centuries, been able to stand the shock of the Transalpine forces. Tuscany, from the effects of the sage and paternal government of Leopold, was flourishing, prosperous, and contented; but the proximity of France had spread the seeds of discontent in Piedmont, and, in common with its inhabitants, the Milanese beheld with undisguised satisfaction the triumph of the republican arms on the other side of the Alps. It was in vain, however, that a smothered feeling of indignation against foreign rule pervaded the Italian states; in vain all their theatres rang with acclamations at the line of Alfieri—

"*Servi siam sì ! ma servi ognor frementi* : " *

they were incapable of those steady and sustained efforts which are essential to the establishment either of civil liberty or national independence. Hence, during all the contests of which it was the theatre, Italy became the unresisting prey of the northern victor. The Austrian and French eagles alternately ruled her plains, but the national colours were never unfurled, nor any effort made to liberate them from foreign dominion. On the few occasions on which the Neapolitans and Venetians attempted to raise the standard of independence, they were vanquished by the mere sight of the enemy's force. It is melancholy to reflect, that the descendants of the Romans, the Samnites, and the Cisalpine Gauls, should so far, and to appearance so irrecoverably, have degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors; but it seems to be the law of nature, that a high state of civilisation cannot long co-exist with military courage in the favoured climates of the world; and that, as some counterpoise to the lavish accumulation of her gifts, Nature has

* "*We are slaves; but slaves ever chafing against our chains.*"

denied to their inhabitants the permanent resolution to defend them.

69. The kingdom of Piedmont, situated on the frontier of Italy, partook more of the character of its northern than of its southern neighbours. Its soldiers, chiefly drawn from the mountains of Savoy, Liguria, or the Maritime Alps, were brave, docile, and enterprising, and, under Victor Amadeus, had risen to the highest distinction in the commencement of the eighteenth century. The regular army amounted to thirty thousand infantry, and three thousand five hundred cavalry; but, besides this, the government could summon to its support fifteen thousand militia, who, in defending their mountain passes, rivalled the best troops in Europe. These were chiefly employed during the war in guarding the fortresses; and the number of these, joined to the natural strength of the country, and its important situation, as holding the keys of the great passes over the Alps, gave this state a degree of military importance beyond what could have been anticipated from its physical strength.

70. Sunk in obscure marshes, crushed by the naval supremacy of England, and cooped up in a corner of Europe, the political importance of the Dutch republic had fallen in a great degree in the scale of Europe. Its army was still composed of forty-four thousand men, and its fortified towns and inundations gave it the same means of defence which had formerly been so gloriously exerted; but the resolution of the inhabitants was by no means at that time equal to the strength of their situation. A long period of peace had weakened the military spirit of the people, and their chief defence was placed in the wretched assistance of auxiliary troops, which never enabled the republic, during the subsequent contests, to bring thirty thousand men into the field. The world at this period was far from anticipating the glorious stand which the Dutch subsequently made, in 1834, against the hostility by land and sea of the two greatest powers in Europe.

71. Animated by stronger passions, descended from more fiery progenitors,

and inured to a more varied climate, the people of the Spanish peninsula were calculated to perform a more distinguished part in the strife for European freedom. This singular and mixed race united to the tenacity of purpose which distinguished the Gothic, the fiery enterprise which characterised the Moorish blood. Centuries of almost unbroken repose had neither extinguished the one nor abated the other; and the conqueror of Europe erroneously judged the temper of her people, when he measured it by the inglorious reigns of the Bourbon dynasty. The nobles, degenerated by political nullity and long-continued intermarriage with each other, were indeed incapable of strenuous exertion, and the reigning family had none of the qualities calculated to command success. But the peasantry, bold, prosperous, and independent, presented the materials for a resolute army; and the priesthood, possessed of an unlimited sway over the minds of the lower orders, were animated by the most inextinguishable hatred at the principles of the French Revolution. The decay of its national strength, falsely ascribed by superficial writers to the drain of colonial enterprise,* and the possession of the mines of America, was really owing to the accumulation of estates in the hands of communities and noble families, and the predominant influence of the Catholic priesthood, which for centuries had rendered that fine kingdom little else than a cluster of convents, surrounded by a hardy peasantry. But though these causes had rendered Spain incapable of any sustained foreign enterprise, they had not in the least diminished its aptitude for internal defence; and the people, who in every age have there made common cause with the king and the nobles, flew to arms with unequalled enthusiasm, when their loyalty was awakened by the captivity of their sovereign, and their fanaticism roused by the efforts of their pastors. By a just retribution,

* The exports of Spain to her colonies in 1790, were £15,000,000 annually; nearly as much as those of Great Britain at this time to her colonies, which amount to £16,280,000.—See HUMBOLDT, *Nouvelle Espagne*, iv. 153, 154.

the first great reverse of the French arms was occasioned by the spirit of religious resistance nourished by the first flagrant acts of injustice; and the disaster of Baylen would not have arisen, nor the bones of five hundred thousand French whitened the plains of Spain, but for the confiscation of the property of the French church by the Constituent Assembly.

72. The nominal military strength of Spain, at the commencement of the Revolution, was one hundred and forty thousand men; but this force was far from being effective, and in the first campaigns the cabinet of Madrid, though they reinforced their army by thirty-six battalions on the breaking out of the war, were never able to raise their force in the field to eighty thousand combatants. But on occasion of the invasion in 1808, an immense insurrectionary force sprang up in every part of the country. These undisciplined levies, however, though occasionally brave, like the Turks, in defending walls, were miserably deficient in the essential qualities of regular soldiers. They had neither the steadiness, mutual confidence, nor conduct necessary for success in the field. Accordingly, they were almost invariably routed in every encounter; and but for the tenacity of purpose arising from their character, ignorance, and habit of boasting, which effectually concealed the extent of their disasters from all but the sufferers under them, and the continued presence of a large English force in the field, the war would have been terminated soon after its commencement, with very little trouble to the French Emperor.

73. The Spanish soldiers have never exhibited in the wars of the Revolution that firmness in the field which formerly distinguished their infantry at Pavia, Rocroi, and in the Low Countries. They have been distinguished rather by the tumultuary habits and tendency to abandon their colours on the first reverse, which belongs to the troops of tropical climates, and characterised their forefathers in the Roman wars. It would seem as if the long residence of their ancestors in a warm cli-

mate had melted away the indomitable valour which distinguished the Gothic race in the frozen realms whence they originally came. Military glory was held in little esteem; hardly four of the *grandeos* were to be found, in 1792, in the army or naval service. But the peasantry evinced throughout the war the most obstinate and enduring spirit. Though routed on numberless occasions, they almost always rallied, as in the days of Sertorius, in more favourable circumstances; and, though deserted by nearly all the nobility, they maintained a prolonged contest with the conqueror of Northern Europe.

74. Cradled in snowy mountains, tilling a sterile soil, and habituated to severe habits, the Swiss peasantry exhibited the same features which have always rendered them so celebrated in European wars. Their lives were as simple, their courage as undaunted, their patriotism as warm, as those of their ancestors who died on the fields of Morat or Morgarten. Formidable in defence, however, their numerical strength, which did not exceed thirty-eight thousand regular soldiers, rendered them of little avail in the great contests which rolled round the feet of their mountains. Occasions, indeed, were not wanting when they displayed the ancient virtue of their race: their conflicts in Berne and Underwalden, at the time of the French invasion, equalled the far-famed celebrity of their wars of independence; and, amidst the disgraceful defection of the 10th August, the Swiss guards alone remained faithful to the fortunes of Louis, and merited by their death the touching inscription on the graves at Thermopylæ:

"Go, stranger! and at Lacedæmon tell,
That here, obedient to her laws, we fell."

75. Such was the state of the principal European powers at the commencement of the French Revolution. A spirit of gentleness pervaded the political world, the effect of increasing knowledge and long-continued prosperity. Even the most despotic empires were

* "Dic, hospes, Sparte, nos te hinc vidisse
jacentes,
Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur."

ruled with a lenity unknown in former times, and the state prisons of all the European monarchies would probably have exhibited as few inmates as the Bastille when it was stormed in 1789. Ever since the termination of the general war in 1763, a growing spirit of improvement had pervaded the European states, and repeatedly called forth the praises of the contemporary annalists. Agriculture had risen into universal esteem; kings were setting the example of cultivating the soil; and many of the nobility were everywhere lending their aid to improve that first and best of human pursuits. Leopold in Tuscany and Flanders, and Louis in France, were ardently engaged in the amelioration of their dominions. Even in the regions of the north, the spirit of improvement was steadily advancing. The able exertions of Frederick had nearly doubled in a single reign the resources of his dominions; and in Poland and Russia the example of gradually enfranchising the serfs had been set with the happiest success. The haughtiness and pride of aristocratic birth were steadily yielding to the influence of extending wants and an enlarged commerce, and in many of the European states the highest offices under government were held by persons of plebeian birth. Necker, Vergennes, and Sartines, who successively held the most important situations in France, were of this class. The Inquisition had been voluntarily abandoned in Parma, Placentia, Milan, and Modena, and toleration over all Europe had spread to a degree unknown in former times. All the remaining vestiges of that fierce spirit, which sullied with barbarism the lofty and romantic courtesy of ancient manners, were gradually softening away; and the flames of that religious zeal, which for two centuries had so often kindled the torch of civil discord, had greatly subsided. Every succeeding generation was of a character milder and gentler than the last. A diffusion of liberality was beginning to pervade the mass of mankind, although the prophetic eye could discern in it the fatal intermixture of religious indifference. The diversified classes of society har-

monised with each other in a way hitherto unknown; and whatever might be the peculiarities of particular constitutions, a sweeter blood seemed on the whole to circulate through every member of the political body. The lowest of the people, under governments the most despotic, no longer held their countenances prone to the earth, but were taught to erect them with a becoming sense of their own nature; and the brow of authority, instead of an austere frown, wore a more inviting air of complacency and amenity.

76. But while such was the general character of Europe, there was an important distinction between the national tendency of its northern and southern states, which soon produced the most lasting effects on their respective fortunes. The spirit of the south was in general pacific, that of the north ambitious; the repose of the former bordered on inertness, the energy of the latter on turbulence. The amelioration of the first was slow, and almost imperceptible, flowing chiefly from the energy or benignity of the sovereigns; the improvements of the latter were rapid and violent, taking their origin in the increasing importance of the people. Pleasure was the leading object in the south; glory, military glory, in the north. The difference was perceptible even during the progress of pacific changes; but when war broke out, its effects became of the last importance, and speedily led to the subjugation of the southern by the northern states of Europe.

77. The greatest blessings border upon misfortunes; out of calamity often springs the chief improvement of the human race. To the eye of philosophy it was not difficult to discern that the growing passion for innovation, to which all reform is more or less related, was pregnant with political danger; that the universal toleration which prevailed bordered upon infidelity; and that the disposition to improve, emanating from the purest intention in the higher ranks, was likely to agitate the spirit of democracy in the lower. Such a peril, accordingly, was foreseen and expressed by the contemporary historians; but they did not foresee, nor could human

imagination have anticipated, either the terrible effects of that spirit upon the passing generation, or the beneficial effects which the storm that swept the world was destined to have upon the future condition of mankind.

78. The state of France at the period when hostilities first commenced, cannot be better described than in the words of the eloquent and philanthropic Abbé Raynal, so long an advocate of liberal institutions, in a letter to the National Assembly:—"Standing on the verge of the grave, on the point of quitting an immense family, for whose happiness I have never ceased to wish, what do I behold around me in this capital! Religious troubles, civil dissension, the consternation of some, the audacity of others, a government the slave of popular tyranny, the sanctuary of the laws violated by lawless men; soldiers without discipline, chiefs without authority, ministers without resources; a king, the first and best friend of his people, deprived of all power, outraged, menaced, a prisoner in his own palace, and the sovereign power transferred to popular clubs, where ignorant and brutal men take upon themselves to decide every political question. Such is the real state of France; few but myself would have the courage to declare it, but I do so, because I feel it to be my duty; because I am bordering on my eightieth year; because no one can accuse me of being a partisan of the ancient regime; because, while I groan over the desolation of the French church, no one can assert that I am a fanatical priest; because, while I regard as the sole means of salvation the re-establishment of the legitimate authority, no one can suppose that I am insensible to the blessings of real freedom." When such was the language of the first supporters of the Revolution, it is noways surprising that the European powers beheld with dismay the progress of principles fraught with such calamitous consequences, according to the admission of their own partisans, in the countries where they had commenced.

79. The language of the French government, towards the people of all other

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states, was such as to excite the most serious apprehension of the friends of order in every civilised country. Not only the orators in the clubs, but the members of the Assembly, openly proclaimed the doctrine of fraternisation with the revolutionary party all over the world. The annexation of the states of Avignon and the Venaissin was early marked by Mr Burke as the indication of an ambitious spirit, for which, ere long, the limits of Europe would not suffice. The seizure of this little state by the French Republic was the more remarkable, that it was the first decided aggression on the part of its rulers upon the adjoining nations, and that it was committed on an independent sovereign, with whom not even the pretence of a quarrel existed, and who was not alleged to have entered into any hostile alliances against that power. This was followed up in the same year by the seizure of Porentruy, part of the dominions of the Bishop of Bâle, a German prelate noways subject to the French government.

80. The French Revolution surprised the European powers in their usual state of smothered jealousy or open hostility to each other. Catherine of Russia was occupied with her ambitious projects in the south-east of Europe, and her ascendancy at the courts of Berlin and Vienna was so great that no serious opposition was to be apprehended from their hostility. France had shortly before signed a commercial treaty with Great Britain, which was considered as admitting on the part of the latter the ascendancy of her naval rival, and seriously impaired her influence on the continent of Europe; while Frederick the Great had recently before his death concluded the convention of Berlin, for the protection of Bavaria and the lesser powers from the ambition of the house of Austria. But the death of that great monarch, which took place in August 1786, was an irreparable loss to the diplomacy of Europe at the very time when, from the commencement of new and unheard-of dangers, his sagacity was most required.

81. His successor, Frederick William,

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though distinguished for personal valour, and not destitute of penetration and good sense, was too indolent and voluptuous to be qualified to follow out the active thread of negotiation which his predecessor had held. Hertzberg became, after the death of the late monarch, the soul of the Prussian cabinet, and his whole object was to provide a counterpoise to the enormous preponderance of the two imperial courts, which had recently become still more formidable from the intimate union that prevailed between Catherine and Joseph II. This alliance had been cemented by their common ambitious designs on Turkey, and had been ostentatiously proclaimed to Europe during a voyage which the two potentates made together on the Volga to the Crimea and shores of the Black Sea. A treaty with France promised no satisfactory result in the distracted state to which that kingdom was now reduced. In these circumstances, an alliance of Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, appeared the only means of providing for the balance of power in Europe; and under the influence of Mr Pitt, a convention was concluded at Loo between these three powers, which again established the preponderance of England on the Continent, and long preserved the independence of Northern Germany. Thus, at the very time that the most appalling dangers were about to arise to the liberties of Europe from the revolutionary ambition of France on its western side, the views of its statesmen were turned to another quarter; and were solely directed to prevent the aggrandisement of the military monarchies, which seemed on the point of swallowing up its eastern dynasties.

82. Passionately desirous of military

* "The sword is drawn," said he, "and it shall not be restored to the scabbard till I have regained all that has been wrested by the Osmanlis from my house. My enterprise against Turkey has no other object but to regain the possessions which time and misfortunes have detached from my crown. The Turks consider it as an invariable maxim to seize the first convenient opportunity of regaining the possessions which they have lost. The house of Brandenburg has risen to its present pitch of glory by adopting the same principles. Your uncle wrested Silesia from

renown, Joseph II. addressed, early in 1788, a confidential letter to Frederick William, in which he openly avowed his designs on Turkey, and justified them by the practice of the Turks themselves, and of all the European powers in similar circumstances.* Though flattered by this mark of confidence, the Prussian cabinet was not blinded to the danger which menaced Europe from the approaching dismemberment of Turkey, so rapidly following the partition of Poland. Meanwhile the united forces of Austria and Russia made great progress; the throne of Constantinople seemed shaken to its foundation. Ocsakoff had fallen, and with it the bravest defenders of the Turkish power; the prince of Saxe-Coburg and Suwaroff successively defeated large bodies of Osmanlis at Fochzani and Martinesti, while Belgrade, the bulwark of Transylvania, yielded to the scientific measures of Marshal Laudohn. The Russians, on the shores of the Black Sea, had completely routed Hassan Pasha at Tobak, and, after a long siege, made themselves masters of Bender; while the Austrians, no less successful, reduced Bucharest, and spread themselves over all the northern shores of the Danube. Orsova had fallen; and the united imperial armies, two hundred and fifty thousand strong, stretching over a line four hundred miles in length, already, in the spring of 1790, menaced Giurgevo and Widdin, and threatened speedy destruction to the Ottoman empire.

83. Seriously alarmed at the dangers which evidently menaced Europe from the fall of the Turkish empire, Mr Pitt was indefatigable in his exertions, before it was too late, to arrest the progress of the imperial courts. By his

my mother at a moment when, surrounded by enemies, she had no other support but her native grandeur of mind and the love of her people. During a century of losses, Austria has made no proportionate acquisition; for the larger portion of Poland, on the last partition, fell to Prussia. I hope these reasons will appear sufficient to justify me in declining the intervention of your Majesty; and that you will not oppose my endeavours to Germanise some hundreds of thousands of Orientals. — *HARD.* i. 65, 66.

means the alliance was drawn closer between Prussia and Great Britain; and Frederick William, fully alive to the perils which threatened his dominions from the aggrandisement of Austria, advanced, at the head of one hundred thousand men, to the frontiers of Bohemia. Unable to undertake a war at the same time on the Elbe and the Danube, and uneasy, both on account of the menacing aspect of France and the insurrection in Flanders, Austria paused in the career of conquest. Conferences were opened at Reichenbach, midway between the headquarters of the Prussian and Imperial armies; and, after some delay, preliminaries of peace were signed, which terminated the differences between the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin, and opened the way for the accommodation of the former with the Porte. The Prussian army immediately retired: thirty thousand Austrians, under Marshal Bender, moved towards the Low Countries, and speedily reduced its discontented provinces to submission; while a truce was shortly after concluded for nine months between the Turks and Imperialists, which was followed by conferences at Sistow, and at length a definitive treaty was signed at that place on the 4th August 1791. Meanwhile the Empress Catherine, who was not yet formally included in the pacification, intimated to the courts of St James's and Berlin her intention of suspending hostilities, and, as a gage of her sincerity, concluded at Verela a peace with the king of Sweden, who, at the instigation of England and Prussia, had taken up arms, and contended with undaunted valour against his gigantic neighbour.

84. This general and rapid pacification of Europe, this stilling of so many passions and allaying of so many jealousies, was not the result of accident. It arose from the universal consternation which the rapid progress of the French Revolution excited, and the clear perception which all the cabinets at length began to have, of the imminent danger to every settled institution from the contagion of its principles. But, amidst the general alarm, wiser principles were generally preva-

lent than could reasonably have been anticipated, as to the means of warding off the danger. Mr Pitt in England, Kaunitz at Vienna, and Hertzberg at Berlin, concurred in opinion that it would be imprudent and dangerous to oppose the progress of innovation in France, if it could be moderated by a party in that country sufficiently strong to prevent its leaders from running into excess; and that, in the mean time, the strictest measures should be adopted which circumstances would admit, to prevent its principles from spreading into other states. Such were the maxims on which the conduct of England, Austria, and Prussia was founded during the first two years of the Revolution; though the Empress Catherine, more vehement and imperious in her disposition, or possibly more sagacious in her anticipations, never ceased to urge the necessity of a general confederacy to arrest, by more violent means, the march of so formidable a convulsion. But circumstances at length occurred which put a period to these moderate counsels at Vienna and Berlin, and precipitated the European monarchies into the terrible contest which awaited them.

85. From the time that Louis had been brought a prisoner to Paris, on 5th October 1789, he had recommended to the king of Spain to pay no regard to any public act bearing his name, which was not confirmed by an autograph letter from himself; and in the course of the following summer he authorised the Baron Breteuil, his former minister, to sound the German powers on the possibility of extricating him from the state of bondage to which he was reduced. In November 1790, after he found that he was to be forced to adopt measures of hostility against the Church, he resolved to be more explicit; and in December following he addressed a circular to the whole sovereigns of Europe, with a view to the formation of a congress, supported by an armed force, to consider the means of arresting the factions at Paris, and re-establishing a constitutional monarchy in France.*

* "My Brother—I have learned from M. de Moustier the interest that your Majesty has shown, not only in my welfare, but also

This circular excited everywhere the warmest feelings of sympathy and commiseration; but the views of the cabinets, notwithstanding, continued at variance: that of Vienna still adhered to the necessity of recognising the revolutionary régime; those of St Petersburg and Stockholm openly proclaimed the necessity of an immediate crusade against the infected power.

86. So early as the close of 1790, however, the violent proceedings of the National Assembly had brought them into collision with the states of the Empire. The laws against the emigrants and priests, which were passed with so much precipitance by that body, infringed the rights of the German vassals of the French crown in Alsace and Lorraine, whose rights were guaranteed by the treaty of Westphalia; and the Emperor, as the head of the Empire, addressed a remonstrance to the French king on the subject. Overruled by his revolutionary ministry, Louis made answer that the affair was foreign to the Empire, as the princes and prelates affected were reached as vassals of France, not as members of the Empire, and that indemnities had been offered. This answer was not deemed satisfactory; a warm altercation ensued: Leo-

in that of my kingdom. The desire of your Majesty to give proof of that interest whenever it can be exerted for the good of my people, excites in me lively emotion. I appeal to you with confidence at this moment, when, notwithstanding my acceptance of the new constitution, the factions openly declare their intention of destroying what remains of the monarchy. I have written to the Emperor, to the Empress of Russia, to the Kings of Spain and Sweden, and suggested to them the idea of a congress of the principal powers of Europe, backed by an armed force, as the best means of restraining the factions here, allowing the establishment of a better order of things, and preventing the evils under which we are labouring from extending to the other states of Europe. I hope that your Majesty will approve of my ideas, and observe the strictest secrecy regarding the step I take in writing to you. You will readily imagine that the circumstances in which I am placed demand the greatest circumspection; it is for that reason that the Baron de Breteuil is the only person acquainted with my secret. Your Majesty may communicate to him anything you choose."—LOUIS XVI. to the King of Prussia, December 8, 1790; LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, l. 322, 323.

pold asserted, in a spirited manner, the rights of the German princes; and this dispute, joined to the obvious and increasing dangers of his sister, Marie Antoinette, gradually inclined the Emperor to more vigorous measures, and strengthened the bonds of union with Frederick William, who openly inclined towards the deliverance of the unhappy princess. The king of England, also, took a vivid interest in the misfortunes of the royal family of France, promising, as Elector of Hanover, to concur in any measures which might be deemed necessary to extricate them from their embarrassments; and he sent Lord Elgin to Leopold, who was then travelling in Italy, to concert measures for the common object. An envoy from Prussia at the same time reached the Emperor, and to them was soon joined the Count d'Artois, who was at Venice, and brought to the scene of deliberation the warmth, haste, and inconsiderate energy, which had rendered him the first decided opponent of the Revolution, and ultimately proved so fatal to the fortunes of his family.

87. Meanwhile, the king and queen of France, finding their situation insupportable, and being aware that not only their liberty, but their lives were now endangered, resolved to make every exertion to break their fetters. With this view, they despatched secret agents to Brussels and Cologne, to communicate with the Emperor and the king of Prussia; and Count Alphonse de Dürfort was instructed to inform the Count d'Artois, that the king could no longer influence his ministers; that he was in reality the prisoner of M. Lafayette, who secretly and hypocritically was conducting everything to a republic; that the royal family were filled with the most anxious desire to make their escape by the route either of Metz or Valenciennes, and placed entire reliance on the zeal and activity of their august relatives. Furnished with these instructions, Count Dürfort left Paris in the end of April 1791, and soon joined the Count d'Artois at Venice, who was already arranging, with the English and Prussian envoys, the most probable means of overcoming the scruples of the Emperor.

88. When these different parties met with the Emperor at Mantua, on 20th May 1791, the most discordant plans were submitted for his consideration. That of the Count d'Artois, which was really drawn up by M. Calonne, the former minister of Louis XVI., was the most warlike, and proposed the adoption, in July following, of hostile measures. The allied courts did not go into these precipitate views; but, alarmed by the menacing principles openly announced by the National Assembly, and by the growing symptoms of disaffection among their own subjects, the emperor of Germany, the king of Sardinia, and the king of Spain, concluded an agreement by which it was concerted:—1. That the Emperor should assemble thirty-five thousand men on the frontiers of Flanders, while fifteen thousand soldiers of the Germanic Body should present themselves in Alsace; fifteen thousand Swiss on the frontiers of Franche-Comté; fifteen thousand Piedmontese on the frontiers of Dauphiné; and the king of Spain should collect an army of twenty thousand men on the Pyrenees. 2. That these forces should be formed into five armies, which should act on their respective frontiers of France, and join themselves to the malcontents in the provinces and the troops who preserved their allegiance to the throne. 3. That in the following July, a protestation should be issued by the princes of the house of Bourbon, and immediately after a manifesto by the allied powers. 4. That the object of these assemblages of troops was, to induce the French people, terrified at the approach of the allied forces, to seek for safety in submitting themselves to the king, and imploring his mediation." The sovereigns counted at least on the neutrality of England; but it was expected, from the assurances given by Lord Elgin, that, as Elector of Hanover, the English monarch would accede to the coalition.

89. Meanwhile the royal family of France, following the councils of Baron Breteuil, and influenced by the pressing and increasing dangers of their situation, had finally resolved on escaping

from Paris. While Louis and M. de Bouillé were combining the means of an evasion, either towards Montmedy or Metz, the principal courts of Europe were apprised of the design. Leopold gave orders to the government of the Low Countries to place at the disposal of the king, when he reached their frontiers, not only the Imperial troops, but the sums which might be in the public treasury; and the king of Sweden, stimulated by his chivalrous spirit, and the persuasions of Catherine of Russia, drew near to the frontiers of France, under pretence of drinking the waters, but in reality to receive the august fugitives. The Emperor, the Count d'Artois, and M. Calonne, however, strongly opposed the contemplated flight, as extremely hazardous to the royal family, and calculated to retard rather than advance the ultimate settlement of the affairs of France. They were persuaded that the only way to effect this object, so desirable to that country and to Europe, was to support the royalist and constitutional party in France, by the display of such a force as might enable them to throw off the yoke of the revolutionary faction, and establish a permanent constitution by the consent of king, nobles, and people. Impressed with these ideas, the Emperor addressed a circular* from Padua to the principal powers, in which he announced the principles according to which, in his opinion, the common efforts should be directed. At the same time, Count Lamarck, a secret agent of Louis, came to London, to endeavour to engage Mr

* He invited the sovereigns to issue a joint declaration—"That they regard the cause of his most Christian Majesty as their own; that they demand that that prince and his family should forthwith be set at liberty, and permitted to go wherever they chose, under the safeguard of inviolability and respect to their persons; that they will combine to avenge, in the most signal manner, every attempt on the liberty, honour, or security of the king, the queen, or the royal family: that they will recognise as legitimate only those laws which shall have been agreed to by the king when in a state of entire liberty: and that they will exert all their power to put a period to a usurpation of power which has assumed the character of an open revolt, and which it behoves all established governments for their own sake to repress."—HARD. i. 116.

Pitt in the same cause. But nothing could induce the English government to swerve from the strict neutrality which, on a full consideration of the case, it had resolved to adopt. At Vienna, however, the efforts of the anti-revolutionary party were more successful; and on the 25th July, Prince Kaunitz and Bischofswerder signed, on the part of Austria and Prussia, a convention, wherein it was stipulated that the two courts should unite their good offices to combine the European powers for some common measure in regard to France; that they should conclude a treaty of alliance, as soon as peace was established between the Empress Catherine and the Ottoman Porte; and that the former power, as well as Great Britain, the States-general, and the Elector of Saxony, should be invited to accede to it. This convention, intended to put a bridle on the ambition of Russia on the one hand, and of France on the other, deserves attention as the first basis of the Grand Alliance which afterwards wrought such wonders in Europe.

90. The pressing dangers of the royal family of France, after the failure of the flight to Varennes, and their open imprisonment in the Tuileries by the revolutionists, soon after suggested the necessity of more urgent measures. It was agreed, for this purpose, that a personal interview should take place between the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, to concert measures on that all-important subject. This led to the famous meeting at Pilnitz, which took place in August 1791, between the Emperor and the King of Prussia. There was framed the no less celebrated Declaration of Pilnitz, which was couched in the following terms:—"Their Majesties, the Emperor and the King of Prussia, having considered the representations of Monsieur, brother of the king, and of his Excellency the Count d'Artois, declare conjointly, that they consider the situation of the King of France as a matter of common interest to all the European sovereigns. They hope that the reality of that interest will be duly appreciated by the other powers, whose assistance they will invoke, and that, in consequence, they

will not decline to employ their forces, conjointly with their Majesties, in order to put the King of France in a situation to lay the foundation of a monarchical government, conformable alike to the rights of sovereigns and the well-being of the French nation. In that case, the Emperor and King are resolved to act promptly with the forces necessary to attain their common end. In the mean time, they will give the requisite orders for the troops to hold themselves in immediate readiness for active service." It was alleged by the French that, besides this, several secret articles were agreed to by the allied sovereigns; but no sufficient evidence has ever been produced to substantiate the allegation; and the testimony of those best acquainted with the facts is decidedly the other way.*

91. Although these declarations appeared abundantly hostile to the usurpation of government by the democracy of France, yet the conduct of the allied powers soon proved that they had no serious intention at that period of going to war. On the contrary, their measures evinced, after the Declaration of Pilnitz, that they were actuated by pacific sentiments; and in October 1791 it was officially announced by M. Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs, to the Assembly, "that the king had no reason to apprehend aggression from any foreign power.† Their real object was

* "As far as we have been able to trace," said Mr Pitt, "the Declaration signed at Pilnitz referred to the imprisonment of Louis XVI.; its immediate view was to effect his deliverance, if a concert sufficiently extensive could be formed for that purpose. It left the internal state of France to be decided by the king, restored to his liberty, with the free consent of the States of the kingdom, and it did not contain one word relative to the dismemberment of the country."—"This, though not a plan for the dismemberment of France," said Mr Fox in reply, "was, in the eye of reason and common sense, an aggression against it. There was, indeed, no such thing as a treaty of Pilnitz; but there was a Declaration, which amounted to an act of hostile aggression."

† "We are accused," said M. Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs, in a report laid before the Assembly on 31st October 1791, "of wishing to propagate our opinions, and of trying to raise the people of other states against their governments. I know that such accusations are false, so far as regards the French ministry; but it is too true

to induce the French, by the fear of approaching danger, to liberate Louis from the perilous situation in which he was placed. Their forces were by no means in a condition to undertake a contest; their minds were haunted by a superstitious dread of the dangers with which it would be attended. This is admitted by the ablest of the Republican writers.*

92. No warlike preparations were made by the German States, no armies were collected on the frontiers of France; and accordingly, when the struggle began next year, they were taken entirely by surprise. France had one hundred and thirty thousand men on the Rhine and along her eastern frontier, while the Austrians had only ten thousand soldiers in the Low Countries. In truth, the primary and real object of the Convention of Pilnitz, was the extrication of the king and royal family from personal danger; and no sooner did this object appear to be gained, by their liberation from confinement and the acceptance of the constitution, than the coalesced sovereigns gladly laid aside all thoughts of hostile operations. For such measures they were but ill prepared, and the urgent state of affairs in Poland, then ready to be swallowed up by the ambition of Catherine, rendered hostilities in an especial manner unad-

visable. When Frederick William received the intelligence of the acceptance of the constitution by Louis, he exclaimed, "At length, then, the peace of Europe is secured." The Emperor likewise testified his satisfaction in a letter addressed to the French monarch; and shortly after despatched a circular to all the sovereigns of Europe,† in which he announced that the king's acceptance of the constitution had removed the reason for hostile demonstrations, and that they were in consequence suspended. The cabinet of Berlin coincided entirely in these sentiments; and the opinion was general, both there and at Vienna, that the troubles of France were at length permanently appeased by the great concessions made to the democratic party; and that prudence and address were all that was now necessary to enable the French monarch to reign, if not with his former lustre, at least without risk, and in a peaceable manner.

93. Such being the views entertained by the two powers whose situation necessarily led them to take the lead in the strife, it was of comparatively little importance what were the feelings of the more distant or inferior courts. In the north, Catherine and Gustavus were intent on warlike measures, and refused

that individuals, and even societies, have sought to establish with that view correspondences in the neighbouring states; and it is also true that all the princes, and almost all the governments of Europe, are daily insulted in our incendiary journals. The king, by accepting the constitution, has removed the danger with which you were threatened: nothing indicates at this moment any disposition on their part to a hostile enterprise."—*JOM. i. 286; Pièces Just. No. 6.*

* "The Declaration of Pilnitz," says Thiers, "remained without effect; either from a cooling of zeal on the part of the allied sovereigns, or from a sense of the danger which Louis would have run, after he was, from the failure of the flight to Varennes, a prisoner in the hands of the Assembly. His acceptance of the constitution was an additional reason for awaiting the result of experience before plunging into active operations. This was the opinion of Leopold and his minister Kaunitz. Accordingly, when Louis notified to the foreign courts that he had accepted the constitution, and was resolved faithfully to observe it, Austria returned an answer entirely pacific, and Prussia and England did the same."—*THIERS, ii. 19.*

† "His Majesty announces to all the courts, to whom he transmitted his first circular, dated Padua, 8th July, that the situation of the king of France, which gave occasion to the said circular, having changed, he deems it incumbent upon him to lay before them the views which he now entertains on the subject. His Majesty is of opinion, that the king of France is now to be regarded as free; and, in consequence, his acceptance of the constitution, and all the facts following thereon, are valid. He hopes that the effect of this acceptance will be to restore order in France, and give the ascendancy to persons of moderate principles, according to the wish of his most Christian Majesty; but as these appearances may prove fallacious, and the disorders of license and the violence towards the king may be renewed, he is also of opinion that the measures concerted between the sovereigns should be suspended, and not entirely abandoned; and that they should cause their respective ambassadors at Paris to declare that the coalition still subsists, and that, if necessary, they would still be ready to support the rights of the king and of the monarchy."—*Letter, 23d October 1791; HARR. i. 159.*

to admit into their presence the ambassador who came to announce the king's acceptance of the constitution, upon the ground that the sovereign could not be regarded as a free agent; and the courts of Spain and Sardinia received the intelligence coldly. Impressed with the idea, which the event proved to be too well founded, that the king's life was seriously menaced, and that he was, even in accepting the constitution, acting under compulsion, these northern and southern potentates entered into an agreement, the purport of which was, that a force of thirty-six thousand Russians and Swedes was to be conveyed from the Baltic to a point on the coast of Normandy, where they were to be disembarked and march direct to Paris, supported by a hostile demonstration from Spain and Piedmont on the side of the Pyrenees and Alps—a project obviously hopeless, if not supported by the forces of Austria and Prussia on the Rhine, and which the failure of the expedition to Varennes, and the subsequent course of events, caused to be entirely abandoned.

94. Meanwhile the Count d'Artois, and the emigrant nobility, taking counsel of nothing but their valour, generously resolving to risk everything to rescue the royal family of France from the dangers which threatened them, and relying on the open support and encouragement afforded them by the courts of Stockholm and St Petersburg, proceeded with the ardour and impetuosity which, in every period of the Revolution, have been the characteristics of their race. Numerous assemblages took place at Brussels, Coblenz, and Ettenheim: the Empress Catherine, in a letter addressed to Marshal Broglie, which they ostentatiously published, manifested the warm interest which she took in their cause; horses and arms were purchased, and organised corps of noble adventurers already began to be formed on the right bank of the Rhine. Twelve thousand of those gallant nobles were soon in arms, chiefly in squadrons of cavalry. Transported with ardour at so many favourable appearances, the exiled princes addressed to Louis an open remonstrance, in which they strongly

urged him to refuse his acceptance to the constitution which was about to be submitted to him; represented that all his former concessions had only induced impunity to every species of violence, and the despotism of the most abandoned persons in the kingdom; protested against any apparent acceptance which he might be compelled to give, and renewed the assurances of the intention of themselves and the allied powers speedily to deliver him from his fetters.

95. The only point that remained in dispute between the Emperor and the French king was, the indemnities to be provided to the German princes and prelates who had been dispossessed by the decrees of the National Assembly; but on this point Leopold evinced a firmness worthy of the head of the Empire. Early in December, he addressed to them a formal letter, in which he announced his own resolution, and that of the Diet, "to afford them every succour which the dignity of the Imperial crown and the maintenance of the public constitution of the Empire required, if they did not obtain that complete restitution or indemnification which existing treaties provided." Notwithstanding this, however, the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin still entertained so confident an opinion that the differences with France would terminate amicably, and that Louis, now restored to his authority, would speedily do justice to the injured parties, that they not only made no hostile preparations whatever, but withdrew a large proportion of their troops from the Flemish provinces.

96. In truth, though they felt the necessity of taking some measures against the common dangers which threatened all established institutions with destruction, the allied sovereigns had an undefined dread of the magical and unseen powers with which France might assail them, and pierce them to the heart through the revolt of their own subjects. The language held out by the National Assembly and its powerful orators, of war to the palace and peace to the cottage; the hand of fraternity which they offered to extend to the disaffected in all countries who were in-

clined to throw off the yoke of oppression; the seeds of sedition which its emissaries had so generally spread through the adjoining states, diffused an anxious feeling among the friends of order throughout the world, and inspired the dread that, by bringing up their forces to the vicinity of the infected districts, they might be seized with the contagion, and direct their first strokes against the power which commanded them. England, notwithstanding the energetic remonstrances of Mr Burke, was still reposing in fancied security; and Catherine of Russia, solely bent on territorial aggrandisement, was almost entirely absorbed by the troubles of Poland, and the facilities which they afforded to her ambitious projects. Prussia, however anxious to espouse the cause of royalty, was unequal to a contest with revolutionary France; and Austria, under the pacific Leopold, had entirely abandoned her military projects since the throne of Louis had been nominally re-established after the state of thralldom, immediately consequent upon the flight to Varennes, had been relaxed. Accordingly, the protestation and manifesto contemplated in the agreement at Mantua never were issued, and the military preparations provided for by that treaty had not taken place. Of all the powers mentioned in the agreement, the Bishop of Spire, the Elector of Treves, and the Bishop of Strasburg, alone took up arms; and their feeble contingents, placed in the very front of danger, were dissolved at the first summons of the French government.

97. But it was no part of the policy of the ruling party at Paris to remain at peace. They felt, as they themselves expressed it, "that their Revolution could not stand still; it must advance and embrace other countries, or perish in their own." Indeed, the spirit of revolution is so nearly allied to that of military adventure, that it is seldom that the one exists without leading to the other. The same restless activity, the same contempt of danger, the same craving for excitation, are to be found in both. It is extremely difficult for the fervour excited by a successful re-

volt to subside till it is turned into the channel of military exploit. Citizens who have overturned established institutions, demagogues who have tasted of the intoxication of popular applause, working men who have felt the sweets of unbridled power, during the brief period which elapses before they fall under the yoke of despots of their own creation, are incapable of returning to the habits of pacific life. The unceasing toil, the obscure destiny, the humble enjoyments of laborious industry, seem intolerable to those who have shared in the glories of popular resistance; while the heart-stirring accompaniments, the licentious habits, the general plunder, the captivating glory of arms, make it appear the only employment worthy of their renown. The insecurity of property and fall of credit which invariably follow any considerable political convulsion, throw multitudes out of employment, and increase the necessity for some drain to carry off the tumultuous activity of the people. It has, accordingly, been often observed, that democratic states have, in every age, been the most warlike, and the most inclined to aggression upon their neighbours; and the reason must be the same in all periods—that revolutionary enterprise both awakens the passions, and induces the necessity which leads to external violence.

98. The party of the Girondists, who were at that period the dominant one in France, was absolutely bent on war. The great object of their endeavours was to get the king involved in a foreign contest, in the hope, which subsequent events so completely justified, that their cause, being identified with that of national independence, would become triumphant. They expressed the utmost satisfaction at the firm tone adopted by the sovereign in the proclamation against the emigrants. "Let us raise ourselves," said Isnard, "on this occasion, to the real dignity of our situation; let us speak to the ministers, to the king, to Europe in arms, with the firmness which becomes us: let us tell the former that we are not satisfied with their conduct—that they must make their election between pub-

lic gratitude and the vengeance of the laws, and that by vengeance we mean death. Let us tell the king that his interest is to defend the constitution; that he reigns by the people, and for the people; that the nation is his sovereign, and that he is the subject of the law. Let us tell Europe that, if the French nation draws the sword, it will throw away the scabbard; that it will not again seek it till crowned by the laurels of victory; that if cabinets engage kings in a war against the people, we will rouse the people to mortal strife with sovereigns. Let us tell them that the combats in which the people engage by order of despots resemble the strife of two friends under cloud of night, at the instigation of a perfidious emissary: when the dawn appears, and they recognise each other, they throw away their arms, embrace with transport, and turn their vengeance against the author of their discord. Such will be the fate of our enemies, if, at the moment when their armies engage with ours, the light of philosophy strikes their eyes."

99. Transported by these ideas, the Assembly *unanimously* adopted the proposed measure of addressing the throne on the necessity of an immediate declaration of war. Vaublanc was the organ of their deputation. "No sooner," said he, "did the Assembly cast their eyes on the state of the kingdom than they perceived that the troubles which agitate it have their source in the criminal preparations of the French emigrants. Their audacity is supported by the German princes, who, forgetting the faith of treaties, openly encourage their warlike preparations, and compel counter-preparations on our part, which absorb the sums destined to the liquidation of the debt. It is your province to put a stop to these evils, and hold to foreign powers the language befitting a king of the French. Tell them, that wherever preparations of war are carried on, there France beholds nothing but enemies; that we will religiously observe peace on our side; that we will respect their laws, their usages, their constitutions; but that, if they continue to favour the armaments destined

against the French, France will bring into their bosoms, not fire and sword, but freedom. It is for them to calculate the consequences of such a weakening of their people." The king promised to take the message of the Assembly into the most serious consideration, and a few days after came in person to the Chamber, and announced that he had notified to the Elector of Treves and the other Electors, that if they did not, before the 15th January, put an end to the military preparations in their states, he would regard them as enemies; and that he had written to the Emperor, to call upon him, as the head of the Empire, to prevent the disastrous consequences of a war. "If these remonstrances," he concluded, "are not attended to, nothing will remain but to declare war—a step which a people who have renounced the idea of conquest will never take without absolute necessity, but from which a generous and free nation will not shrink, when called by the voice of honour and public safety." Loud applauses followed these words; and it was already manifest that the revolutionary energy was turning into its natural channel,—warlike achievement.

100. These declarations were followed by serious preparations. Narbonne, a young man of the party of the Feuillants, of high rank, but intimately connected, through MadamedeStael, whose confidence he enjoyed, with the liberal party, was appointed minister at war, and immediately set out for the frontiers. One hundred and fifty thousand men were put in immediate requisition, and twenty millions of francs (£800,000) voted for that purpose. Three armies were organised, one under the command of Rochambeau, one of Luckner, one of Lafayette. The Count d'Artois and the Prince of Condé were accused of conspiring against the security of the state and of the constitution, and their estates put under sequestration. Finally, the Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII., not having obeyed the requisition to return to the kingdom within the appointed time, was deprived of his right to the regency. The Elector of Treves obeyed the requisition; but the

Emperor of Austria, though naturally pacific, and totally unprepared for war, gave orders to his general, the Marshal Bender, to defend the Elector if he was attacked, and insisted that the rights of the feudal lords should be re-established in Alsace. Meanwhile, the Imperial troops were put in motion: fifty thousand men were stationed in the Low Countries; six thousand in the Brisgau; thirty thousand ordered for Bohemia. Nevertheless, the Emperor Leopold was extremely averse to a contest, for which he was wholly unprepared, and which he was well aware was at variance with his interests. His object was to establish a congress, and adjust the disputed points with France in such a manner as might satisfy all parties. He was aware of the necessity of maintaining the constitutional system entire in its material parts, but wished to restore to the throne some of its lost prerogatives, and divide the legislature into two chambers—alterations which experience has proved it would have been well for France if she could have imposed on her turbulent and impassioned people.

101. Brissot was the decided advocate for war in the club of the Jacobins. His influence on that subject was long counterbalanced by that of Robespierre, who dreaded above all things the accession of strength which his political opponents might receive from the command of the armies. Isnard there strongly supported the war party, and used every effort to carry that fervent body along with him. Drawing a sword which he brandished in his hand, he exclaimed, "Here, gentlemen, is our sword; it will never cease to be victorious. The French people will raise a mighty shout, and all other people will re-echo its sound; the earth will be covered with combatants, and the whole enemies of liberty will be effaced from the list of men."—"Beware," said Robespierre, in reply, "you who have so long guarded against the perfidy of the court, of now becoming the unconscious instruments of its designs. Brissot is clear for war; I ask you where are your armies, your fortresses, your magazines? What! shall we be-

lieve that the court, which, in periods of tranquillity, is incessantly engaged in intrigues, will abstain from them when it obtains the lead of our armies? I see clearly the signs of perfidy, not only in those who are to proclaim war, but in those who advise it. Every one must perceive, that the efforts of the emigrants to rouse foreign powers are utterly nugatory. Are you to be the party, by a hasty measure, to compel them to adopt vigorous steps? I affirm, without the fear of contradiction, that the blood of our soldiers is sold by traitors. The more I meditate on the chances of war, the more my mind is filled with the most gloomy presages. Already I see the men, who basely shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on the Champ de Mars, at the head of the armies. What guarantee am I offered against such appalling dangers? The patriotism of Brissot and Condorcet! I know not if it is true; I know not if it is sincere; but I know well that it is tardy. I have seen them worship M. Lafayette: they made a show of resistance at the time of his odious success; but they have since upheld his fortunes, and evinced but too plainly that they were participant in his designs against the public weal."

102. But the passion for war was so strong that all the perseverance and talents of Robespierre at length failed in arresting it. Soon after, repeated philippics, instilled more violent language, were pronounced in the Assembly by Brissot and Vergniaud against the European powers, which, even according to the admission of the French themselves, "were so many declarations of war, and imprudent provocations, which were calculated to place the French in hostility with all Europe." "The information of Brissot, the profound political views which he develops, are so entirely at variance with the sophisms with which his speech abounds," says Jomini, "that one would be inclined to suppose he had been the secret agent of the English government, if we did not know that his errors at that period were shared by all the most enlightened men of France. An orator, enthusiastic even to madness, was alone

capable of bringing on his country, by such harangues, the hatred of all the European chiefs. No paraphrase can convey an adequate idea of the violence of the leaders of the Assembly at that period: their speeches must be bequeathed entire to posterity, as frightful proofs of what can be effected by an ill-directed enthusiasm and spirit of party."

103. "You are about," said Brissot, on 29th December 1791, "to judge the cause of kings: show yourselves worthy of so august a function: place yourselves above them, or you will be unworthy of freedom. The French Revolution has overturned all former diplomacy; though the people are not yet everywhere free, governments are no longer able to stifle their voice. The sentiments of the English on our Revolution are not doubtful: they behold in it the best guarantee for their own freedom. It is highly improbable that the British government will ever venture, even if it had the means, to attack the French Revolution; that improbability is converted into a certainty, when we consider the divisions of their parliament, the weight of their public debt, the declining condition of their Indian affairs. England would never hesitate between its king and its liberty—between the repose of which it has so much need, and a contest which would probably occasion its ruin. Austria is as little to be feared: her soldiers, whom her princes in vain seek to estrange from the people, remember that it is among them that they find their friends, their relations; and they will not separate their cause from that of freedom. The successor of Frederick, if he has any prudence, will hesitate to ruin for ever, in combating our forces, an army which, once destroyed, will never be restored. In vain would the ambition of Russia interfere with our Revolution; a new revolution in Poland would arrest her arms, and render Warsaw the centre of freedom to the rest of Europe. Search the map of the world, you will in vain look for a power which France has any reason to dread. If any foreign states exist inclined for war, we must get the start

of them: he who is anticipated is already half vanquished. If they are only making a pretence of hostile preparations, we must unmask them, and in so doing proclaim to the world their impotence. That act of a great people is what will put the seal to our Revolution. War has now become necessary: France is bound to undertake it to maintain her honour: she would be for ever disgraced if a few thousand rebels or emigrants could overawe the organs of the law. War is to be regarded as a public blessing. The only evil you have to apprehend is, that it should not arise, and that you should lose the opportunity of finally crushing the insolence of the emigrants. Till you take that decisive step, they will never cease to deceive you by diplomatic falsehood. It is no longer with governments we must treat, it is with their subjects."

104. "The mask is at length fallen," said the same orator on the 17th January 1792. "Your real enemy is declared; Marshal Bender has revealed his name—it is the Emperor. The Electors were mere names, put forward to conceal the real mover. You may now despise the emigrants; the Electors are no longer worthy of your resentment: fear has prostrated them at your feet. You must anticipate his hostility. Now is the time to show the sincerity of your declaration, a hundred times repeated, that you are resolved to have freedom or death. Death! you have no reason to fear it—consider your own situation and that of the Emperor—your constitution is an eternal anathema against absolute thrones: all kings must hate it; it incessantly acts as their accuser; it daily pronounces their sentence: it seems to say to each, 'To-morrow you will not exist, or exist only by the tolerance of the people.' I will not say to the Emperor with your committee, 'Will you engage not to attack France or its independence?' but I will say, 'You have formed a league against France, and therefore I will attack you!'—and that immediate attack is just, is necessary, is commanded alike by imperious circumstances and your oaths." "The

French," said Fauchet, on the same day, "after having conquered their own freedom, are the natural allies of all free people. All treaties with despots are null in law, and cannot be maintained in fact, without involving the destruction of our Revolution. We have no longer occasion for ambassadors or consuls; they are only titled spies. When others wish our alliance, let them conquer their freedom; till then, we will treat them as pacific savages. Let us have no war of aggression; but war with the princes who conspire on our frontier—with Leopold, who seeks to undermine our liberties: cannon are our negotiators, bayonets and millions of freemen our ambassadors."

105. Brissot was resolved, at all hazards, to have a war with Austria: he was literally haunted day and night by the idea of a secret Austrian cabinet which governed the court, and was incessantly thwarting the designs of the revolutionists. Everything depended on him and the Girondists, for the European powers were totally unprepared for a contest, and too much occupied with their separate projects to desire a conflict with a revolutionary state in the first burst of its enthusiasm. If the Girondists would have reconciled themselves to the king, they would have disarmed Europe, turned the emigrants into ridicule, and maintained peace. But Brissot and Dumourier were resolved by one means or other to break it. The former went so far as to propose, that some French soldiers should be disguised as Austrian hussars, and make a nocturnal attack on the French villages; upon receipt of the intelligence, a motion was to have been made in the Assembly, and war, it was expected, would have been instantly decreed in the enthusiasm of the moment. His anxiety for its commencement was indescribable: de Graves, Clavière, and Roland hesitated, on account of the immense responsibility of such an undertaking; but Dumourier and he uniformly declared, that nothing but a war could consolidate the freedom of France, disclose the enemies of the constitution, and unmask the perfidy of the court. Their whole leisure

time was employed in studying maps of the Low Countries, and meditating schemes of aggrandisement with reference to that favourite object of French ambition.

106. When such was the language of the leading men in the French government and National Assembly, it is of little moment to detail the negotiations and mutual recriminations which led to the commencement of hostilities by the French government. The French complained, and apparently with justice, that numerous bodies of emigrants were assembled, and organised into military bodies at Coblenz, and on other points on the frontier; that the Elector of Treves and the other lesser powers had evaded all demands for their dispersion; that Austrian troops were rapidly defiling towards the Brisgau and the Rhine, and that no satisfactory explanation of these movements had been given. The Imperialists retorted, with not less reason, that the French affiliated societies were striving to spread sedition through all the contiguous states; that Piedmont, Switzerland, and Belgium, were agitated by their exertions; that the Parisian orators and journals daily published invitations to all other people to revolt, and offered them the hand of fraternity if they did so; that Avignon and the Venaissin had, without the shadow of legal right, been annexed to France; and the Catholics and nobles in Alsace deprived of their possessions, honours, and privileges, in violation of the treaty of Westphalia. The ultimatum of Austria was, that the monarchy should be re-established on the footing on which it was placed by the royal ordinance of 23d June 1789; that the property of the church in Alsace should be restored; the fiefs of that province, with the seigniorial rights, given back to the German princes, and Avignon, with the Venaissin, to the Pope. These propositions were rejected; and Dumourier, who had now succeeded to the portfolio of foreign affairs, earnestly pressed the French king to commence hostilities, in the hope of being able to overrun Flanders before any considerable Austrian force could be brought up to its support.

107. In urging the king to this step, Dumourier acted in conformity with nearly the unanimous wish of the nation. All classes were equally anxious for war. The Royalists hoped everything from the invasion of the German powers: the superiority of their discipline, the strength of their armies, made them anticipate an immediate march to Paris, and the final extinction of the Revolution, from which they had suffered so much. The Constitutionals, worn out with the painful struggle they had so long maintained with their domestic enemies, expected to regain their ascendancy by the influence of the army, the augmented expenditure of government during war, and the experienced necessity of military discipline. The Democrats eagerly desired the excitement and tumult of campaigns, from all the chances of which they hoped to derive advantage. Victorious, they looked to the establishment of their principles in foreign states; vanquished, they anticipated the downfall of the Constitutionals, and their own installation in their stead. Such has been human nature in periods of excitement from the beginning of the world—"Facilior inter malos consensus ad bellum, quam in pace ad concordiam."

108. Pressed alike by his friends, his ministers, and his enemies, Louis was at length compelled to take the fatal step. On the 20th April he repaired to the Assembly, and after a long exposition, by Dumourier, of the grounds of complaint against Austria—the secret tenor of the conferences of Mantua, Reichenbach, and Pilnitz; the coalition of kings formed to arrest the progress of the Revolution; the open protection given to the troops of the emigrants, and the intolerable conditions of the ultimatum—pronounced with a tremulous voice these irrevocable words: "You have heard, gentlemen, the result of my negotiations with the court of Vienna; they are conformable to the sentiments more than once expressed to me by the National Assem-

bly, and confirmed by the great majority of the kingdom. All prefer a war to the continuance of outrages on the national honour, or menaces to the national safety. I have exhausted all the means of pacification in my power: I now come, in terms of the constitution, to propose to the Assembly, that we should declare war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia." This declaration was received in silence, interrupted only by partial applause. How unanimous soever the members were in approving the declaration of the king, they were too deeply impressed with the solemnity and grandeur of the occasion, to give vent to any noisy ebullition of feeling. In the evening, at a meeting specially convened for the occasion, war was almost unanimously agreed to. A large proportion of the most enlightened men in the Assembly, including Condorcet, Clavière, Roland, and de Graves, disapproved of this step, and yet voted for it—a striking proof of the manner in which, in troubled times, the more moderate and rational party are swept along by the daring measures of more vehement and reckless men.

109. The king was well aware that the interests of his family could not be benefited, but necessarily must be injured, by the events of the war, whatever they might be. Victorious, the people would be more imperious in their demands, and more difficult for the crown to govern; vanquished, he would be accused of treachery, and made to bear the load of public indignation. So strongly was he impressed by these considerations, and so thoroughly convinced that his conduct, in agreeing to this war, might hereafter be made the subject of accusation at the trial which he was well aware was approaching, that he drew up a record of the proceedings of the council, where he delivered his opinions against the war; and after getting it signed by all the ministers, deposited it in the iron closet, which about this time he had secretly made in the wall of his apartments in the Tuileries, to contain the most important papers in his possession—both those upon which a charge

* "Consent is easier among the bad for war, than in peace for concord."—TACITUS, *Hist.* i. 54.

might be founded against him, and those calculated to support his defence if afterwards brought to trial. The closet, with its contents, was subsequently revealed by the treachery of the blacksmith who was employed to make it. Thus commenced, against the will of the very monarch who declared it, the greatest, the most bloody, and the most interesting war which has agitated mankind since the fall of the Roman empire. Rising from small beginnings, it at length involved the world in its conflagration; involving the interests, and rousing the passions of every class of the people, it brought unprecedented armies into the field, and was carried on with a degree of exasperation hitherto unknown in civilised times.

110. The intelligence of the declaration of war was received with joy by all France, and by none more so than by those districts which were destined to suffer most from its ultimate effects. The Jacobins beheld in it the termination of their apprehensions occasioned by the emigrants, and the uncertain conduct of the king. The Constitutionalists hoped that the common danger would unite all the factions which now distracted the commonwealth, while the field of battle would mow down the turbulent characters whom the Revolution had brought forth. A few of the Feuillants only reproached the Assembly with having violated the constitution, and begun a war of aggression, which could not fail in the end to terminate fatally for France. It communicated a new impulse to the public mind, already so strongly excited. The districts, the municipalities, and the clubs, wrote addresses to the Assembly, congratulating them on having vindicated the national honour; arms were prepared, pikes forged, gifts provided, and the nation seemed impatient only to receive its invaders. But the efforts of patriotism, strong as an auxiliary to a military force, are seldom able to supply its place. The first combats were all unsuccessful to the French arms; and it will more than once appear in the sequel, that, had the Allies acted with more decision, and pressed on to

Paris before military experience had been superadded to the enthusiasm of their adversaries, there can be no doubt that the war might have been terminated in a single campaign.

111. The real intentions of the Allies at this juncture, and the moderation of the views with which they were inspired in regard to the war, are well illustrated by a note communicated by the cabinets of Berlin and Vienna to the Danish government—in which, renouncing all idea of interfering in the internal affairs of France, they limit their views, even after war had been commenced by France, to the formation of a bulwark against the revolutionary principles of the French republic, and the obtaining of indemnities for the German princes.* This

* "The object of the alliance is twofold. The first object concerns the rights of the dispossessed princes, and the dangers of the propagation of revolutionary principles; the second, the maintenance of the fundamental principles of the French monarchy. The first object is sufficiently explained by its very announcement; the second is not as yet susceptible of any proper determination. The Allied powers have unquestionably no right to insist, from a great and independent power such as France, that everything should be re-established as it was formerly; or that it shall adopt such and such modifications in its government. It follows from this, that they will recognise as legal any modification of the monarchical government which the king, when enjoying unrestrained liberty, shall agree to, in concert with the legal representatives of the nation. The forces to be employed in this enterprise must be proportioned to its magnitude, and to the resistance which may probably be experienced. With a view to the arrangement of these objects, the city of Vienna is proposed as a convenient station; but when the armies are assembled, a congress must be established nearer France than that city, followed by a formal declaration of the objects which the Allies have in view in their intervention."—HARD. I. 391, 392.

The same principles were announced by Frederick William to Prince Hardenberg, in a secret and confidential conversation which that statesman had with his sovereign on July 12, 1792. He declared "that France should not be dismembered in any of its parts; that the Allies had no intention of interfering in its internal government; but that, as an indispensable preliminary to the settlement of the public disturbances, the king should be set at liberty, and reinvested with his full authority; that the ministers of religion should be restored to their altars, and the dispossessed proprietors to their estates, and that France should pay the expenses of the war."—HARD. I. 400.

note is the more remarkable, that it announces precisely the principles which, proclaimed two-and-twenty years afterwards, in the plains of Champagne, by the allied sovereigns, brought the war to a triumphant conclusion. In contemplation of the approaching struggle, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, had been, on 7th February 1792, concluded between the sovereigns of Sweden and Austria. But both of the contracting parties did not long survive this measure. On March 1st, Leopold died, leaving his son, Francis II., to succeed to his extensive dominions; and a fortnight after Gustavus king of Sweden was assassinated at a masked ball at Stockholm. It seemed as if Providence was preparing a new race of actors for the momentous scenes which were to be performed.

112. Leopold expired of a mortification in the stomach, induced by amorous excesses, to which he was peculiarly addicted. He was succeeded by his son FRANCIS, then hardly twenty-four years of age, whose reign was the most eventful, long the most disastrous, and ultimately the most glorious in the Austrian annals. He had been brought up at Florence, at the court where his father exerted the philosophic beneficence of his disposition; and had married four years before the Princess Elizabeth of Würtemberg, who died in childbed on the 8th February 1790; after which, he married, in the same year, the Princess Theresa of Naples. The first measures of his reign were popular and judicious: Kaunitz, long the able and tried director of the Imperial cabinet, was continued prime minister, and with him were joined Marshal Lascy, the old friend of Leopold, and Count Francis Colloredo, his own former preceptor. He suppressed those articles in the journals in which he was loaded with praise, observing, "It is by my future conduct that I am alone to be judged worthy of praise or blame." Leopold, at his accession, had ordered all the anonymous and secret communications with which a young prince is usually assailed, to be burned; Francis went a step farther—he issued a positive order against any of them

being received. When the list of pensioners was submitted to his inspection, he with his own hand erased the name of his mother, observing that it was unbecoming that she should be dependent on the bounty of the state. With such bright colours did the dawn of this eventful and glorious reign arise.

113. Still Great Britain preserved a strict neutrality. During the whole of 1792, pregnant, as we shall immediately see, with great events, and which saw France brought to within a hair-breadth of destruction, no attempt was made to take advantage of her weakness, to wreak on that unhappy country the vengeance of national rivalry. England did not, in the hour of France's distress, retaliate upon her the injuries inflicted in the American War. This fact was so notorious that it was constantly admitted by the French themselves. "There is but one nation," said M. Kersaint in the National Assembly, on Sept. 18, 1792, "whose neutrality on the affairs of France is decidedly pronounced, and that is England." But, with the progress of events, the policy of Great Britain necessarily underwent a change. The 10th of August came, the throne was overturned, and the royal family thrown into captivity; the massacres of September stained Paris with blood; and the victories of Dumourier rolled back to the Rhine the tide of foreign invasion. These great events inspired the revolutionary party with such extravagant expectations, that the continuance of peace on the part of England became impossible. In the frenzy of their democratic fury, they used language, and adopted measures, plainly incompatible with the peace or tranquillity of other states. A Jacobin club of twelve hundred members was established at Chambery, in Savoy, and a hundred of its most active members were selected as travelling missionaries, "armed with the torch of reason and liberty, for the purpose of enlightening the Savoyards on their regeneration and imprescriptible rights."

114. War was declared by the National Assembly against the King of Sardinia on 15th September 1792. An

address was voted by the club just referred to, to the French Convention, as "the legislators of the world," and received by them on the 20th October 1792. They ordered it to be translated into the English, Spanish, and German languages. The rebellious Savoyards next constituted a Convention, in imitation of that of France, and offered to incorporate themselves with the great Republic. On 21st November, a deputation from Savoy was received by the National Assembly, and welcomed with the most rapturous applause. The president addressed the deputies in a speech, in which he predicted the speedy destruction of all thrones, and the regeneration of the human race; and assured the deputies, that "regenerated France would make common cause with all those who are resolved to shake off the yoke, and obey only themselves." The French Convention was not slow in accepting the proffered dominion of Savoy: the committee to whom it was remitted to consider the subject reported, that all considerations, physical, moral, and political, call for the incorporation of that country: all attempts to connect it with Piedmont are fruitless; the Alps eternally force it back into the domains of France; the order of nature would be violated, if they were to live under different laws;" and the Assembly unanimously united Savoy with the French Republic, under the name of the Department of Mont Blanc. The seizure of this important province was immediately followed by that of Nice with its territory, and Monaco, which were formed into the department of the Maritime Alps. "Let us not fear," said the reporter who spoke the opinion of the Convention with only one dissentient voice, "that this new incorporation will become a source of discord. It adds nothing to the hate of oppressors against the French Revolution; it adds only to the means of the power by which we shall break their league. The die is thrown: we have rushed into the career: all governments are our enemies—all people are our friends: we must be destroyed, or they shall be free: and the axe of lib-

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erty, after having prostrated thrones, shall fall on the head of whoever wishes to restore their ruins."

115. Italy was the next object of attack. "Piedmont," said Brissot in his report on Genoa, "must be free. Your sword must not be returned to its scabbard before all the subjects of your enemy are free; before you are encircled by a girdle of republics." To facilitate such a work, a French fleet cast anchor in the bay of Genoa; a Jacobin club was established in that city, where the French commanders assisted, and from which adulatory addresses were voted to the French Convention; while Kellermann, on assuming the command of the army of the Alps, informed his soldiers, that "he had received orders to conquer Rome, and that these orders should be obeyed." Basseville, the French ambassador in the Eternal City, was so active in endeavouring to stimulate the people to insurrection, that at length, on the 14th January 1793, when proceeding in his carriage to one of his assemblies, he was seized by the mob, at whom he had discharged a pistol, and murdered in the streets. This atrocious action naturally excited the most violent indignation in the Convention, and a decree was passed authorising the executive to take the most summary measures of vengeance. Nor was Switzerland more fortunate in avoiding the revolutionary tempest. Geneva did not long escape. A French army, under General Montesquieu, approached its walls, and the senate of Berne made great preparations for resistance; but the strength of the democratic party in Geneva made it impossible to provide for its defence in an effectual manner, and the excitement in the whole Pays de Vaud rendered it doubtful whether the first cannon-shot would not be the signal for insurrection along the whole Leman lake. Still General Montesquieu hesitated in commencing hostilities, as the mountaineers of Berne were unanimous in their determination to resist, and they could bring twenty thousand admirable soldiers into the field. Brissot, however, in a laboured report on the subject, declared "that the revo-

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lution must take place there, or our own will retrograde;" and insisted on the Swiss troops being withdrawn from the city—that is, on its being delivered over unarmed to the revolutionary faction. To this humiliating condition the Swiss submitted; and, in consequence, on 27th December the revolutionists overturned the government, and delivered over that celebrated city to the French troops. Nor were the small German princes neglected: the Elector Palatine, though all along remaining neutral, had his property on the Lower Rhine put under sequestration; and considerable portions of the territories of Hesse-Darmstadt, Wied-Runkel, and Nassau-Sarbrock, were annexed to the neighbouring departments of France.

116. At length, on 19th November, a decree was unanimously passed by the Convention, which openly placed the French Republic at war with all established governments. It was in these terms: "The National Convention declares, in the name of the French nation, that it will grant *fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty*; and it charges the executive power to send the necessary orders to the generals, to give succour to such people, and to defend those citizens who have suffered, or may suffer, in the cause of liberty." Brissot himself, at a subsequent period, styled this decree "absurd, impolitic, and justly exciting the disquietude of foreign cabinets." And this was followed up, on 15th December, by a decree so extraordinary and unprecedented, that no abstract of its contents can convey an idea of the spirit of the original.

117. "The National Convention, faithful to the principles of the sovereignty of the people, which will not permit them to acknowledge any institutions militating against it, decrees as follows:—1. In all those countries which *are or shall be* occupied by the armies of the French Republic, the generals shall immediately proclaim, in the name of the French people, the abolition of *all existing imposts and contributions* of tithes, feudal and manorial rights, all real and personal servitude, and generally of all privileges. 2. They shall proclaim the

sovereignty of the people, and the suppression of all existing authorities; they shall convoke the people to nominate a provisional government, and shall cause this decree to be translated into the language of that country. 3. All agents, or officers of the former government, military or civil, and all individuals reputed noble, shall be ineligible to any place in such provisional government on the first election. 4. The generals shall forthwith place under the safeguard of the French Republic all property, movable or immovable, belonging to the treasury, the prince, his adherents and attendants, and to all public bodies and communities, both civil and religious. 9. The provisional government shall cease as soon as the inhabitants, after having declared the sovereignty of the people, shall have organised a free and popular form of government. 10. In case the common interest should require the further continuance of the troops of the Republic on the foreign territory, the Republic shall make the necessary arrangements for their subsistence. 11. The French nation declares that it will *treat as enemies the people who, refusing or renouncing liberty and equality, are desirous of preserving their prince and privileged castes, or of entering into an accommodation with them*. The nation promises and engages not to lay down its arms, until the sovereignty and liberty of the people on whose territory the French army shall have entered shall be established, and not to consent to any arrangement or treaty with the princes and privileged persons so dispossessed, with whom the Republic is at war."

118. This decree was immediately transmitted to the generals on the frontier, with a commentary and explanatory notes, more violent, if possible, than the original. To assist them in their labours, commissaries were appointed with all the armies, whose peculiar duty it was to superintend the revolutionising of the conquered districts. They were enjoined "not to allow even a shadow of the ancient authorities to remain;" and "not only to encourage the writings destined for popular instruction, the patriotic societies, and all

the establishments consecrated to the propagation of liberty, but themselves to have immediate communication with the people, and counteract by frequent explanations all the falsehoods by which evil-minded persons could lead them astray." * The decree of 19th November was accompanied by an exposition, addressed to the general of every army in France, containing a schedule as regularly digested as any by which the ordinary routine of business in any department of the state could be digested. Each commander was furnished with a general blank formula of a letter for all the nations of the world, beginning with these words, "The people of France to the people of —, greeting. We are come to expel your tyrants." And when it was proposed in the National Convention, on the motion of M. Baraillon, to declare expressly that the decree of 19th November was confined to the nations with whom they were at war, the motion was negatived by a large majority.†

119. These unprecedented and alarming proceedings, joined to the rapid increase and treasonable language of the Jacobin societies in Great Britain, excited a very general feeling of disquietude there. The army and navy had

both been reduced in the early part of the year 1792, in pursuance of a recommendation from the throne, and the English government had resisted the most earnest solicitations to join the confederacy against France. Even after the throne was overturned on the 10th August, the British ministry enjoined their ambassador, before leaving the capital, where there was no longer a stable government, to renew their assurances of neutrality; and the French minister, M. le Brun, declared, that the French government were confident that "the British cabinet would not at this decisive moment depart from the justice, moderation, and impartiality which it had hitherto manifested." But when the National Convention began openly to aim at revolutionising all other countries, their proceedings were looked upon with distrust; and this was heightened into aversion when they showed a disposition to include England among the states to whose rebellious subjects they extended the hand of fraternity.

120. The London Corresponding, and four other societies, on 7th November, presented an address, filled with the most revolutionary sentiments, to the National Assembly, which was received with the warmest expressions of appro-

* The ablest writers of France fully admit the insane desire for foreign warfare which at this period had seized on its government. "Every one," says Marshal St Cyr, "of the least foresight, at the close of 1792, was aware of the dangers which menaced the Republic, and was lost in astonishment, I will not say at the imprudence, but the folly of the Convention, which, instead of seeking to diminish the number of its enemies, seemed resolved to augment them by successive insults, not merely against all kings, but against every existing government. A blind and groundless confidence had taken possession of their minds; they thought only of dethroning kings by their decrees, leaving the armies on which the Republic depended in a state of entire destitution."—St Cyr, *Mémoires*, i. 19, 20.

† THE FRENCH PEOPLE TO THE PEOPLE —
"Friends and brothers! We have achieved liberty, and we will maintain it: our union and our power guarantee it. We offer to make you sharers of this inestimable good, which has always been your right, and which your oppressors have criminally snatched from you. We are come to put your tyrants to flight: show yourselves freemen, and we will protect you from their plans of vengeance and from their return.

"From this moment the French Republic proclaims the suppression of your civil and military magistracies, of all the authorities which have hitherto ruled you: it proclaims the abolition of all the imposts that you endure, under whatever form they exist—feudal rights, salt tax, tolls, excise duties on imports and exports, tithes, game-laws, and rights of fishery; labour-dues to the nobility, and generally of every kind of contribution and service with which you have been burdened by your oppressors. It abolishes also among you every incorporation of nobility, priesthood, and others; all prerogatives, and all privileges inconsistent with equality. You are from this moment brothers and friends; all citizens, all equal in rights, and all equally called to defend, to govern, and to serve your country.

"Form yourselves immediately into communal assemblies: hasten to establish your provisional assemblies: the agents of the French Republic will take measures along with you to secure your happiness, and the fraternity which ought in future to subsist between us."—*Proclamation—Le Peuple Français à tous les Peuples—adoptée par la Convention, 15 Décembre 1792; Histoire Parlementaire de France*, xxi. 352, 353.

bation; and so strongly did the belief prevail in France that England was on the verge of a convulsion, that on the 21st November, the president, Abbé Grégoire, declared that these "respectable islanders, once our masters in the social art, have now become our disciples; and, treading in our steps, soon will the high-spirited English strike a blow which shall resound to the extremity of Asia." At the same period the French committed an act of aggression on the Dutch, then in alliance with Great Britain, which necessarily brought them into collision with the latter power. By the treaty of Munster, it had been provided that the Scheldt was to remain for ever closed; but the career of conquest having brought the French armies to Antwerp, a decree of the Convention was passed on 16th November, ordering the French commander-in-chief to open the Scheldt: and by another decree, passed on the same day, the French troops were ordered to pursue the fugitive Austrians into the Dutch territory. These directions were immediately carried into effect by a French squadron, in defiance of the Dutch authorities, sailing up the Scheldt to assist in the siege of the citadel of Antwerp. The Convention did not attempt to justify these violations of subsisting treaties on any grounds recognised by the law of nations, but contended, "that treaties extorted by cupidity, and yielded by despotism, could not bind the free and enfranchised Belgians." What rendered this aggression altogether inexcusable was, that the French had, only eight years before, viz. in 1784, interfered to prevent a similar opening of the Scheldt, when attempted by Austria, then mistress of the Low Countries, and had succeeded in resisting that aggression upon the ground of its violating the rights of the United Provinces, as established by the treaty of 1713.

121. In these alarming circumstances the English militia were called out, the Tower was put in a state of defence, and parliament summoned for the 13th December. In the speech from the throne, the perilous nature of the new principles of interference with other states, proclaimed and act-

ed upon by the French rulers, were strongly pointed out. "I have carefully observed," said the king, "a strict neutrality in the present war on the Continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference in the internal affairs of France; but it is impossible to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which have there appeared, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandisement, as well as to adopt towards my allies the States-General, who have observed the same neutrality with myself, measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the stipulations of existing treaties." An angry correspondence, in consequence, ensued between the British cabinet and the French ambassador, which, having led to no satisfactory result, the armaments of England continued without intermission, and corresponding preparations were made in the French harbours. "England," said Lord Grenville, in a note to M. Chauvelin the French envoy, "never will consent that France should arrogate to herself the power of annulling at pleasure, and under cover of a pretended natural right, of which she makes herself the sole judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers. This government will also never see with indifference, that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, let her renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, disturbing their tranquillity, or violating their rights."

122. To this it was replied by the French envoy: "The design of the Convention has never been to engage itself to make the cause of some foreign individuals the cause of the whole French nation: but when a people, enslaved

by a despot, shall have had the courage to break its chains; when this people, restored to liberty, shall be constituted in a manner to make clearly heard the expression of the general will; when that general will shall call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation, it is then that the decree of the 19th will find its natural application; and this cannot appear strange to any one."

123. The intentions of Great Britain at this period, in regard to France, and the line of conduct which, in conjunction with her allies, she had chalked out for herself before the war was hurried on by the execution of the king, cannot be better illustrated than by reference to an official despatch from Lord Grenville to the British ambassador at St Petersburg, on the subject of the proposed confederation against the French Republic. From this important document it appears that England laid it down as the basis of the alliance, that the French should be left entirely at liberty to arrange their government and internal concerns for themselves; and that the efforts of the Allies should be limited to preventing their interference with other states, or extending their conquests or propagandism beyond their own frontier.*

124. But though these were the

* In this important state paper, Lord Grenville observes: "The two leading points on which such explanation will naturally turn are—the line of conduct to be pursued previous to the commencement of hostilities, with a view, if possible, to avert them; and the nature and amount of the forces which the powers engaged in this concert might be enabled to use, supposing such extremities unavoidable. With respect to the first, it appears, on the whole—subject, however, to future consideration and discussion with the other powers—that the most advisable step to be taken would be, that sufficient explanation should be had with the powers at war with France, in order to enable those not hitherto engaged in the war to propose to that country terms of peace. That these terms should be the withdrawing their arms within the limits of the French territory, the abandoning their conquests, the rescinding any acts injurious to the sovereignty or rights of any other nation, and the giving, in some unequivocal manner, a pledge of their intention no longer to foment troubles or to excite disturbances against other governments. In return for these stipulations, the different

views of the English cabinet, very different ideas prevailed with the rulers of French affairs. The determination of the French government to spread the principles of revolution in England, was strongly manifested in a circular letter, addressed by Monge, the minister of marine, to the inhabitants of the French seaports, on 31st December 1792, more than a month before the declaration of war. "The king and English parliament," said he, "wish to make war upon us: but will the English republicans suffer it? Already these freemen testify the repugnance which they feel at bearing arms against their brethren the French. We will fly to their assistance, we will make a descent in that island, we will hurl thither fifty thousand caps of liberty, we will plant among them the sacred tree, and hold out our arms to our republican brethren. The tyranny of their government shall soon be destroyed." When such was the language used by the French ministers towards a people with whom they were still at peace, the maintenance of any terms of accommodation was obviously out of the question, the more especially when such sentiments met with a responsive voice from a numerous, active, and clamorous party on this side of the Channel. After some time spent in the corres-

powers of Europe, who should be parties to this measure, might engage to abandon all measures or views of hostility against France, or interference in its internal affairs, and to maintain a correspondence and intercourse of amity with the existing powers in that country with whom such a treaty may be concluded. If, on the result of this proposal, so made by the powers acting in concert, these terms should not be accepted by France, or, being accepted, should not be satisfactorily performed, the different powers might then engage themselves to each other to enter into active measures for the purpose of obtaining the ends in view: and it may be considered whether, in such case, they might not reasonably look for some indemnity for the expenses and hazards to which they would necessarily be exposed." Such were the principles on which England was willing to have effected a general pacification in Europe; and it will appear in the sequel that these principles, and no others, were constantly maintained by her through the whole contest; and in particular, that the restoration of the Bourbons was never made or proposed as a condition of its termination.—*Parl. Hist.* xxxiv. 1313, 1314.

pondence, matters were brought to a crisis by the execution of Louis, which took place on 21st January 1793. As there was now no longer even the shadow of a government in the French capital, with whom to maintain a diplomatic intercourse, M. Chauvelin received notice to leave the British dominions within eight days—with a notification, however, that the English government would still listen to terms of accommodation; and on 3d February, the French Convention, on the report of Brissot, unanimously declared war against Great Britain.

125. Such is a detailed account of the causes that led to this great and universal war, which speedily embraced all the quarters of the globe, continued, with short interruptions, for more than twenty years, led to the occupation of almost all the capitals in continental Europe by foreign armies, and finally brought the Cossacks and the Tartars to the French metropolis. We shall search in vain in any former age of the world for a contest conducted on so gigantic a scale, or with such general exasperation—in which such extraordinary exertions were made by governments, or such universal enthusiasm was manifested by their subjects. Almost all European history fades into insignificance, when compared to the wars which sprang out of the French Revolution: the conquests of Marlborough or Turenne are lifeless when placed beside the campaigns of Napoleon.

"The peaceful peasant to the wars is pressed;
The fields lie fallow in inglorious rest;
The plain no pasture to the flock affords;
The crooked scythes are straighten'd into
swords:
And there Euphrates her soft offspring
arms,
And here the Rhine rebellow with alarms;
The neighbouring cities range on several
sides;
Perfidious Mars long-plighted leagues di-
vides,
And o'er the wasted world in triumph
rides."

DARBY'S FRY, "Georg." 1.

On coolly reviewing the events which led to the rupture, it cannot be said that any of the European powers were to blame in provoking it. The French government, even if they had possessed

the inclination, had not the power to control their subjects, or prevent that communication with the discontented in other states which justly excited such alarm in their governments. The Austrian and Prussian monarchies had good cause to complain of the infringement of the treaty of Westphalia, by the violent dispossessing of the nobles and clergy in Alsace, and justly apprehended the utmost danger to themselves from the doctrines which were disseminated in their dominions by the French emissaries. Though last to abandon their system of neutrality, the English were ultimately drawn into the contest by the alarming principles of foreign interference, which the Jacobins avowed after the 10th August, and the imminent danger in which Holland was placed, by the victorious advance of the French armies to the banks of the Scheldt.

126. The principle of non-interference with the domestic concerns of other states, perfectly just in the general case, is necessarily subject to some exceptions. No answer has ever been made to the observation of Mr Burke, "that if my neighbour's house is in flames, and the fire is likely to spread to my own, I am justified in interfering to avert a disaster which promises to be equally fatal to both." If foreign nations are warranted in interposing in extreme cases of tyranny by rulers to their subjects, they must be equally entitled to prevent excessive severity by a people towards their sovereign. The French, who so warmly and justly supported the treaty of 6th July 1827, intended to rescue Greece from Ottoman oppression—who took so active a part against Great Britain in the contest with her American colonies—and invaded the Netherlands and besieged Antwerp in 1832, professedly to preserve the peace of Europe,—have no right to complain of the treaty of Pillnitz, which had for its object to rescue the French king from the scaffold, and the French nation from a tyranny which proved worse to themselves than that of Constantinople.

127. The grounds on which the war was rested by the British government

were afterwards fully developed in an important declaration, issued to the commanders of their forces by sea and land on 29th October 1793, shortly after the execution of the queen. It was stated in that noble state paper: "In place of the old government has succeeded a system destructive of all public order—maintained by proscriptions, exiles, and confiscations without number—by arbitrary imprisonments, by massacres, which cannot be remembered without horror, and at length by the execrable murder of a just and beneficent sovereign, and of the illustrious princesses who, with unshaken firmness, has shared all the misfortunes of her royal consort—his protracted sufferings, his cruel captivity, and ignominious death. The Allies have had to encounter acts of aggression without pretext, open violation of all treaties, unprovoked declarations of war; in a word, whatever corruption, intrigue, or violence could effect, for the purpose, openly avowed, of subverting all the institutions of society, and extending over all the nations of Europe that confusion which has produced the misery of France. This state of things cannot exist in France without involving all the surrounding powers in one common danger; without giving them the right—without imposing it upon them as a duty, to stop the progress of an evil which exists only by the successive violation of all law and property, and attacks the fundamental principles by which mankind is united in the bonds of civil society.

128. "The king will impose no other than equitable and moderate conditions; not such as the expense, the risk, and sacrifices of the war might

justify, but such as his majesty thinks himself under the indispensable necessity of requiring, with a view to these considerations, and still more to that of his own security, and of the future tranquillity of Europe. His majesty desires nothing more sincerely than thus to terminate a war which he in vain endeavoured to avoid, and all the calamities of which, as now experienced by France, are to be attributed only to the ambition, the perfidy, and the violence of those whose crimes have involved their own country in misery, and disgraced all civilised nations. The king promises on his part the suspension of hostilities, friendship, and, as far as the course of events will allow—of which the will of man cannot dispose—security and protection to all those who, by declaring for a monarchical form of government, shall shake off the yoke of sanguinary anarchy—of that anarchy which has broken all the most sacred bonds of society, dissolved all the relations of civil life, violated every right, confounded every duty; which uses the name of liberty to exercise the most cruel tyranny, to annihilate all property, seize on all possessions; which founds its power on the pretended consent of the people, and itself carries fire and sword through extensive provinces, for having defended their laws, their religion, and their lawful sovereign." This is real eloquence: this is the true statement of the grounds of the war, in language worthy of the great cause of freedom to which the nation was thenceforward committed, and which was never abandoned till the British armies passed in triumph through the gates of Paris.

CHAPTER X.

CAMPAIGN OF 1792.

1. "PEACE," says Ségur, "is the dream of the wise; war is the history of man. Youth listens without attention to those who seek to lead it by the paths of reason to happiness; and rushes with irresistible violence into the arms of the phantom which lures it by the light of glory to destruction." Reason, wisdom, experience, strive in vain to subdue this propensity. For reasons superior to the conclusions of philosophy, for objects indispensable to the improvement of mankind, its lessons in this particular are unheeded by the generality of the species; and whole generations, impelled by an irresistible impulse, fly to their own destruction, and seek, in contending with each other, a vent for the ungovernable passions of their nature. "To overawe or intimidate," says Mr Ferguson, "and, when we cannot persuade with reason, to resist with fortitude, are the occupations which give its most animating exercise and its greatest triumphs to a vigorous mind; and he who has never struggled with his fellow-creatures is a stranger to half the sentiments of mankind."

2. But we should greatly err, if we imagined that this universal and inextinguishable passion is productive only of suffering, and that from the work of mutual destruction no benefit accrues to the future generations of men. It is by these tempests that the seeds of improvement are scattered over the world, that the races of mankind are mingled together, and the energy of northern character is blended with the refinement of southern civilisation. It is amidst the extremities and dangers of war that antiquated prejudice is abandoned, and new ideas are disseminated; that invention springs from necessity, and improvement is stimulated by example; that injustice is

crushed by force, and liberty engendered amidst suffering. By the intermixture of the different races of men, the asperities of each are softened, the discoveries of each diffused, the productions of each appreciated, and the benefits of mutual communication extended. Rome conquered the world by her arms, and humanised it by her example; the northern conquerors spread, amidst the corruption of ancient civilisation, the energy of barbarian valour; the Crusades diffused through the western the knowledge and arts of the eastern world. The wars which sprang out of the French Revolution produced effects as great, and benefits as lasting upon the human species; and amidst their bloody annals may be discerned at once the just retribution inflicted on both sides for enormous national crimes, and the rise of principles destined to change the frame of society, and purify the face of the moral world.

3. France, having decided upon war, directed the formation of three considerable armies. In the north, Marshal Rochambeau commanded forty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, cantoned from Dunkirk to Philippeville. In the centre, Lafayette was stationed with forty-five thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry, from Philippeville to Lauter; while Marshal Luckner, with thirty-five thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, observed the course of the Rhine from Bâle to Lauterburg. In the south, General Montesquiou, with fifty thousand men, was charged with the defence of the line of the Pyrenees and the course of the Rhone. But these armies were formidable only on paper. The agitation and license of the Revolution had loosened the bands of dis-

discipline, and the habit of judging and discussing political subjects destroyed the confidence of the soldiers in their commanders. It might have been foreseen, too, that as soon as the war became defensive, one-half of this force would be required to garrison the triple line of fortresses which secured the course of the Rhine from foreign aggression. The national enthusiasm, however, speedily produced numerous recruits, though of the most strange and motley description, for the armies. The villages, the hamlets, sent forth their little bands of armed men to swell the forces on the frontier; the towns were in a continued ferment, from the zeal of the people; the roads were covered with battalions of the national guard, hastening to the scene of action. But public spirit will not supply the absence of military organisation; energy cannot, in a campaign, atone for the neglect of previous preparation, nor courage make up the want of long-established discipline. All the early efforts of the French armies were unsuccessful; and had the Allies been better prepared for the contest, or even duly improved the advantages they obtained, the war might have been terminated with ease in the first campaign.

4. To oppose these forces, the Continental powers had no sufficient forces ready—a sure proof that the military operations contemplated in the treaty of Pilnitz had been abandoned by the contracting powers. Austria and Prussia alone took the field; England was still maintaining a strict neutrality; and the forces of Russia, let loose from the Danube after the treaty of Jassy, were converging slowly towards Poland, the destined theatre of Muscovite ambition. Spain and Piedmont remained at peace. Fifty thousand Prussians were all that could be spared for so distant an operation as the invasion of France; and the Emperor, weakened by his bloody contests with the Turks, could with difficulty muster sixty-five thousand men along the whole line of the Rhine, from the lake of Constance to the Dutch frontier. The emigrant corps, assembled in the countries of Treves and Coblenz, and in the margravate of

Baden, hardly amounted to twelve thousand men,—brave, high-spirited, indeed, and enthusiastic in a cause in which their all was at stake, but ill fitted, by their rank and habits, for the duties of private soldiers in a fatiguing campaign. Even they were not expected on the Rhine till the end of July.

5. Encouraged by the inconsiderable amount of the Austrian forces in the Low Countries, an invasion of Flanders was attempted by the French. The troops were divided into four columns, destined to unite in the neighbourhood of Brussels, and on the 28th April they were put in motion. But in every direction they encountered discomfiture and disgrace. General Dillon, who advanced from Lille with four thousand men, was met by a detachment of the garrison of Tournay; and before the Austrians had made a single discharge, or even their cavalry arrived in the field, the French took to flight, murdered their commander, and re-entered Lille in such confusion as to endanger that important fortress. The corps which advanced from Valenciennes, under the orders of Biron, had no better success; hardly had the cannonade begun on the 29th with the Imperial troops, when two regiments of dragoons fled, exclaiming, “*Nous sommes trahis!*” and speedily drew after them the whole infantry. On the following day they were attacked by the Austrians under Beaulieu, and on the first onset fled to Valenciennes, exclaiming that they were betrayed, and were only rallied by Rochambeau with the utmost difficulty behind the Ruella. The corps destined to advance from Dunkirk to Furnes, fell back upon hearing of these disasters, and General Lafayette judged it prudent to suspend the movement of his whole army, and to retire to his camp at Rancennes.

6. Such were the fruits of the insubordination and license which had prevailed in the French armies ever since they revolted against their sovereign—a memorable example to succeeding ages of the extreme peril of soldiers becoming politicians, and forgetting their military honour in the fancied discharge of social duties. The revolt of the French

guards, the immediate cause of the overthrow of Louis, brought France to the brink of destruction; with a more enterprising or better prepared enemy, the demoralisation produced by the first defeat on the frontier would, on the admission of their own military historians, have proved fatal to the national independence. Had Napoleon or Wellington commanded the Austrians in Flanders, the French never would have been permitted to rejoin their colours; and, inefficient as their generals were at this period, if the Allies had been aware of the wretched state of their opponents, they might have advanced without difficulty to Paris. No reliance can be placed on troops, however effective once, who have engaged in a revolution, till their discipline has been restored by despotic authority. The extreme facility with which this invasion of Flanders was repelled, and the disgraceful rout of the French forces, produced an extraordinary effect in Europe. The Prussians conceived the utmost contempt for their new opponents, and it is curious to recur to the sentiments expressed by them at the commencement of the war. The military men at Magdeburg deemed the troops of France nothing but an undisciplined rabble: "Do not buy too many horses," said the minister Bischofswerder to several officers of rank; "the comedy will not last long; the army of lawyers will soon be annihilated in Belgium, and we shall be on our road home in autumn."

7. The Jacobins and war party in Paris, though extremely disconcerted by the disgrace of their arms, had the address to conceal their apprehensions. They launched forth the thunders of their indignation against the authors of their disasters. Luckner was appointed to succeed Rochambeau, who was dismissed, and tribunals were created for the trial of offences against military discipline. The most energetic measures were taken to reinforce the armies, and revive the national spirit, which the recent disasters had much depressed; and the new general received orders to resume offensive operations. Feeble and irresolute, this old commander was ill

qualified to restore the confidence of the army. His first operations were as unsuccessful as those of his predecessor, and he was obliged, after receiving a severe check, to retire in haste to his own frontier. At the same time the advanced guard of Lafayette was surprised and defeated near Maubeuge, and his numerous army thrown into a state of complete discouragement. At that period, it seemed as if the operations of the French generals were dependent upon the absence of their enemies; the moment they appeared they were precipitately abandoned. Meanwhile, the Austrian and Prussian forces were slowly collecting on the frontier. The disgraceful tumult on the 20th June accelerated their movements, and M. Calonne incessantly urged the allied sovereigns to advance with rapidity, as the only means of extricating Louis from his perilous situation. The Prussians assembled in the neighbourhood of Coblenz in the middle of June. The disciplined skill of the troops, trained in the school of Potadam, and the martial air of the Austrians, recently returned from the Turkish campaigns, seemed to promise an easy victory over the tumultuary levies of France. The disorganisation and discouragement of the French armies had arrived at the highest pitch before the invasion commenced, and Frederick William reckoned at least as much on the feebleness of their defence as on the magnitude of his own forces.

8. The Duke of Brunswick, who was intrusted with the command of the army, and first took the lead among the generals who combated the French Revolution, was a man of no ordinary capacity. He was born in 1735, the son of Charles Duke of Brunswick, and his wife the sister of Frederick II. of Prussia. Early in life he evinced an extraordinary aptitude for the acquisition of knowledge; unhappily, the habits of the dissolute court where he was brought up initiated him as rapidly into the pleasures and vices of corrupted life. During the Seven Years' War he was called to more animating duties, and became the companion-in-arms and friend of the Great Frederick; but the

return of peace restored him to inactivity, mistresses, and pleasure. These voluptuous habits, which his marriage, in 1764, to the princess Augusta, sister of George III. king of England, did not diminish, had no tendency, however, to extinguish the native vigour of his mind. He was endowed with an ardent imagination, and possessed a graceful figure and animated countenance. But he had no steadiness or resolution. His conversation was brilliant, his knowledge immense, his ideas clear, and delivered with the utmost perspicuity; but although the vivacity of his imagination made him rapidly perceive the truth, and anticipate all the objections which could be urged against his opinions, it had the effect of rendering him irresolute in conduct, and perpetually the prey of apprehensions lest his reputation should be endangered—a peculiarity frequently observable in first-rate men of the second order, but never seen in the master-spirits of mankind.

9. Jealous of his military reputation, and of the character which he had acquired of being, after the death of Frederick the Great, the ablest prince in Germany, he was unwilling to hazard both by engaging in the contest with revolutionary France, the perils of which he distinctly perceived. Nor were personal motives wanting to confirm him in this opinion. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, the Abbé Sièyes, and the party of philosophers in that country, had cast their eyes on this prince as the chief most capable of directing the Revolution, and at the same time disarming the hostility of Prussia; and they had even entered into secret negotiations with him on that subject. It may easily be imagined with what reluctance the Duke entered upon a course of hostilities which at once interrupted such an understanding, and possibly deprived him of the brilliant hope that he might one day be called to the throne of the Bourbons. Impressed with these ideas, he addressed a secret memoir to the king of Prussia, full of just and equitable views on the course to be pursued in the approaching invasion, which it would have been well for the Allies if

they had strictly adhered to during the campaign.*

10. In the ambitious projects entertained at this period by the Prussian cabinet and the Duke of Brunswick, is to be found the true secret of the disasters of the campaign, and one powerful cause of the subsequent calamities which befell every part of Europe. The former was intent on iniquitous gains in Poland, and took the lead in the coalition against France chiefly in order to gratify the wishes of the Empress Catherine, who was the head of the league for effecting the partition of the former country, and at the same time vehemently desirous of extinguishing the principles of the Revolution. The latter was apprehensive lest his great reputation, which rested on no permanent or illustrious actions, should be endangered, and his secret views in France blasted by too intemperate a hostility against that country. Thus both the government and the generalissimo were prepared to play false before they entered upon the campaign. They intended only to make a show of hostility on the Rhine, sufficient to propitiate the Semiramis of the north, and incline her to allow them as large a share as possible of the contemplated booty on the Vistula. Frederick William, indeed, was sincere in his desire to deliver the king of France, and re-establish monarchical authority in his dominions; but, surrounded by ministers who had different objects in view,

* "You will understand better than I what an important effect the disposition of the interior of France must have on the operations of the campaign. It would be well to address a proclamation to the national guards, announcing that we do not make war on the nation, that we have no intention of abridging their liberties, that we do not desire to overturn their constitution; but that we insist only for reparation to the German princes dispossessed in Alsace. That affair of the indemnities will occasion the greatest embarrassment, if we cannot prevail on the Emperor to give his consent to the changes which are commencing in Poland. For my own part, I give to acquisitions in Poland a decided preference to any that may be acquired in France; for by any attempt at territorial aggrandisement in that country, the whole spirit in which the war should be conducted will be changed."—*Mém.* 19th Feb. 1792.—*HARD.* I. 368.

he was unable to act with the energy requisite to insure success, nor was he aware of the difficulties to be encountered in its prosecution. The Duke of Brunswick alone was adequately impressed with the serious dangers which attended the proposed invasion, and in his memoir, already mentioned, he had strongly urged the necessity of "immediate and decisive operations, the more so as, without them, consequences of incalculable importance may ensue; for the French are in such a state of effervescence that, if not defeated in the outset, they may become capable of the most extraordinary resolution."

11. Dumourier, minister of foreign affairs at Paris, aware that Austria was totally unprepared for a war in the Low Countries, and strongly impressed with the idea that the real object of France should be to wrest these opulent provinces from the house of Hapsburg, counselled an immediate advance into Flanders; while at the same time, by means of secret agents, he prepared the minds of the discontented, both in that country and in Piedmont, to second the invasion of the Republicans. Aware of the intrigues which M. Sémonville, the French envoy, was carrying forward, the king of Sardinia refused to permit him to advance beyond Alessandria. Dumourier affected the utmost indignation at this slight put upon "the great nation" in the person of its plenipotentiary; but the cabinet of Turin remained firm, and refused either to admit M. Sémonville to the court, or make any submission to the indignant feelings of the Republicans.

12. After much deliberation, the Allies resolved to attempt the invasion of France by the plains of Champagne, the same quarter where an inroad was afterwards successfully achieved by them in 1814. Great difficulties were experienced in regard to the corps of emigrants, which, from the want of aid either from Prussia or Austria, had not yet attained any consistent military organisation;—as, on the one hand, the Allies were apprehensive of exciting the nation by the sight of an armed invasion of the emigrant noblesse; while, on the other, the influence of those illus-

trious exiles, especially with the northern courts, rendered it an imprudent measure to give them any serious ground of complaint. At length a middle course was resolved on—to join the emigrant corps to the army, but keep it in reserve with the second line—a resolution which, however unhappy, was rendered unavoidable by the arrival of a courier from St Petersburg, bringing despatches, containing not only the entire concurrence of the Empress Catherine in the proposed hostile operations, but her resolution not to permit any change in the form of government in any European state. This declaration, under the veil of a general principle not likely to be disputed in despotic courts, concealed her secret design to make the recent changes in the Polish constitution a pretext for completing the partition of the Sarmatian plains.

13. The partitioning powers at length spoke openly out. On the 8th June, Frederick William, in concert with the Empress Catherine, replied to the king of Poland, that he entirely disapproved of the revolution so lately effected in the Polish dominions, and that nothing but an immediate invasion by the Russian and Prussian forces could be anticipated from such a step, taken without their concurrence. At the same time twenty-five thousand men, under Marshal Moellendorf, received orders to advance towards Warsaw. Thus, at the time when a cordial alliance of all the European powers was imperatively called for to stem the torrent of the French Revolution, the seeds of weakness and disunion were already sown, from the unjustifiable projects of some of them of aggrandisement on the shores of the Vistula. Meanwhile the king of France, not venturing openly to communicate with the Allied sovereigns, despatched a secret envoy to Vienna with letters to Marshal Castries, whom he had selected to communicate between him and the exiled princes, containing the wisest and most salutary advice on the conduct to be pursued by the invading powers.* These instructions

* "The safety of the monarchy," said Louis, "that of the king and all his family, the general security of persons and property, the sta-

were received, and deliberately considered by the allied cabinets. They were strongly impressed at the time with the justice of his views, and gave the most solemn assurances to the envoy, Mallet du Pan, that their measures should be entirely regulated by them. But the advice was forgotten almost as soon as it was received, and the more intemperate wishes of the exiled princes subsequently gained too great an ascendancy in the counsels of the coalition.

14. On the 25th July the king of Prussia joined the army, and on the same day the proclamation was issued, which had so powerful an effect in ex-

citing the patriotism and healing the divisions of the French people.* This proclamation, though signed by the Duke of Brunswick, was drawn up by M. Calonne and the Marquis Lemon, in more violent terms than was originally intended, or than was consistent with the objects of the war, as set forth in the previous official declaration of the Prussian cabinet, in consequence of the intelligence which the allied powers had received of the secret offers made to the duke by the constitutional party in France, and the necessity which they thence conceived there was of committing him irrevocably against the Re-

bility of the order which may eventually succeed to the present confusion, the urgent necessity of abridging the duration of the crisis, and weakening the agitating influences—all concur in recommending the views of his majesty to all true Royalists. He fears, with reason, that a foreign invasion will induce a civil war in the interior, or rather a frightful *Jacquerie*: that is the object of his greatest apprehension. He ardently desires, in order to prevent the calamities of which you appear to discard too lightly the consideration, that the emigrants should take no part in the approaching hostilities; that they should consult the interests of the king, of the state, of their properties, and of all the Royalists in the interior, rather than their own just resentment; and that, after having disarmed crime by their victories, and dissolved a fanatical league by depriving it of its means of resistance, they may, by a salutary revolution, prepare the way for a treaty of peace, in which the king and the foreign powers may be the arbiters of the destinies and laws of the nation.”—*Instructions of Louis XVI. to Duke de Castries*.—HARD. i. 402, 404.

* “After having suppressed, in an arbitrary manner, the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; troubled and overthrown, in the interior, good order and legitimate government; committed on the sacred person of the king and his august family crimes and acts of violence, which are renewed day after day, those who have usurped the reins of power in France have at length put the finishing stroke to their misdeeds by declaring war on his majesty the Emperor, and attacking his possessions in the Low Countries. Some of the possessions of the German empire have been involved in that aggression; others have only escaped the danger by yielding to the imperious demands of the ruling party in France. His Majesty the King of Prussia, united in a close alliance with the Austrian monarch, and, like him, charged with the defence of the German confederacy, has deemed it indispensable to march to the succour of his Imperial Majesty and of Germany. To these motives is joined, also, the equally important

object of terminating the anarchy in the interior of France itself, arresting the strokes levelled at the throne and the altar, re-establishing legal power, and restoring to the king the security and liberty of which he has been deprived, and putting him in a condition to exercise his legitimate authority. Convinced that the sound and right thinking part of the French nation abhor the excesses of the faction which has subjugated it, and that the great majority of the inhabitants await only the arrival of external succour to declare themselves openly against the tyranny which oppresses them, their Imperial and Royal Majesties invite them to return to the ways of reason, justice, order, and peace; and declare—

“I. That, being drawn into this war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts propose to themselves no other object but the happiness of France, without seeking to enrich themselves by conquests at its expense.

“II. That they have as little intention of interfering in the internal government of France; but that their only object is to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to procure to his most Christian Majesty the security to enable him, without danger, and without obstacle, to convoke the assemblies which he may deem necessary to secure the happiness of his subjects, in conformity with his promises, so far as depends on him.

“III. That the combined armies will protect the towns, boroughs, and villages; the persons and property of all those who shall submit themselves to the king; and that they will concur in the immediate establishment of order and police over all France.

“IV. That the national guards are called upon, in an especial manner, to watch over the tranquillity of the towns and country, and the preservation of the lives and property of all the French, until the arrival of the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, or till otherwise ordered, under pain of being personally responsible; while, on the other hand, such of the national guards as shall have combated against the forces of the allied courts,

volution.* The objectionable passages were introduced against his will by the direct authority of the Emperor and the king of Prussia; and so strongly impressed was the Duke of Brunswick with the unhappy consequences likely to arise from the publication of such a manifesto, that he tore to pieces the first copy brought to him for his signature, and ever after called it, "that deplorable manifesto." Certain it is, that, if issued at all, it should only have been at the gates of Paris, and after decisive success in the field; and that to publish it at the outset merely of feeble and languid military operations, was the height of imprudence, which, if not followed by victory, could lead to nothing but disaster.

15. On the 30th, the whole army broke up and entered the French territory. The allied forces consisted of

fifty thousand Prussians, in the finest condition, and supported by an unusually large train both of heavy and field artillery; forty-five thousand Austrians, the greater part of whom were veterans from the Turkish wars; six thousand Hessians, and upwards of twelve thousand French emigrants, dispersed by a most injudicious arrangement into separate corps—in all, a hundred and thirteen thousand men: a formidable army, both from its numerical force and its warlike qualities, and fully adequate, if ably and energetically led, to breaking down any force which the French government at that period could array against it. The French armies destined to oppose this invasion were by no means equal, either in discipline or equipment, to their antagonists; and they were soon paralysed by intestine divisions. The army of Lafayette, now

and shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king, and disturbers of the public tranquillity.

"V. That the generals, officers, and soldiers of the French army are, in like manner, summoned to return to their ancient fidelity, and to submit instantly to the king, their lawful sovereign.

"VI. That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities shall be in like manner responsible, with their heads and properties, for all the crimes, conflagrations, pillages, and assassinations, which they have not done their utmost to prevent in their respective jurisdictions; and they are hereby required to continue in their functions till his most Christian Majesty is set at liberty.

"VII. The inhabitants of towns, boroughs, and villages who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and fire on them, either in the open country, or from windows, doors, or roofs, shall be punished on the spot, according to the laws of war, and their houses burned or demolished. Those, on the other hand, who shall immediately submit, shall be taken under their Majesties' especial protection.

"VIII. The town of Paris and all its inhabitants, without distinction, are hereby warned to submit without delay to the King; to put that prince at entire liberty, and to show to them, as well as all the royal family, the inviolability and respect which the law of nature and of nations binds on subjects towards their sovereigns. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties will render all the members of the National Assembly, of the departments, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guard of Paris, responsible for all events, with their heads, under military tribunals. They further declare, on their faith

and word as Emperor and King, that if the chateau of the Tuilleries is forced or insulted, or the least violence or outrage committed on the King, Queen, or royal family, and if provision is not immediately made for their safety, preservation, and liberty, they will inflict a signal, rare, and memorable vengeance, by delivering up the city of Paris to military execution and total overthrow, and the rebels guilty of such attempts to the punishment they have merited. On the other hand, if they promptly submit, their Imperial and Royal Majesties engage to use their good offices with his most Christian Majesty to procure the pardon of their crimes and errors."

—*Proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick, Coblenz, 25th July 1792. Moniteur, August 1, 1792. JOMINI, Histoire des Guerres de la Révolution, ii. 855. Pièces Justificatives, No. 5.*

* "There is no power," said the Prussian manifesto, "interested in the balance of power in Europe, which can behold with unconcern that great kingdom become a prey to anarchical horrors, which have in a manner annihilated its political existence; † there is no true Frenchman who must not desire to see such disorders terminated. To put a period to the anarchy in France, to establish with that view legal power on the base of monarchical authority, to secure by this means the other powers from the incendiary efforts of a frantic Jacobin band,—such are the objects which the king, in conjunction with his ally, proposes to himself in this noble enterprise, not only with the general concurrence of the powers of Europe, who recognise its justice and necessity, but with the approbation and well wishes of every friend to the human race."—HARD. i. 425, 426.

† Mr Burke was of the same opinion. "We may regret France," said he, "as now nearly blotted out from the political map of Europe."—Speech in the House of Commons, 9th Feb. 1790; "Works," v. 3, 4.

not more than twenty-eight thousand strong, was posted in the neighbourhood of Sedan; Beurnonville between Mauberge and Lille, with thirty thousand; Kellermann with twenty thousand, at Metz; Custine at Landau, with fifteen thousand; and Biron in Alsace, with thirty thousand—in all, a hundred and twenty-three thousand men, but extremely defective both in discipline and equipment. Above twelve thousand of the officers who formerly commanded the national armies had joined the ranks of the emigrants, and those selected to supply their place had as yet no experience in the military art. But the revolution of the 10th August changed the command of the armies, and ultimately proved fatal to the Allies, not less from the energy which it imparted to the government than the ability which it brought to the head of military affairs. Lafayette, having in vain endeavoured to raise the standard of revolt against the Jacobins, was compelled to fly for safety to the Austrian lines; and Luckner having disobeyed the Convention, the command of both their armies was intrusted to Dumourier—a man whose ardent spirit, indefatigable activity, and boundless resources, were peculiarly fitted to rescue France from the perilous situation in which it was placed.

16. A triple barrier of strong fortresses defends France from invasion on its eastern frontier. The centre of this line, where an attack was threatened from the allied forces, is covered by Thionville, Bitch, Sarre Louis, Longwy, and Montmedy, in front, and Metz, Verdun, Sedan, and Mézières, in the rear; while the woody heights of the Argonne forest, occupying a space of fifteen leagues between Verdun and Sedan, offer the most serious obstacles to the passage of an army. It was by this line that the Allies resolved to invade the country—which was the most judicious that, considering their force, they could have adopted; for experience has since proved, that a force of not less than two hundred and fifty thousand men would be requisite to make a successful irruption from the side of Switzerland or Flanders. Every-

thing seemed to announce success, and tended to recommend the most vigorous measures in seizing it. The French armies, scattered over an immense line, from the Alps to the ocean, were incapable of uniting for any common operation; and their state of disorganisation was such as to render it extremely doubtful whether they were either disposed or qualified to combine for effecting it. Three fortresses only lay on their road—Sedan, Longwy, and Verdun—all in a wretched state of defence; after which the army had nothing but the Argonne forest and a fertile plain to traverse on the road to Paris. In these circumstances, a powerful and rapid attack on the centre seemed the most prudent, as well as the most effectual means of dispersing the forces of the Revolution, and reaching the heart of its power, before any effective array could be collected for its defence. There can be no question of the wisdom of the plan of operations; but the Allies were grievously mistaken in the degree of vigour required for carrying it into execution.

17. The invading army advanced with slowness and apparent timidity, in a country which they professed to consider as the scene of certain conquest. At length, after an inexplicable delay of above a fortnight, the fortress of Longwy was invested on the 20th August; and a bombardment having been immediately commenced, the garrison, which was partly composed of volunteers, and divided in opinion, capitulated on the 23d. At the same time, intelligence was received of the flight of Lafayette from the army which he commanded, and that he had sought refuge from the violence of his soldiers within the Austrian lines. Everything seemed to announce success; and if the Duke of Brunswick, taking advantage of the consternation of the moment, had fallen with the bulk of his forces upon the army around Sedan, now destitute of a commander, there can be no doubt that a blow might have been struck which would have spread such consternation among the revolutionary party as would have led to the rapid termination of the war. Instead of

doing so, however, the allied army, following the preconcerted plan of operations, advanced on the great road, and, after another unaccountable delay of six days around Longwy, moved forward on the 29th, and on the 30th invested Verdun. On the 2d September this important fortress capitulated, after a feeble resistance; and there now remained no fortified place in a state of defence on the road to Paris.*

18. After such extraordinary and unlooked-for good fortune as the capitulation of the only fortresses which lay on their road, after an investment of a few days each, it is difficult to account either for the subsequent inactivity or ultimate disasters of the allied army. The force around Sedan, now under the command of Dumourier, did not exceed twenty-five thousand men, little more than a fourth part of the Duke of Brunswick's troops; and the other armies were so far distant, that on it almost exclusively depended the salvation of France. But the dilatory conduct of the Allies, joined to the enterprise and genius of Dumourier, neutralised all these advantages. Nothing could rouse the Duke of Brunswick from his extraordinary circumspection—not even the urgent representations of the king of Prussia, who longed for decisive operations.† Everything depended upon the immediate occupation of the defiles of the Argonne forest, the last remaining barrier between a

victorious army of eighty thousand men and the capital. These wooded heights were only six leagues in advance of the Allies, and it was of the utmost importance to reach them before the enemy; for, if once the war was carried into the plains beyond, there was little hope that the ill-disciplined troops of France would be able to withstand the numerous and magnificent cavalry of the Prussians. The eagle eye of Dumourier speedily pitched on the sole defensible point, and placing his hand on the Argonne forest in the map,—“There,” said he, “is the Thermopylæ of France: if I have the good fortune to arrive there before the Prussians, all is saved.” His determination was instantly taken; but it appears that the movement upon that decisive line had been previously recommended by the Executive Council of Paris. He had only delayed executing it from an opinion, that the Allies would be detained several weeks before Longwy and Verdun, and that the best way of arresting their march was to threaten an invasion of the Low Countries.

19. The forest of Argonne is a wooded ridge, extending from the neighbourhood of Sedan, in a south-westerly direction, about thirteen leagues. Its breadth varies from one to four leagues. Five roads traverse it, leading into the rich and fertile districts of Evêchés from the open and sandy plains of Champagne. The great road to Paris

* In the course of the march the king of Prussia met a young soldier with his knapsack on his back and an old musket in his hands. “Where are you going?” said the king. “To fight,” replied the soldier. “By that answer,” replied the monarch, “I recognise the noblesse of France.” He saluted him, and passed on. The soldier's name has since become immortal; it was FRANÇOIS CHATEAUBRIAND, then returning from his travels in North America to share in the dangers of the throne in his native country.—CHATEAUBRIAND, *Mémoires*, 83, “Fragments.”

† The advantages which lay open to the invading army at this juncture, are thus set forth by the person of all others best qualified to appreciate them—General Dumourier. “How did it happen,” says he, “that, after the fall of Longwy on the 28d August, the enemy did not instantly resolve to march on Stenay and Monzow, and there annihilate the French army, or draw over the troops of the Rhine to their side, in the perplexity in which

they were after the dethronement of the king! Nothing is more certain than that, if they had done so, the French army would have disbanded; nay, there is reason to believe, that if some of the popular officers of the old regime had presented themselves at the advanced posts, a great part of the troops of the line, especially the cavalry, would have joined the allied army.

“When you are about to invade a country torn by a revolution, when you know that you may rely on a large party in its bosom, when you would deliver a king in fetters, it should be a fixed principle, especially with a large army, to multiply your forces by rapidity of movement, and arrive like a clap of thunder at the capital, without giving the people time to recover from their consternation. After Longwy was taken, if the army of Sedan had been dispersed, no obstacle remained, either to the prosecution of a methodical campaign or an immediate march to Paris.”—DUMOURIER, *iii.* 32.

goes by the pass of Islettes : the other passes were named Grandpré, Chêne-Populeux, Croix-au-Bois, and Chalade. These roads required to be occupied and guarded before they were reached by the enemy—a perilous operation, as it involved a flank movement directly in front of a vastly superior hostile army. The ruinous effect of the delay round Longwy, after the fall of that fortress, was now apparent. Had the allied forces moved on, instead of waiting there a week in inactivity, the war would have been carried into the plains of Champagne, and the broken ground passed before the French army could possibly have arrived. Clairfait, with the advanced guard of the Allies, was, on the 30th August, only six leagues from Islettes, the principal passage through the forest of Argonne; while the nearest posts of the French, commanded by Dillon, were distant ten leagues; and the nearest road to reach it lay directly in front of the Austrian advanced posts. Determined, however, at all hazards, to gain the passes, Dumourier, on the 31st, took the bold resolution of pushing on directly across the Austrian vanguard. This resolution was entirely successful : the Allies, ignorant of his designs, and intent only on covering the siege of Verdun, which was going forward, withdrew their advanced posts, and allowed the French to pass; and from the 1st to the 4th September, the whole army defiled within sight almost, of their videttes, and occupied the passes, Dumourier himself taking his station at Grandpré, near the centre, with thirteen thousand men. He immediately fortified the position, and awaited in tranquillity the reinforcements which he expected from the interior, the army of the centre, and that of the north.

20. These expected reinforcements were very considerable, for Bournonville and Duval were hastening from the army of Flanders with sixteen thousand men; while Kellermann, with twenty-two thousand, was expected in a few days from the neighbourhood of Metz. Large bodies were also advancing from Paris, where the republi-

can government was taking the most energetic measures for the public defence. Camps for the recruits were formed at Soissons, Meaux, Rheims, and Châlons, where numerous volunteers were daily arriving, animated with the greatest enthusiasm; while the sanguinary despots of Paris marched off thousands of citizens, reeking with the blood of the massacres in the prisons, to more honourable combats on the frontier. The whole reinforcements from the interior were ordered to assemble at Ste-Ménéhould, a little in the rear of the position of the army. The camp of the French general himself at Grandpré was one of uncommon strength. A succession of heights, placed in the form of an amphitheatre, formed the ground on which the army was placed : at their feet vast meadows stretched forth, in the midst of which the Aisne flowed in a deep stream, forming a valuable cover to the front of the camp. Two bridges only were thrown over the river, each of which was guarded by a strong advanced body. The enemy would thus be under the necessity of crossing the Aisne without the aid of bridges, traversing a wide extent of meadow, under the concentric fire of numerous batteries, and finally scaling a rugged ridge broken by woods, strengthened by intrenchments, and almost inaccessible. Confident in the strength of this position, Dumourier wrote to the minister of war in these terms : "Verdun is taken : I am in hourly expectation of the Prussians : the camps at Grandpré and Islettes are the Thermopylæ of France; but I shall be more successful than Leonidas."

21. While these energetic measures were going forward on the French side, the steps of the Allies, notwithstanding their extraordinary good fortune, were marked by that indecision which, in a war of invasion, and above all in the invasion of a revolutionary power, is the sure forerunner of defeat. It was evident from the position of the French army, and the numerous reinforcements hastening to them from every quarter, that everything depended upon forcing

the passes, and throwing them into confusion before their troops were augmented, or the moral energy acquired which, in war, is even more important than numerical strength. Instead of this, the allied movements were unaccountably tardy, as if they wished to give the French time to collect their forces, and complete their means of defence, before any decisive operations were commenced. Though Verdun capitulated on the 2d September, the army did not advance till the 5th, when it remained in position on the heights of Fromerville till the 11th, wasting in inactivity the most precious days of the campaign. At length, being informed of the occupation of the passes by Dumourier, and having completed his preparations, the Duke of Brunswick, on the 12th, moved a part of his forces to Landres, and remained there in perfect inactivity till the 17th, threatening the left of the French position.

22. Misinformed as to this movement, Dumourier withdrew a considerable part of the forces which occupied the pass of Croix-au-Bois, one of the five which traversed the forest of Argonne, and was situated on the left of the line, to support the centre at Grandpré where an attack was anticipated. The consequence was, that on the 12th Clairfait established himself in that important post, and thus broke the French line, and threatened to take it in rear. Sensible of his error, the French general detached General Chazot to retake the position; but the Austrian general not only maintained his ground, but defeated and threw back his opponents from the central corps of the army, so as entirely to turn the left of the French position. The situation of Dumourier was now highly critical. His force in the central camp at Grandpré did not exceed sixteen thousand men, while the whole Prussian army was in his front, and the Austrians under Clairfait were rapidly defiling into his rear. "To complete his misfortunes, Kellermann, whose march from Metz had been unaccountably slow, had not yet arrived; and it was evident that he could not

effect a junction but in the rear of the position in the Argonne forest; while the detachment intrusted with the defence of the pass of Chéne-Populeux, unable to resist the attacks of the Austrians, abandoned its position, and fell back towards Châlons. "Never," says Dumourier, "was the situation of an army more desperate: France was within a hairbreadth of destruction."

23. In this extremity the French general resolved to evacuate entirely the line of the Argonne forest, and to fall back with all his forces to the position of Ste-Ménéhould, a few leagues in his rear. Everything depended upon gaining time. The heavy rains were already commencing, which promised to render a further advance of the Allies extremely difficult, if not impracticable. The camp, in consequence, was raised at midnight on the 15th; and on the 17th the whole army was collected in the rear, at Ste-Ménéhould, where he resolved to remain firm till the expected reinforcements arrived. His forces did not exceed twenty-five thousand men, but their position was defended by a numerous and excellent artillery; while the reinforcements, which were daily expected, promised to raise their numerical amount to seventy thousand combatants. During the retreat, however, an incident occurred which had well-nigh brought destruction on the whole army. General Chazot, who commanded the rear-guard of ten thousand men, was attacked at Vaux by fifteen hundred Prussian hussars, and four pieces of horse artillery. The French troops instantly took to flight, disbanded themselves, rushed through the main body in the utmost confusion, and numbers fled as far as Rheims and Paris in the most dreadful alarm. But for the exertions of General Duval, who succeeded in reorganising part of the rear-guard, and of General Miranda, who restored order in the main body, the whole column would have been irretrievably routed. The Prussian cavalry, however, not being supported, were at length obliged to retire, astonished at their easy success, and lamenting that so favourable an opportunity had been lost of de-

stroying their whole opponents. If two thousand more allied horse had followed up this success, the whole French army would have been irretrievably routed. As it was, many of their troops fled thirty leagues and upwards from the field of battle, spreading consternation wherever they went, and declaring that all was lost. At six in the evening, after the troops had taken up their ground near Dammartin, a new panic seized the troops: the artillerymen, in haste, harnessed their horses to escape beyond the little river Bionne, and all the camp was in confusion. At length some degree of order was restored, by the dragoons in the general's escort striking the fugitives with the flats of their sabres; great fires were lighted, and the army rested in groups around them without any distinction or order.

24. "I have been obliged," said Dumourier, in his letter to the Convention, "to return from the camp of Grandpré. During the retreat an unaccountable panic seized the army; ten thousand men fled from fifteen hundred Prussian hussars; the loss did not amount to fifty men; everything is repaired, and I answer for the safety of France." But he was far from feeling, in reality, the confidence which these words seemed to indicate. The rout of so large a portion of his forces demonstrated how little reliance was to be placed on the undisciplined levies, of which they were in great part composed, when performing movements in presence of a numerous and warlike enemy. He resolved, in consequence, to make the war one of positions, and to inspire his troops with fresh confidence, by placing them behind impregnable intrenchments. The situation of the new camp which he selected was well calculated to effect these objects. Standing on a rising ground, in the centre of a large and open valley, it commanded all the country around; the centre of the army, under his own immediate orders, faced towards Champagne, while the corps of Dillon was stationed on the road leading from Verdun, and still held the passes of Islettes and Chalade, through which the principal

road to Paris was conducted. A numerous artillery defended all the avenues to the camp, and water was to be had in abundance from the river Aisne, which bounded its right side. In this position the French general anxiously awaited the arrival of the expected reinforcements. Terrified at the reports which they received of the rout at Vaux, Kellermann and Beurnonville retired, when almost close to the camp of Ste-Ménéhould, the former to Vitry, the latter to Châlons. They would have been irretrievably separated, if the Allies had showed the least vigour in improving their advantages. But their extraordinary delays gave Dumourier time to reiterate his orders for an immediate junction. Kellermann and Beurnonville made a long circuit by the rear; and at length, on the 19th, the whole three armies were united in the neighbourhood of Ste-Ménéhould. The orders to Beurnonville were carried by an aide-de-camp of Dumourier, named MACDONALD,* afterwards Duke of Tarentum, and victor of the field of Wagram.

* Etienne Jacques Joseph Macdonald, one of the most spotless and distinguished marshals of France, was born at Séclaz, the birth-place of Turin, on 17th November 1765. He was descended, as his name indicates, from an old Scottish family, whose fidelity to their monarchs in misfortune had led them to follow the fortunes of the exiled Stuarts to St Germain. He entered early in life into the legion of Maillebois, raised for the purpose of aiding the French party in Holland. He was afterwards transferred as sub-lieutenant into the Irish regiment of Dillon, in which he was when the Revolution broke out. Upon that event, though strongly attached to the Royalist party, he did not quit France, being induced to remain there by an attachment to the daughter of M. Jacob, who had embraced the popular side. To that fortunate circumstance he with reason ascribed his subsequent elevation, for it retained him in the path where promotion was to be acquired and glory won. His abilities for military combination procured him a place, at the commencement of hostilities, first on the staff of General Beurnonville, and afterwards of General Dumourier. Such was the valour he displayed at Jemappes, that he was made colonel of the old regiment of Picardy on the spot, and he commanded that body in the subsequent invasion of Flanders. He did not follow Dumourier in his abandonment of the Republican cause, but continued to serve under Pichegru in the Army of the North in the campaign of 1794, against the English, in the course of which he greatly distinguished

25. Their arrival totally changed the state of affairs. The spirit of the French soldiers was prodigiously elated by so great an accession of strength. It was no longer a corps of twenty-five thousand who maintained an unequal struggle with eighty thousand enemies, but a great army, seventy thousand strong, which sought to measure its strength with the invaders. Meanwhile, however, disorder and dismay, the consequence of their recent disasters, prevailed in the rear of the French position. The fugitives from Vaux, who fled almost thirty leagues into the interior, declared everywhere that the army was destroyed, that Dumourier was a traitor, and that all was lost. The national guard and gendarmerie at Rheims, Soissons, and Châlons, were seized by the same spirit; pillage became universal; the corps disbanded, and wreaked their disappointment on their own officers, many of whom they put to death. Such was the general consternation, that the people of the capital began to despair of the Republic, and hesitation became visible in the new levies who were daily forwarded from its gates to the frontier. Nothing could be clearer than that, if the Allies had acted with the least vigour at this period, they could with ease have arrived at Paris, and crushed the Revolution before it had acquired either the energy or consistency of military strength.

26. The troops of Beurnonville, which arrived first, were stationed at Sainte-Cohiers. When those of Kellermann came up, Dumourier ordered them to encamp between Dampierre and Elise, behind the river Aube; and, as an attack from the enemy was anticipated,

to advance in that event to the heights of VALMY. Kellermann conceived the order to mean, that he should take post there from the first, and accordingly occupied the heights with all his artillery and baggage, and began to erect his tents. The confusion occasioned by their arrival attracted the attention of the Prussians, who had arrived on the opposite heights of La Lune, and led to an action inconsiderable in itself, but most important in the consequences which it produced. The Duke of Brunswick, hearing of the departure of Dumourier from the camp at Grandpré, at length put his troops in motion, passed the now unguarded defiles of the forest, and on the 18th crossed the Aube, and advanced between the French army and Paris. By this bold movement he hoped to cut off the enemy from their resources, and compel them either to abandon the capital or surrender. In this way the hostile armies were placed in the most singular position; the Prussians faced towards the Rhine, and had their back to Champagne, while Dumourier, with his rear at the forest of Argonne, faced towards the French capital.

27. Arrived on the heights of La Lune, on the morning of the 20th, in a thick haze, the Prussians, when the vapours cleared away, perceived the French opposite to them, on the heights of Valmy. A cannonade immediately commenced. Dumourier, perceiving that it was too late to draw Kellermann back to the camp originally assigned to him, immediately detached nine battalions and eight squadrons under General Chazot, to his support; while General Steingel was placed, with sixteen battalions, on the heights which

himself. In 1798 he was employed under Massena and Berthier in the invasion of the Roman States, and inflicted a notable defeat on Mack, at the head of the unwelcome troops of Naples, in the neighbourhood of Otricoli. After this he took part in the invasion and easy conquest of Naples; carried the ramparts of Capua, and on the retirement of Championnet from the supreme command, became general-in-chief of the republican forces in the Neapolitan territory. Thenceforward his name will be found blended with many of the most important and interesting events of this history. Though often defeated,

Macdonald's reputation never suffered: his noble charge at the head of the French reserve decided the battle of Wagram in favour of Napoleon; and, amidst the general defection of his other marshals, he exhibited a glorious example of fidelity to him amidst the disasters of Fontenoy. Other marshals of the empire have exceeded him in the lustre of their military achievements—none have equalled him in the purity of his character, and his adherence, amid all the revolutions of fortune, to the principles of honour.—*Biographie Universelle*, lxxii. 268 (MACDONALD).

commanded the position of Valmy on the right. The Duke of Brunswick formed his army in three columns, and seemed disposed to commence an attack by the oblique method, the favourite mode at that time in the Prussian forces. An accidental explosion of some ammunition waggons, near the mill of Valmy, occasioned a momentary disorder in the French army, and, if followed up by a vigorous attack, would probably have led to a total defeat. But the powerful fire of the French artillery, the energetic conduct of Kellermann, and the steady front exhibited by his troops, disconcerted the Prussians, and induced the duke to hesitate before engaging his troops in a general action. The affair terminated in a vigorous cannonade on both sides, and the superb columns of the Prussians were drawn off at night, without having fired a shot. Kellermann bivouacked after the action on the heights of Valmy, and the Prussians on those of La Lune, barring the great road to Châlons, and still between Dumourier and Paris.

28. It is with an invading army as with an insurrection : an indecisive action is equivalent to a defeat. The affair of Valmy was merely a cannonade ; the total loss on each side did not exceed eight hundred men ; the bulk of the forces on neither was drawn out. Not a musket-shot had been fired, nor a sabre-wound given. It was evident to both armies that political considerations had here overruled the military operations of the Allies, and that no real trial of strength had taken place. Yet it produced upon the invaders consequences equivalent to those of the most terrible overthrow. The Duke of Brunswick no longer ventured to despise an enemy who had shown so much steadiness under a severe fire of artillery. Defeat had been avoided when most dreaded : the elevation of victory, the self-confidence which insures it, had passed over to the other side. Gifted with an uncommon degree of intelligence, and influenced by an ardent imagination, the French soldiers are easily depressed by disaster, but proportionally raised by success ; they rapidly make the transition from the one state

of feeling to the other. From the cannonade at Valmy may be dated the commencement of the career of victory which carried their armies to Vienna and the Kremlin.

29. After the action, Kellermann was withdrawn from the heights of Valmy to the ground originally assigned him in the intrenched camp ; while the Prussians strengthened themselves in their position on the heights of La Lune, still covering the great road to Châlons and Paris. The Executive Council evinced great disquietude at the situation of the armies, as well they might, as it left Paris entirely unprotected, and the Prussian army interposed between their own troops and that capital. They repeatedly urged Dumourier to change his ground for such a position as might cover Châlons, Meaux, and Rheims, which were threatened by the enemy's light troops. He replied, with the firmness of a great general, that he would maintain his present position ; and, so far from detaching forces to cover Châlons, he gave orders for the troops which were collecting there to advance nearer to the scene of action. Irritated by his refusal to obey these orders, the Committee of Public Salvation threatened to deprive Dumourier of his command, if he did not comply with their instructions ; but he wrote in answer, " You may do so ; but I shall keep my dismissal secret till I see the enemy retire. I shall then show it to my soldiers, and return to Paris to receive punishment for having saved my country in spite of itself." Meanwhile, he neglected nothing which might encourage the soldiers, and keep alive their hopes. Night and day he was to be seen at their watch-fires, conversing with the common men, and predicting the speedy retreat of their enemies. By these means he appeased their discontent, and, by communicating to them his views, inspired them with his confidence. Meanwhile, the position of Islettes was still preserved ; and an attack, by a detachment of the Allies, on that important pass, was defeated by the obstinate resistance of the officer in command.

30. The conduct of the Duke of

Brunswick, both in this action, and the movements for three weeks which had preceded it, would be altogether inexplicable, if the external aspect of the military events alone was considered. But the truth was, as has at length been revealed, that during all this period a secret negotiation was in dependence between him and Dumourier, the object of which was to obtain, after a little delay, the recognition of the constitutional throne by the latter, and the junction of his army to the invading force. This negotiation was skilfully conducted by the French general, who constantly held out that he was in reality favourable to the king and the constitution, and would show himself so when the proper time arrived; but that, in order to do this with effect, it was necessary to wait for the arrival of the other corps d'armée, as without an imposing force such a declaration would not be attended with the desired effect at Paris, and that any disaster in the meantime would put an end to all his designs. By these plausible but insidious communications, Dumourier gained time to retire from the Argonne forest to Ste-Ménéhould without molestation, and completely paralysed his antagonist, till the arrival of the expected reinforcements put him in a situation to throw off the mask, and openly resist the allied arms.

31. The same secret negotiation which had already arrested their movements, restrained the Prussian arms on the field of Valmy; the Duke of Brunswick was fearful, by a decided action and probable victory, of converting a promised ally into a decided opponent.* No sooner was the cannonade concluded than the interchange of secret messengers became more active than ever. Lombard, private secretary to the duke, suffered himself to be made prisoner in disguise by the French patrols, and conducted the negotiation. The duke insisted on the immediate liberation of the king,

and re-establishment of a constitutional monarchy; while the French general avowed that these were the objects which he really cherished at the bottom of his heart, but that, in order to carry these intentions into effect with any prospect of success, it was indispensable, in the first place, that the Allies should retire and evacuate the French territory; that their doing so would give him so much influence that he had no doubt of being able to achieve these desirable objects, and that he pledged his word of honour to do so; whereas, if these terms were resisted, he would exert all the means in his power to destroy the invaders, which his present situation, at the head of a hundred thousand men, enabled him to effect without difficulty. He added, that the necessary effect of such a continuance of the contest would be the destruction of the king and the royal family, whose lives were already menaced by the anarchical faction who held the reins of power at Paris.

32. These representations of Dumourier made a great impression at the allied headquarters. The danger to the king's person was evident, from the violence of the Jacobins, and the frightful massacre in the prisons which had already taken place. The conduct of the Republicans, under the cannonade of Valmy, had demonstrated that their troops could at least stand fire, and were not disposed to join the invaders—circumstances which, in the most favourable view, preaged a severe and bloody contest before the war was brought to a successful issue. It seemed foreign to the interests of Prussia to risk its sovereign and the flower of its army by a further advance into France, in pursuance of objects in which it had no immediate or peculiar interest, and which, if too warmly pursued, would probably divert the national forces from the side of Poland, where real acquisitions for the monarchy were to be obtained. These considerations were strongly urged upon the king by his council, and the Duke of Brunswick, who had not altogether lost hopes that brilliant prospects still awaited him from the triumph of the liberal party

* This was openly alluded to in the Prussian official despatch giving an account of the battle. "From the general to the lowest soldier the most enthusiastic spirit animated the army, and it would undoubtedly have gained a glorious victory, if considerations of a still higher kind had not prevented the king from giving battle."—HARD. i. 492.

in France. But the king steadily resisted, and, inflamed by military ardour, and a generous desire to save the august captives at Paris, warmly urged an immediate advance to the capital. "Who knows," said the Duke of Brunswick, "that our first victory may not be the signal for the death of the king?"—"How fearful soever," replied the monarch, "may be the situation of the royal family, I think we should not retire. I desire from the bottom of my heart to arrive in time to deliver the king of France; but my first duty is to save Europe."

33. The French emigrant noblesse strongly supported this noble resolution. "A methodical war," said they, in September 1792, "may be the most prudent against a regular power, the forces and strength of which are known; but those of France during a revolution cannot be thus estimated. Its armies, at present far from numerous, and ill-disciplined, will become habituated to war, will be multiplied tenfold, if they are allowed time: the soldiers, the chiefs, will alike learn by experience. Revolutionary fanaticism will every day make greater progress in the minds of the people; and soon they will become ungovernable by any other method but force. At present they hesitate; they have not declared themselves openly. They are waiting for some decisive event—some striking success, to show them to which side victory is likely to incline. It was neither after the battle of the Trebbia, nor of Thrasy-mene, that the allies and subjects of the Roman republic declared themselves; but no sooner did Hannibal march forward and gain the victory of Cannæ, than nearly the whole subject towns and nations rose and solicited his alliance. It is to Paris that we should march, and arrive like a thunderbolt, in order to prevent the factions from completing their measures for raising the immense, and now inert mass of the nation." This adds another to the many proofs with which history abounds, that the truth is generally as clearly perceived by some, during the course of events, as it is afterwards by all the world; and that it is to the

prejudice or timidity which prevents their advice being followed, that the greatest public calamities are generally owing.

34. The negotiation, however, notwithstanding these pressing arguments, still continued. The king of Prussia offered terms on which he was willing immediately to evacuate the French territory;* but, in answer, he received a bulletin, containing the decree of the Assembly abolishing royalty in France, and converting the kingdom into a republic. Filled with consternation at this intelligence, the Prussian envoys returned mournfully to their camp; and Dumouriez artfully took advantage of the general alarm, to represent that he was as much distressed as any one at the turn affairs had taken at Paris; that the Republican party was now triumphant, and could be overthrown only by the restoration of calmer ideas on the return of peace; but that nothing could be more certain, than that any further advance of the invaders would involve in instantaneous ruin the king, the royal family, and the whole nobility, and render utterly hopeless the restoration of legitimate authority. While skilfully making use of these painful and too probable considerations to paralyse the allied armies, and cause them to waste the time in fruitless negotiations, Dumouriez apprised the government at Paris of all that was going forward, and informed them that he was satisfied that the distress was very great in the army of the invaders, and that by a little further firmness on his part they would be driven to a disastrous retreat.† At the same time he wrote a

* They were—

"1. The king disclaims all intention to restore the ancient regime, but wishes only the establishment of such a constitution as may be for the advantage of the kingdom.

"2. He insists that all propagandism should cease in his own dominions, and those of his allies.

"3. That the king should be set at liberty.

"23d September 1792."

† "The proposals of the king of Prussia," said he, "do not appear to offer a basis for a negotiation, but they demonstrate that their distress is very great—a fact sufficiently indicated by the wretchedness of their bread, the multitude of their sick, and the languor of

long memorial to the king of Prussia, in which he adduced every argument calculated to shake his resolution to advance farther, and insisted, in an especial manner, on the danger to which it would expose the king of France.

35. Frederick William, however, remained firm; neither the strong representations of his generals as to the danger of his army, nor the still more pressing perils of the king of France, could shake his resolution. At a council of war, held at headquarters on the 27th of September, at which the ministers of Austria and Russia assisted, it was resolved to advance and give battle on the 29th. But before this resolution could be carried into execution, intelligence was received, which gave the numerous party in the Prussian cabinet, who longed for peace, the ascendant. A decree of the Committee of Public Salvation was brought to headquarters, in which it had been unanimously resolved to enter into no negotiation until the Prussian troops had entirely evacuated the French territory. Advices at the same time arrived from London and the Hague, containing the refusal of the cabinet of St James's and the States-General to join the coalition. The generals now redoubled their representations on the disastrous state of the army; and the Countess Lichtenau, the king's mistress, yielding to a large bribe from the French government, employed her too powerful influence for the same object. Assailed at once in so many different quarters, and overcome by the representations of his generals as to the necessity of the measure, the king at length yielded; and on the 29th the

their attacks. I am persuaded that the king of Prussia is now heartily sorry at being so far in advance, and would readily adopt any means of extricating himself from his embarrassments. He keeps so near me, from the wish to engage us in a combat as the only means he has of escaping; for if I keep within my intrenchments for eight days longer, his army will dissolve of itself from want of provisions. I will undertake no serious negotiation without your authority, and without receiving from you the basis on which it is to be conducted. All that I have hitherto done without M. Manstein is to gain time, and commit no one."—*Secret Despatch, DUMOURIER to the French Government, 24th September; HARD. i. 500.*

orders given for battle were revoked, and a retreat was resolved on. It was agreed between the generals of the two armies, that the Prussians, on condition of evacuating the fortresses of which they had made themselves masters, should not be disquieted in their rear; and Dumourier, delighted at being relieved by his skill and firmness from the overwhelming dangers by which he had been surrounded, wrote to the Convention—"The Republic owes its salvation to the retreat of the Prussians. Had I not resolved to resist the universal opinion of all around me, the enemy was saved, and France in danger."

36. In coming to this determination, the Prussian cabinet were governed, not less by the old standing jealousy of Austria, which at that period so strongly influenced both their councils and the feelings of the people, than by the prospect of dangers from a further advance. The king, in entering upon the campaign, had contemplated only a rapid march to Paris; but the protraction of the war, and increasing resistance of the French, rendered it evident that that object could not easily be accomplished, and that its prosecution would seriously endanger the long-hoped-for Polish acquisitions, while the dethronement and captivity of Louis exposed him to imminent hazard, if the army continued its advance towards the capital. The event soon justified the confidence of the French general. Dumourier was at the head of sixty thousand men, including twelve thousand horse, even after all the losses of the campaign; his artillery was numerous, and his position excellent; while large detachments were rapidly forming at Châlons, Rheims, Soissons, Epervay, and all the towns in the interior. His troops, though somewhat affected by the severity of the weather, were upon the whole in good health and condition; and sufficient supplies arrived for the camp from Sedan and Metz, which still remained in the power of the French.

37. On the other hand, the condition of the allied army was daily becoming more critical. Their convoys, harassed by the garrisons of Sedan and Montmédy, and drawn from the remote pro-

vinces of Luxembourg and Trèves by the pass of Grandpré, arrived very irregularly; the soldiers had been already four days without rations, and subsisted on corn steeped in unwholesome water. The plains of Champagne were sterile, destitute alike of water, forage, and provisions. The rains had set in with more than usual severity, and the troops, bivouacked on the open plain, were severely affected with dysenteries, and other contagious maladies, which had already cut off one-third from the effective strength of the army. In these circumstances, to advance farther at this late season into the enemy's territory would have been an act of the highest temerity, and might have endangered the safety of the king of Prussia, as well as his whole forces. An attack on the French intrenched camp was of doubtful success; failure in such an enterprise certain ruin. The only rational plan was, to retire into the fertile district of the three bishoprics, form the siege of Montmedy, and take up their quarters in Lorraine for the winter, retaining as their advanced posts the defiles in the Argonne forest which they had acquired. But this project was inconsistent with the secret convention which had been adopted, and therefore a retreat to the Rhine was resolved on.

38. But while these perplexities were accumulating on the allied forces, it was with the utmost difficulty that Dumourier was able to maintain his position against the reiterated orders of the Convention, and the representations of the officers in his own camp. The French government was in the greatest alarm at finding no regular force between the capital and the Allies. The detached corps of the enemy, who spread as far as Rheims, diffused a general consternation over the whole country. Courier after courier was despatched to the general, with orders to quit his position, and draw near to Paris; and in these representations Kellermann and the other officers of the army warmly joined. The great concentration of forces soon occasioned a want of provisions in the camp; the soldiers were at last two or three days without bread;

and attempts at mutiny were already beginning, especially in the battalions of *Fédérés*, recently arrived from Paris. Even the superior officers began to be impressed with the necessity of retreating; and Kellermann urged such a movement with so much earnestness that the general was obliged to promise, like Columbus, that, if the object of his wishes was not attained in a given number of days, he would retire. But the firmness of Dumourier triumphed over every obstacle; and it was by impressing upon his soldiers the truth, that whichever of the parties could fast longest would prove victorious, that he inspired them with resolution to surmount all their privations.

39. An armistice of the limited sort above mentioned, which stipulated only that the Allies should not be molested in their rear during their retreat, and left the French at perfect liberty to harass the flanks of the invading army, was instantly taken advantage of by Dumourier. On the same day on which it was concluded, he detached several corps, which forced back the most advanced parties of the enemy, which had spread such dismay through the interior, and, gradually pressing round their flanks, at length hemmed in their rear, cut off their detachments, and intercepted their convoys. Experience seldom teaches nations wisdom; an error of precisely the same nature was committed by Napoleon, with still more disastrous consequences, in the armistice between Murat and Kutusoff, near Moscow, in the Russian campaign. On the 30th September the Allies commenced their retreat, and repassed the defiles of the Argonne forest without molestation on the 2d and 3d October. Kellermann in vain urged the commander to adopt more vigorous measures to harass their march, and strongly recommended the immediate detachment of a large body upon Clermont. In consequence of the secret understanding with the enemy, and of a distrust of his own troops in field movements in presence of so disciplined a force as the Prussians, Dumourier allowed them to retreat in perfect tranquillity, and in the most leisurely man-

ner. On the first day they retired only three miles, and without abandoning any of their equipage; and it was not till the defile of Grandpré was passed, and the Prussians were fifteen leagues in advance, that Kellermann was detached in pursuit. The Allies withdrew in the finest order, and in the most pacific manner, though dreadfully weakened by disease.

40. Relieved by the retreat of the Prussians from the pressing danger which had obliged him to concentrate his forces, Dumourier conceived himself at liberty to resume his favourite project of an invasion of Flanders. Leaving, therefore, Kellermann with forty thousand men to follow the retiring columns, he sent thirty thousand to the army of the north, under Beaumontville, and he himself repaired to Paris. The force with which the Prussians retired was about fifty-six thousand men,* the remainder of their force having remained behind or fallen sick. Their retreat was conducted throughout in the most imposing manner, taking position and facing about on occasion of every halt. It was impossible, consequently, for the French general, with his inconsiderable force, to make any impression on the retiring mass; and the French generals, satisfied with saving the Republic, appear to have been rather disposed to make a bridge of gold for a flying enemy. In virtue of the express understanding already mentioned, no molestation was offered to the invaders in their retreat. Verdun and Longwy were successively abandoned. In the end of October the Allies evacuated France, and the troops of Kellermann went into cantonments between the basins of Longwy and the Moselle. On getting possession of the ceded fortresses, the commissaries of the Convention took a bloody revenge on the royalist party. A number of beautiful young women, who had presented gar-

lands of flowers to the king of Prussia during the advance of the army, were sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, and condemned to death. The Prussians left behind them, on their route, the most melancholy proofs of the disasters of the campaign. All the villages were filled with the dead and dying. Without any considerable fighting, the Allies had lost, by dysentery and fevers, twenty-five thousand men, or more than a fourth of their numbers.

41. While these decisive events were taking place in the central provinces, operations of minor importance, but yet material to the issue of the campaign, were going on upon the two flanks in Alsace and in the Low Countries. The principal forces of both parties having been drawn from the Netherlands, to strengthen the armies of the centre, the movements there were necessarily inconsiderable. The French camp at Maulde was broken up, and a retreat commenced to the intrenched position at Bruillé, a stronghold somewhat in the rear. But in executing this movement, the retreating force was, on 14th September, attacked and completely routed by the Austrians, with the loss of all their artillery, equipage, and ammunition. Encouraged by this easy success, the invaders, under the Archduke Albert, with a force of twenty-five thousand, undertook the siege of Lisle, one of the strongest towns in Europe, and which, in 1708, had made a glorious defence against the united armies of Eugene and Marlborough. The garrison, consisting of ten thousand men, and the commander, a man of courage and energy, were devoted to the cause of the Republic. In these circumstances, little success could be hoped for from a regular siege; but the Austrians endeavoured to intimidate the governor by the terror of a bombardment, which was continued night and day for a whole week. This terrible tempest produced little impression upon the soldiers, who, secure within bomb-proof casemates, beheld it fall with indifference upon the defenceless inhabitants; but upon the people in the vicinity it produced such extreme consternation, that it was after-

	Infantry.	Cavalry.
* Prussians,	26,856	7,426
Austrians,	10,000	..
French Emigrants,	8,400	8,600
	45,256	11,026—56,276.

—State given in BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, x. 41.

wards ascertained that, had Lisle been taken, almost all the other frontier towns would at once have capitulated, to avoid a similar fate. The Austrians, in fact, would have acquired, by the capture of this important city, a firm footing within the French frontier, attended by the most important effect upon the future issue of the campaign. But their operations were interrupted by the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, and the approach of considerable forces from various quarters to raise the siege. The inhabitants bore with heroic firmness the horrors of a bombardment, which was continued with unprecedented vigour on the part of the enemy, and consumed a considerable portion of the city; and during the siege General Lamartillière effected his entry with above ten thousand men, so that the besieged became equal to the besieging force. This circumstance, joined to the exhaustion of their ammunition, and the approach of a body detached by Dumourier to threaten their operations, induced the Austrians to abandon their enterprise; and on the 7th October the siege was raised, and the troops withdrawn from the French territory. The terrors of the conflagration, and the glorious issue of the siege, were deservedly celebrated throughout all France, and contributed not a little to augment that energetic spirit which now animated the inhabitants even of the most distant departments, and soon became so formidable to the neighbouring states.

42. Meanwhile General Biron, who commanded forty-five thousand men in Alsace, consumed the most important period of the campaign in tardy preparations. But at length General Custine, who was at the head of a force of seventeen thousand men, posted near Landau, undertook an offensive movement against Spire, where immense magazines had been collected. By a rapid advance he surrounded a corps of three thousand men, who were stationed near the city, and compelled them to surrender—an event which led to the immediate capture of Spire, Worms, and Frankenthal. This important success, which took place at

the very time that the main body of the Allies was engaged in the Argonne forest, might have had the most important effect upon the future fate of the campaign, had Custine immediately obeyed the orders of the Convention, and, relinquishing his invasion of the Palatinate, turned with his victorious forces on the rear and communications of the Duke of Brunswick's army. But that general had other projects in view, which ultimately turned out not a little serviceable to the Republic. Disobeying the orders of government, he remained fourteen days in apparent inactivity in the Palatinate, but in reality carrying on a secret correspondence with the garrison and Jacobin club in Mayence. In consequence, on the 18th October he moved at the head of twenty-two thousand men towards that city, which was invested on the 19th; and on the 21st, before a single battery had been raised, that important fortress, the key to the western provinces of the Empire, surrendered by capitulation, the garrison of four thousand men being allowed to retire, on the condition of not serving against the French for twelve months. Thus did the Allies lose the only fortified post which they possessed on the Rhine—a signal proof of the rashness and presumption with which they had penetrated into the heart of France, without securing in an adequate manner their base of operations or means of retreat.

43. Urged on by the desire to levy contributions, which the distressed state of his army in fact rendered a matter of necessity, Custine made a useless incursion to Frankfort, which was of no real service to the campaign; while the Duke of Brunswick, terrified at the loss of Mentz, advanced by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Luxembourg to Coblenz, where his forces defiled over the Rhine by a flying bridge for twelve successive days. Immediate dissolution now threatened the noble force which had so lately carried terror into the heart of France, and so nearly crushed the whole forces of the Revolution. The gallant corps of the emigrant noblesse was speedily disbanded, from want of any resources to keep it together; the Austrians, un-

der Clairfait, were recalled to the defence of the Low Countries; and the Prussians put into cantonments on the right bank of the Rhine. Thus was completed the dislocation of that splendid army, which a few months before had entered France with such brilliant prospects, and by which, if properly directed, might have been achieved the deliverance of Europe from the scourge of democratic ambition. What oceans of blood required to be shed, how many provinces were laid waste, how many cities destroyed, how many millions of brave men slaughtered, before the vantage-ground could be regained, before the plains of Champagne again beheld a victorious enemy, or a righteous retribution was taken for the sins of the conquering Republic!

44. The final retreat of the Allies left Dumourier at liberty to carry into execution a project he had long meditated—that of invading the Low Countries, and rescuing these fine provinces from the Austrian dominion. The advantages of this design were evident: to advance the frontiers of the Republic to the Rhine, to draw from the conquered provinces the means of carrying on the war, to stir up the germ of revolution in Flanders, reinforce the armies by the discontented spirits in that populous country, and extinguish the English influence in Holland, were objects worthy of the conqueror of Brunswick. He received unlimited powers from the government; and the losses sustained by the Allies during their invasion, as well as the reinforcements he was constantly receiving, gave him a great superiority of force. The right wing, composed of a large portion of the troops detached from the Argonne forest, consisted of sixteen thousand men; between that and the centre was placed General Harville, with fourteen thousand. Dumourier himself commanded the main body, consisting of forty thousand men; while the left wing, under Labourdonnaye, was about thirty thousand strong—in all, a hundred thousand men, all animated by the highest spirits, and anticipating nothing but triumph and conquest, from their recent success over the Prussian invaders.

45. To oppose this immense army, the Austrians had no adequate force at command. Their whole troops in Flanders, including the corps which General Clairfait had brought from the Duke of Brunswick's army, did not exceed forty thousand men, and were scattered, as was usually the case with them at this period, over too extended a line. The centre, under the command of the Archduke Albert, was stationed in front of the important city of Mons; while the remainder of the army, dispersed over a front of nearly thirty miles, could render little assistance, in case of need, to the main body. This main body, numbering not above nineteen thousand men, was intrenched on a strong position near the village of JEMAPPES. The field of battle had been long before chosen by the Imperialists, and extended through the villages of Cuernmes and Jemappes, from the heights of Jemappes on the one hand to those of Berthaimont and the village of Sify on the other, over a succession of eminences which commanded all the adjacent plain. Fourteen redoubts, strengthened by all the resources of art, and armed by nearly a hundred pieces of artillery, seemed almost to compensate to the Austrians for their great inferiority of number. The French artillery, however, was nearly equal to that of their opponents, and their forces greatly superior, amounting to no less than forty thousand men; and though many of these troops were inexperienced, recent triumphs had in an extraordinary degree elevated their courage. In this action, the new system of tactics was tried with signal success—viz. that of accumulating masses upon one point, and in this manner forcing some weak part of the position, and compelling the whole to be abandoned.

46. On the 6th November, the battle commenced at daybreak. The French troops, who had been under arms or in bivouac for three successive days, received the order to advance with shouts of joy, moved forward with rapidity, and lost few men in traversing the plain which separated them from the enemy. The attack was commenced by General Beurnonville on the village

of Cuesmes. A severe fire of artillery for some hours arrested his efforts; but at length the flank of the hamlet of Jemappes was turned, and the redoubts, as well as that village upon the right of the Austrian position, were carried by the impetuous attack of the columns of the French left wing under Ferrand and Rosière. Dumourier seized this moment to make his centre advance against the front of Jemappes. The column moved forward rapidly, and with little loss; but, on approaching the village, they were attacked in flank by some squadrons of horse, which pierced the mass, and drove back a portion of the French cavalry which supported it. The moment was in the highest degree critical; for at the same instant the leading battalions, checked by a tremendous fire of grape-shot, were beginning to waver at the foot of the redoubts. In this extremity, the heroism of a brave valet of Dumourier's, named Baptiste, who rallied the broken troops, arrested the victorious squadrons of the Austrians; while the intrepidity and conduct of a young general restored the front of the line. Quickly forming the broken regiments into one column, which he called the column of Jemappes, he placed himself at its head, and renewed the attack on the redoubts with so much vigour that they were all carried, and the Austrians at length driven from their intrenchments in the centre of the field. This young officer was the Duke de Chartres, afterwards LOUIS PHILIPPE, king of the French. Such was the enthusiasm of the French in those early days of the Revolution, that the Duke de Chartres in this attack was attended by two young heroines, Théophile and Felicité Fernig, who combated in military dress at the head of the column. The

former engaged in single combat, and made prisoner an Austrian colonel, whom she conducted, like Clorinda in the "Jerusalem Delivered," disarmed to General Ferrand, who commanded in that quarter of the field.*

47. While the battle was contested with so much obstinacy in the centre, Dumourier had equal cause for anxiety on the right. Beurnonville, though at first successful on that side, had paused when he beheld the confusion of the central division; and his movements vacillated between a desire to maintain the ground he had won, and anxiety to draw back his forces to support the column which seemed in such confusion in the plain. This hesitation was soon perceived by the enemy: the fire of the French artillery could hardly equal that of five redoubts which played upon their ranks; and a large body of Imperial cavalry was in front, ready to charge on the first appearance of disorder. Dumourier upon this hastened to the spot, rode along the front of two brigades of his old soldiers from the camp at Maulde, who rent the air with cries of "Vive Dumourier!" and succeeded in rallying the squadrons of horse, who were beginning to fall into confusion. The Imperial cavalry charged immediately after, but, being received by a volley within pistol-shot from the infantry, turned about in confusion; and the French dragoons being immediately detached in pursuit, the Austrian horse were irretrievably routed, and fled in confusion to Mons. Animated by this success, Dumourier made the victorious brigades chant the Marseillaise Hymn, and taking advantage of their enthusiasm, rushed forward at their head, and entered the redoubts by the gorge. Being still uneasy about the centre, however, he set off

* Théophile and Felicité Fernig, who acquired great celebrity in the early annals of the Revolution, were the daughters of M. de Fernig, a retired officer in the village of Mortagne, on the extreme frontier of France, adjoining Flanders. Their father commanded the national guard of Mortagne; and his two daughters, unknown to their father, joined in its ranks. In the uniform of their brothers, who had departed for the army. Their secret was long kept; but at length it was discovered by M. Beurnonville, from their timidity in receiving his public thanks for the gallantry

they had displayed with their comrades in an action with the Austrians. They accompanied Dumourier on horseback during the battle of Jemappes, and had previously braved the terrors of the cannonade of Valmy. During the whole war in Flanders their bravery was conspicuous; and, what was perhaps still more remarkable, they preserved untouched, amidst the license and danger of a camp, their virgin honour and reputation. Their names were more than once mentioned with deserved honour in the Convention.—LAMARTINE, *Hist. des Girondins*, v. 222, 224.

immediately on gaining this success, at the head of six squadrons of cavalry, to reinforce the Duke de Chartres; but he had not proceeded above a few hundred paces when he met his aide-de-camp, the young Duke de Montpensier, with the joyful intelligence that the battle was there already won, and that the Austrians were retiring at all points to Mons.

48. Such was the famous battle of Jemappes, the first pitched battle which had been gained by the Republican armies, and on that account both celebrated at the time, and important in its consequences, beyond the real merits of the contest. The loss on both sides was nearly equal. That of the Austrians amounted to five thousand men; they withdrew all their artillery except fourteen pieces, and retired in good order to Mons. The French lost above six thousand men; but the consequences of the victory on the spirits and moral strength of the two parties were incalculable, and in fact led to the immediate conquest of the whole Netherlands. These great results, however, were rather owing to the terrors of the Imperialists, than to the vigorous measures of the French general. On the 7th he entered Mons, which opened its gates without resistance, and remained there in perfect inactivity for five days. Meanwhile the Austrian authorities took to flight in the rear, and, abandoning Brussels, sought refuge in Ruremonde. The French, in the course of their advance, were everywhere received with enthusiasm; Ath, Tournay, Neuport, Ostend, and Bruges, opened their gates; and, after a slight skirmish with the rear-guard, Brussels itself was occupied by their victorious troops. On the right, General Valence captured Charleroi, and advanced to Namur; while on the left Labourdonnaye, after much hesitation, moved forward to Ghent and Antwerp. Before the end of November the Imperialists retained nothing of their possessions in the Low Countries but the citadels of the latter important city and Namur.

49. The magnitude of these excesses excited the jealousy of the Republican party at Paris. On the very day of the cannonade at Valmy, the Republic had

been proclaimed, and royalty abolished over France. The rapid conquests of the triumphant general awakened the alarms of the Republican despots; another Caesar, a second Cromwell, was denounced; Marat in his sanguinary journal, and Robespierre from the tribune, proclaimed him as threatening the liberty of the people. If the event in some degree justified their predictions, it must be conceded that they occasioned it, by showing him what fate he had to expect, if the chance of war, by exposing him to any considerable reverse, should place his head in their hands.

50. While these jealousies were forming at the seat of power, the career of conquest brought Dumourier to the Scheldt, where events productive of the most important consequences took place. The Executive Council, by a decree on the 16th November, commanded him to open that river to the Flemish vessels, in open defiance of the existing treaty with Holland—an event which could not fail to produce a rupture with the maritime powers. He, in consequence, directed a considerable body of forces to that quarter; and Labourdonnaye, after having made himself master of Malines, and a large dépôt of military stores which were placed in that city, advanced towards Antwerp. He was there superseded by Dumourier, in consequence of suspicions of his fidelity to the Republican government, and the command given to Miranda, an officer of zeal and talent, who afterwards became celebrated for his attempts to restore the independence of South America. On the 30th November, the citadel of that important city capitulated to the new commander, and the French became undisputed masters of the Scheldt. The Republican general lost no time in carrying into effect the favourite French project of opening that great artery of Flemish prosperity. He immediately wrote to Miranda: "Lose not a moment in despatching a flat-bottomed boat down the Scheldt, to ascertain whether the navigation is really impeded, or if it is merely a report spread by the Dutch. Do everything in your power to open the stream to com-

mercial enterprise, that the Flemings, contrasting the generosity of the Republic with the avarice of the Austrian government, who sold the navigation of the Scheldt to the Dutch for 7,000,000 florins, may be induced to adopt the genuine principles of freedom." Miranda lost no time in taking measures for carrying this design into execution; and in a few days the flotilla, moored at the mouth of the river, ascended to Antwerp amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who beheld in this auspicious event the dawn of a brighter era of commercial enterprise than had ever opened upon their city since the rise of the Dutch republic.

51. While the left wing of the army was prosecuting these successes, the centre, under Dumourier himself, was also following the career of conquest. A strong rearguard of the main body of the Austrians, posted near Roucoux, was attacked on the 26th, and, after an obstinate engagement, the Imperialists retired, and the next morning Liege opened its gates to the victors. The revolutionary party immediately proceeded to measures of extreme violence in that city: a Jacobin club was formed, which speedily rivalled in energy and atrocity the parent institution in Paris; while the democratic party divided into opposite factions, on the formation of an independent republic, or a junction with France. Danton and Laeroix, the commissioners of the Convention, strongly supported the latter party, who speedily broke out into every species of violence. At the same time the right wing, under Valence, pressed the siege of the citadel of Namur. The Austrians, who had established themselves in the vicinity to annoy the Republicans, were first dislodged; and, the trenches being shortly after opened, the fort of Vilette, a strong work which impeded the operations of the besiegers, was carried by assault on the 30th November. The citadel, in consequence, surrendered a few days after; and the garrison, consisting of above two thousand men, were made prisoners of war. About the same time Miranda dispossessed the Imperialists from Ruremonde, and took possession of that city; while, on the other side,

Dumourier, after dislodging them from their position, covering Aix-la-Chapelle, made himself master also of that important city, the ancient capital of Charlemagne.

52. Dumourier now projected an irruption into the Dutch territory, and the siege of Maestricht, one of the principal frontier fortresses belonging to that republic. But the Executive Council, justly apprehensive of engaging at once in a war with the United Provinces, and Great Britain, which was bound by treaty to support them, commanded him to desist from the enterprise; and his force being now much weakened by sickness, want, fatigue, and the desertion of above ten thousand men, who had left their colours during the military license which followed the conquest of Belgium, and the loss of six thousand horses by the severity of the weather, he resolved to put his troops into winter quarters. His army, accordingly, was put into cantonnements, in a line from Namur, by Aix-la-Chapelle, to Ruremonde. The government urged him to continue his offensive operations, and to drive the Imperialists beyond the Rhine; but the exhausted state of his soldiers rendered any further movements impracticable; and, yielding to his urgent representations, they at length consented to their enjoying some weeks of repose.

53. Flanders was not long of reaping the bitter fruits of republican conquest. On the 19th November the Convention, inflamed by the victory of Jemappes, published the famous Resolution, in which they declared, "that they would grant fraternity and succour to every people who were disposed to recover their liberty; and that they charged their generals to give aid to all such people, and to defend all citizens who had been, or might be, disquieted in the cause of freedom." This decree, which was equivalent to a declaration of war against every established government, was ordered to be translated, and published in all languages. And it was followed up on 15th December by another decree, calculated in an especial manner to injure the subjects of the conquered provinces. By this cele-

brated manifesto, as already mentioned, the Republic proclaimed, in all the countries which it conquered, "the sovereignty of the people, the suppression of all the constituted authorities, of tithes, and all subsisting taxes and imposts, of all feudal and territorial rights, of all the privileges of nobility, and exclusive privileges of every description. It announced to all their subjects liberty, fraternity, and equality; invited them to form themselves forthwith into primary assemblies, to elect an administration and provisional government, and declared that it would treat as enemies all persons who, refusing these benefits, or renouncing them, should show any disposition to preserve, recall, or treat with their prince, or any of the privileged castes."^{*}

54. This last decree excited as violent indignation in Belgium as the first had awakened alarm through all Europe. The Flemings were by no means disposed to abandon their ancient chiefs; and the feudal feelings, and religious impressions, which existed in great force in that country, were revolted at the sudden severing of all the ties which had hitherto been held most sacred. The dearest interests, the strongest attachments of nature were violated, when the whole ancient aristocracy of the land was uprooted, and a foundation laid for the formation of a new set of governors, elected by the universal suffrage of the inhabitants. Property of every kind, institutions of whatever duration, were threatened by so violent a shock to the fabric of society. Religion itself seemed to be menaced with destruction when tithes were extinguished, all ecclesiastical communities destroyed, and their property placed at the disposal of these new democratic assemblies. These feelings, natural on so extreme a change in any country, were in a peculiar manner roused in Flanders, in consequence of the powerful influence of the clergy over its inhabitants, and the vast number of established interests and great properties which were threatened by the sweeping changes of the French Convention: nor

^{*} See Chap. ix. § 117, for the text of these decrees.

was the exasperation diminished by the speeches of the orators who introduced the measure—Cambon, who moved the resolution, having spoken of the Low Countries as a conquered province; and Brissot, who seconded it, warned the Belgians to adopt it, under pain of being "put to the ban of French philosophy."

55. Immediately after issuing the decree, Flanders was inundated by a host of revolutionary agents, who, with liberty, patriotism, and protection in their mouths, had nothing but violence, confiscation, and bloodshed in their measures. Forced requisitions of men, horses, and provisions, enormous contributions levied by military execution, compulsory payment in the depreciated assignats of France, general spoliation of the churches, were among the first results of the democratic government. They gave Europe a specimen of the blessings of Republican government. The legions of fiscal agents and tax-gatherers who overspread the land, appeared actuated by no other motive but to wring the uttermost farthing out of the wretched inhabitants, and make their own fortunes out of a transient possession of the conquered districts. At their head were Danton, Lacroix, and Carrier, republicans of the sternest cast and the most rapacious dispositions, who infused their own infernal energy into all the inferior agents, and gave to the inhabitants of Flanders a foretaste of the Reign of Terror. Five-and-thirty commissioners, really chosen by the Jacobin club in Paris, though nominally by the Convention, supported these three master-spirits in the work of spoliation. They were sent to Flanders, nominally to organise the march of freedom—really to plunder the whole aristocratic party. Immediately on their arrival, they divided that unhappy country into districts, and each in his domain proceeded to the work of appropriation. The peasants were driven by strokes of the sabre, and at the point of the bayonet, to the primary assemblies which had been designated by the Convention; while the churches, monasteries, and chateaus were plundered, the movables of every description sold, and the proceeds paid over

to the French commissioners. The estates of the clergy were everywhere put under sequestration, while valuable property of every description, belonging to lay proprietors, was seized and sold; and the unhappy owners, under the odious title of aristocrats, were too often sent off, with their wives and children, to the fortresses of France, there to remain as hostages for further requisitions.

56. The inhabitants of Flanders, awakened by these terrible calamities from the dream of liberty, speedily became as ardent for the restoration of their former government as they had ever been for its overthrow. The provinces of Brabant and Flanders, which had made such efforts to throw off the yoke of Joseph II., having tasted the consequences of Republican conquest, were not less strenuous in their endeavours to rescue themselves from their liberators. The most violent indignation everywhere broke forth against the French government, and among none more vehemently than those who had hailed their approach as deliverers. A deputation was sent to the Emperor, imploring him to come to their deliverance, promising the aid of thirty thousand men, and large advances of money, if assistance was afforded them. Such were the first fruits of Republican conquest in Europe; but they were not the last. The words of freedom are seductive to all; its evils are known only to the actual sufferers. Europe required to suffer universally under the evils under which Flanders groaned, before the ruinous delusion which had led to its subjugation was dispelled.

57. While these great changes were passing in the north, events of minor importance, but still productive of important consequences, occurred on the southern and eastern frontier. The mountains of Savoy were the theatre of less sanguinary struggles between the Republican troops and the Italian soldiers. The evident peril of the Piedmontese dominions, from their close proximity to the great centre of revolutionary action, had led early in 1792

to measures of precaution on the part of the Sardinian government; and all the states of Italy, alarmed at the rapid progress of democratic principles, had made advances towards a league for mutual support. The excitement in Piedmont was so strong, and the contagion of liberal principles so violent, that nothing but war, it soon became evident, could save the kingdom from revolt. Matters were brought to a crisis in September 1792, by the rapid advance of the Imperialists through the Tyrol into the Milanese states. The French despatched an embassy to propose an alliance with the Piedmontese government, promising in that case to guarantee its dominions, repress the turbulence of its subjects, and cede to that power all the conquests made by their joint forces to the south of the Alps. But the peril of any conjunction with the Republican troops, to any established government, was so evident that the king of Sardinia rejected the proposals. The French envoy, in consequence, was not permitted to proceed farther than Alessandria; and the Convention, immediately on receiving intelligence of this decisive step, declared war against the Piedmontese monarch, and orders were despatched to General Montesquiou to assail Savoy, where the Jacobin emissaries had already sown the seeds of disaffection to the Italian dynasty.

58. On the 21st of September the Republicans unexpectedly entered that mountain territory, and, after a feeble resistance, took possession of Chambery and Montmelian, and shortly after overran the whole valleys of the Alps, as far as the foot of Mont Cenis. The Sardinian forces, though nearly ten thousand strong, were so dispersed that it was impossible to unite them in sufficient numbers to oppose any resistance to the sudden attack of the Republicans—another proof, in addition to the many on record, of the extreme difficulty of defending a range of mountains against a superior and enterprising enemy. Shortly after, operations on a still more extensive scale were undertaken against the country of Nice. On

the 1st of October, General Anselme crossed the Var at the head of nine thousand men; and on the same day the French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and frigates, cast anchor within half cannon-shot of the walls of Nice. Unable to oppose such superior forces, General Courten, who had not two thousand men at his command, and was menaced by an insurgent population within the town, precipitately retreated towards Saorgio and the Col di Tende, leaving the whole coast and valleys, to the foot of the great chain of the Maritime Alps, in the possession of the French. Montalban and Villa Franca, the first of which had so gloriously resisted the prince of Conti in 1744, surrendered at the first summons, and Saorgio became the frontier post of the Piedmontese possessions.

59. The Republicans made a cruel use of their victory. The inhabitants of Nice and the neighbouring country were rewarded for the friendly reception they had given them by plunder, massacre, and outrages of every description. The mountaineers in the remotest valleys were hunted out, their cattle seized, their houses burned, and their women violated, by those whom they had hailed as deliverers. A proclamation, issued by General Anselme against these excesses, met with no sort of attention; and the commissioners appointed by the Convention to inquire into the disorders were unable to make any effectual reparation. Shortly after, an expedition was undertaken against the little fortress of Oneglia by the combined land and sea forces; and, the inhabitants having fired on a boat which approached the batteries with a flag of truce, and killed the officer who bore it, a sanguinary retribution for this violation of the usages of war was taken by the total destruction of the town. Thus, in the space of a few weeks, were the countries of Nice and Savoy torn from the Sardinian crown, though defended by considerable armies, intersected with rugged and impassable mountains, and studded with fortresses once deemed impregnable. The sudden prostration of all these means of de-

fence, before the first attack of the Republicans, gave rise to the most painful reflections: it demonstrated the inefficient state of the Piedmontese troops, once so celebrated; and gave a sad presage of the probable result of an attack on Italy, when its best defenders had given such disgraceful proofs of pusillanimity. Nor was the general consternation diminished by the appearance of the exiles from France, who soon after arrived in the most lamentable condition at Geneva and Turin—a melancholy example of a sudden transition from the highest rank and prosperity, to the most abject state of misery.

60. Having thus carried the Republican arms to the foot of the great central ridge which separates France from Italy, the Convention proceeded to extend their conquests to the republics of Switzerland. The cantons of that confederacy were much divided in opinion, some having resented with vengeance the massacre of the Swiss Guard on 10th August, and others being tinged by democratic principles, and ready to receive the Republican soldiers as deliverers from the predominant power of the aristocracy. The Pays de Vaud, in particular, was in such a state of excitement, that some severe examples had been found necessary by the government of Berne, to which it was subject, to maintain their authority. Paralyzed by these intestine divisions, the Helvetic Confederacy had resolved to maintain an armed neutrality; but the grasping views of the Republican conquerors deprived them of such an advantage, and brought them at last into the general field of European warfare. Clavière, minister of foreign affairs in France, and a Genevese by birth, espoused warmly the part of the malcontents in his native city. He was eager to turn his newly-acquired power to the ruin of the faction with which he had long contended in that diminutive republic. He directed Servan, the minister at war, to write to General Montesquieu, "that it would be well to break the fetters which despotism had forged to bind the Genevese, if they were inclined to publish the Rights of

Man." That general was extremely unwilling to commence this new aggression, not only because the Diet had given him the strongest assurances of their resolution to maintain a strict neutrality, but because the canton of Berne had assembled a force of nearly ten thousand men to enforce its observation; and it was foreseen that an attack on Geneva would be held as a declaration of war against the whole confederacy. Undeterred by these prudential considerations, the French government commanded Montesquieu immediately to advance; while, on their side, the Swiss sent eighteen hundred men to aid in the defence of the city.

61. When the Republicans arrived in the neighbourhood of Geneva they found the gates closed, the succours arrived, and received a notification from the senate of Berne that they would defend the city to the last extremity. The defenceless state of the frontier towns in the Jura, between France and Switzerland, rendered it highly imprudent to engage in an immediate contest with these warlike mountaineers. In these circumstances negotiations seemed preferable to open violence, and after a short time the French retired from the neighbourhood of Geneva, and General Montesquieu ventured openly to disobey the rash commands of the Convention, who had ordered him to undertake the siege of that city. Two successive conventions were agreed to, in virtue of which the Swiss withdrew their forces from the town, and the French theirs from its vicinity. Geneva was rescued for the moment from the peril of Republican invasion, and Montesquieu had the glory of saving his country from the consequences of the rash and unjustifiable aggression which they had commenced. But in other quarters of Savoy, the French revolutionary power was finally established. A Jacobin club of twelve hundred members was formed at Chambéry, with affiliated societies through all the country, which soon spread the fever of democracy through the whole Maritime Alps, and threatened the institutions of Piedmont with total overthrow. A National Convention, established at

Chambéry on 21st October, proclaimed the abolition of royalty, tithes, and the privileged orders; and deputations from all the clubs in Savoy were sent to Paris, and received in the most enthusiastic manner by the French legislature. At length, on the 27th November, the whole of Savoy was incorporated with France, under the name of the Department of Mont Blanc; and shortly after, the district of Nice was swallowed up by the encroaching Republic, under the title of the Department of the Maritime Alps, and the state of Monaco also added to its extensive dominions.

62. Amidst these general triumphs of the Republican cause, fortune deserted their standards on the Upper Rhine. The French forces in that quarter, which amounted, including the armies of Kellermann, Custine, and Biron, to sixty thousand men, might have struck an important blow against the Duke of Brunswick's army, now severely weakened by the departure of the Austrians under Clairfait for the defence of the Low Countries. But the movements of these generals, not sufficiently combined with each other, led to nothing but disaster. The plan adopted was for Beurnonville, who had succeeded Kellermann, to take possession of Treves and move upon Coblenz, where he was to effect a junction with Custine, and, with their united forces, press upon the Allies, already threatened by the army of Flanders, and compel them to recross the Rhine. This plan was ably conceived; but its execution entirely failed, owing partly to the difficulty of the enterprise in the beginning of winter, and partly to the want of cordial co-operation among the generals who conducted it. General Larobolière, who was intrusted with the advanced guard of Beurnonville's army, amounting to three thousand men, destined to attack the city of Treves, was recalled, when his journey was half completed, by the apprehensions of his commander-in-chief; while Custine, whose force, by the deduction of the garrison of Mayence, had been reduced to fifteen thousand men, seemed more intent upon pillaging the palaces

which fell in his way, and establishing Jacobin clubs in Frankfort and Mayence, than on prosecuting the military movements of the campaign. Meanwhile the Prussians, observing the inactivity of the army of Kellermann, secretly drew their forces round Custine's corps, in the hope that, unsupported as it was, and far in advance, it might be compelled to surrender before any effectual succour should be detached to its support. The design, owing to the supineness of the commander of the French forces, had very nearly succeeded. For long, Custine disregarded the Prussian corps which were gradually drawn round him, and was only awakened from his dream of security upon finding his sole remaining line of retreat threatened by the enemy. He then detached General Houchard with three thousand men, who had an unsuccessful action with the Prussians near Limburg; but shortly after, the arrival of twelve thousand men from the army of the Upper Rhine extricated him from his danger, and put him in a condition to resume offensive operations.

63. Meanwhile the king of Prussia, finding himself at the head of a noble force of fifty thousand men, now in some measure recovered from their disasters, resolved to anticipate the enemy, and drive them from the right bank of the Rhine, in order to give his troops secure cantonments for the winter. With this view he put his army in motion, and, directing the bulk of his forces against Custine's right flank, obliged him to retire to an intrenched camp behind the Nidda, leaving a garrison of two thousand men in Frankfort in a most precarious situation. The king immediately attempted a *coup-de-main* against that city, which completely succeeded—the whole garrison, with the exception of two hundred men, being either killed or made prisoners. Custine, upon this disaster, after making a feeble attempt to defend the course of the Nidda, repassed the Rhine, and cantoned his troops between Bingen and Frankenthal, leaving a garrison of ten thousand men to defend the important fortress of Mayence. On their

side, the Allies also put their troops into winter quarters, of which they stood much in need—the line of their cantonments extending through Frankfort and Darmstadt, with an advanced guard to observe that frontier city.

64. Thus terminated the campaign of 1792, a period fraught with the most valuable instruction to the statesman and the soldier. Already the desperate and energetic character of the war was made manifest. The contagion of republican principles had gained for France many conquests; but the severity of republican rule had rendered the delusion, in the countries which they had overrun, as short-lived as it was fallacious. In many places their armies had been welcomed, upon their arrival, as deliverers; in none had they been regretted, on their departure, as friends. The campaign, which opened under such untoward auspices, had been marked by the most splendid successes on the part of the Republicans; but it was evident that their conquests had exceeded their strength, and it was remarked that at its close their affairs were declining in every quarter. In the north, the army of Dumourier, which had just completed the conquest of Flanders, had fallen into the most disorderly state: whole battalions had left their colours, and returned home, or spread themselves as bands of robbers over the conquered territory; the horses and equipments were in wretched condition, and the whole army, weakened by license and insubordination, was fast tending to decay. The armies of Beurnonville and Custine, paralysed by the division and inactivity of their chiefs, were in little better circumstances, and their recent failures had gone far to weaken the energetic spirit which their early successes had aroused; while the troops who had overrun Savoy and Nice, a prey to their own disorders, were suffering under the consequences of the plunder and devastation which had inflicted such misery on the conquered districts.

65. But it was evident, from the events which had occurred, that the war was to exceed, in magnitude and importance, any which had preceded it,

and that consequences beyond all example momentous were to follow its continuance. The campaign had only commenced in the beginning of August, and before the close of the year, an invasion, the most formidable which had ever threatened the existence of France, had been baffled, and conquests obtained greater than any achieved by its preceding monarchs. Flanders, the theatre of such obstinate contests in the reign of Louis XIV., had been overrun in little more than a fortnight; the Transalpine dominions of the house of Savoy severed from the Sardinian crown; and the great frontier city of Germany wrested from the Empire, almost under the eyes of the Imperial and royal armies. All this had been accomplished, too, under the greatest possible apparent disadvantages. The French armies had taken the field in a state of complete insubordination; disgrace and discomfiture had attended their first efforts; the kingdom was torn by intestine faction; a large portion of its nobility in the ranks of the invaders; and few of its generals had seen any service, or were in a condition to oppose the experienced tactics of the enemy. But, to counterbalance these apparently overwhelming disadvantages, the Republicans possessed elements hitherto unknown in modern warfare—the energy of popular enthusiasm, and the vigour of democratic ambition. Experience soon demonstrated that these principles were more powerful than any which had yet been brought into action in human affairs, and that the strength they conferred would be equalled only by the development of passions as strong, and feelings as universal. The French triumphed as long as they contended with kings and armies; they fell, when their tyranny had excited the indignation, and their invasions roused the patriotism of the people. But it was not immediately that this formidable opposing power arose; and political lessons of the utmost moment for the future guidance of mankind, may be gathered from the commencement of this memorable war.

66. I. The first conclusion which presents itself is, the absolute necessity,

when attacking a country in a state of revolution, of proceeding vigorously in the outset, and not suffering early success to convert democratic energy into military ambition. These two principles are nearly allied; the one rapidly passes into the other; but at first they are totally distinct. After a little success in war, a revolutionary state is the most formidable of all antagonists; before that has been obtained, it generally may, without much difficulty, be vanquished. No armies could be in a worse state than those of France at the commencement of the campaign of 1792, and the reason was, that the license of a revolution had dissolved the bands of discipline. None could be more formidable than they were at Arcola, because success had then turned political fervour into the career of conquest. In attacking a revolutionary state, the only wise and really economical course is to put forth a powerful force at the outset, and never permit, if possible, a transient success to elevate the spirits of the people. Bitterly did the Austrian and Prussian governments regret the niggardly display of their strength at the commencement of the war. They could easily have then sent forward a hundred thousand men for the invasion of Champagne, while sixty thousand advanced through Alsace, and as many from the Low Countries. Two military monarchies, wielding a united force of above four hundred thousand men, could assuredly have made such an effort for a single campaign. What a multitude of evils would such an early exertion have saved—the French conscription, the campaign of Moscow, the rout of Leipsic, the blood of millions, the treasures of ages!

67. II. Even with the forces which they possessed, had the Allies duly improved their advantages at the outset, the Revolution might unquestionably have been vanquished in the first campaign. A little less delay in the advance to the Argonne forest would have prevented the French from occupying, with their inexperienced force, its broken defiles, and compelled them to yield up the capital, or fight in the plains of Champagne, where the numerous

cavalry of the Prussians would have proved irresistible: a little more vigour in pressing on the retreating column from Grandpré to Ste Ménehould would have dispersed the whole defending army, and converted the passion for freedom into that of terror. Fifteen hundred Prussian hussars there routed ten thousand of the best troops of France; the fate of Europe then hung on a thread: had the Duke of Brunswick fallen on the retiring army with a considerable force, it would have all dissolved, and the reign of the Revolution been at an end. The French military historians all admit this, and ascribe the salvation of France, at this crisis, entirely to the feeble counsels or secret negotiations of the allied army. If a Blücher, a Diebitch, or an Archduke Charles, had been then at the head of the allied armies, with unfettered hands, where would have been the boasted strength of the Revolution?

68. III. The occupation of the defiles of the Argonne forest by Dumourier has been the subject of the highest panegyric from military writers; but it brought France to the brink of ruin, by the peril to which his army was exposed in the subsequent retreat to Ste Ménehould. A very competent authority, Marshal St Cyr, has censured it as a perilous and useless measure, which, by dividing the French force in front of a superior enemy, exposed them to the risk of being beaten and cut to pieces in detail. In truth, the inability of Dumourier to defend the passes of that forest, adds one to the numerous instances on record, of the impossibility of defending a range of broken ground, however strong, against a superior and enterprising enemy. The reason is, that the defending force is necessarily divided to guard the different passes, whereas the attacking may select their point of assault, and, by bringing overwhelming numbers there, compel the abandonment of the whole line. This is just what Napoleon did in the Maritime Alps, Soult in the Pyrenees, and Diebitch in the Balkan. The only example of the successful maintenance of such a position is that of Wellington at Torres Vedras; but that was not the de-

fence of a range of mountains, so much as a great intrenched camp, adequately guarded by fieldworks at all points. Unquestionably, by keeping his forces together, Dumourier would never have exposed them to the imminent hazard which occurred in the retreat of his detached columns from Grandpré to the camp in the rear—a movement which, if executed in presence of an enterprising enemy, would have proved fatal to France. Had Napoleon been in the Duke of Brunswick's place with so superior a force, he would speedily have penetrated through the other defiles of the Argonne forest, and compelled Dumourier to lay down his arms in his so-called impregnable camp.

69. IV. The wretched condition and inglorious exploits of the French armies at the commencement of the war is a striking proof of the extreme peril to national independence, which arises from soldiers taking any part in civil dissensions, and forgetting, for the transient applause of the multitude, the obedience and fidelity which are the first of military virtues. The revolt of the French Guards, the treachery of the army under Louis XVI., brought the national independence to the brink of ruin. The insubordination, the tumults, the relaxation of discipline consequent on such a revolt, dry up the sources of military prowess: till they are removed, the nation has no protection against its enemies. Let not future ages calculate upon again meeting with the genius of Dumourier, the timidity or interested designs of the Duke of Brunswick, or the blind selfishness of the allied counsels. Had matters been reversed—had the French commander headed the invaders, and the Prussian been intrusted with the defence—where would now have been the name or the independence of France? Internal despotism and foreign subjugation are the inevitable consequences of such breaches of military discipline. France tasted the bitterness of both, in consequence of the applauded revolt of her defenders: the Reign of Terror, the despotism of Napoleon, the capture of Paris, were its legitimate consequences. The French army preserved its honour

unsullied, and maintained the virgin purity of the capital through all the perils of the monarchy; it lost both amidst the ultimate consequences of the anarchy which followed the desertion of its duty on the rise of the Republic.

70. Lastly, from the glorious result of the generous efforts which the French people made to maintain their independence, after revolt had paralysed their regular defenders, the patriots of succeeding times may derive materials for encouragement even in the severest extremities of adverse fortune. No situation could well appear more desperate than that of France after the fall of Longwy; with an insurgent capital and

a disunited people; pierced to the heart by an invading army, and destitute alike of experienced commanders and disciplined soldiers. Yet from all these dangers was France delivered by the energy of its government, and the heroism of its inhabitants. From the extremity of peril at Grandpré, how rapid was the transition to security and triumph—to glories greater than those of Francis I.—to conquests more rapid than those of Louis XIV. !—a striking example to succeeding ages of what can be effected by energy and patriotism, and of the rewards which await those who, disregarding the frowns of fortune, steadily adhere through all its vicissitudes to the discharge of duty.

CHAPTER XI.

FRENCH REPUBLIC—FROM THE DEATH OF THE KING TO THE FALL OF
THE GIRONDISTS.—JAN. 21—JUNE 2, 1793.

1. THE death of Louis completed the destruction of the French monarchy. The Revolution had now run the first stage of such convulsions. Springing from philanthropic principles, cherished by patriotic feeling, supported by aristocratic liberality, indulged with royal favour, it had successively ruined all the classes who supported its fortunes. The clergy were the first to join its standard, and they were the first to be destroyed; the nobles then yielded to its fortunes, and they were the next to suffer; the king had proved himself the liberal benefactor of his subjects, and conceded all the demands of the revolutionists. In return he was led to the scaffold. It remained to be seen what was the fate of the victors in the strife—whether such crimes were to go unpunished; and whether the laws of nature promised the same impunity to wickedness which it had obtained from human tribunals. What was the cause of this extraordinary and downward

progress? It has been told us alike by the sage and the demagogue. "*Quid in rebus civilibus,*" says Bacon, "*maxime prodest? Audacia. Quid secundum? Audacia. Quid tertium? Audacia.*" In promptu ratio est: inest enim naturæ humanæ plerumque plus stulti quam sapientis; unde et facultates eæ, quibus capitur pars illa in animis mortalium stulta, sunt omnium potentissimæ. Attamen utcumque ignorantis et sordidi ingenii proles est Audacia, nihilominus fascinat et captivos ducit eos qui vel judicio infirmiores sunt vel animo timidiores; tales autem sunt hominum pars maxima." * "*Le canon*

* "What is the first requisite in civil affairs? Audacity. What is the second? Audacity. What is the third? Audacity. The reason is evident. There is to be found in human nature more of folly than wisdom; from whence those faculties by which the weak part of men's minds are captivated are the most powerful of all. But as audacity is the offspring of ignorance and a selfish disposition, nevertheless it fascinates those who are either weak in judgment or timid in disposi-

que vous entendez," said Danton at the bar of the Assembly, on 2d September 1792, when the massacres in the prisons were commencing, "n'est pas le canon d'alarme; c'est le pas de charge sur nos ennemis. Pour les vaincre, pour les atterrir, que faut-il? De l'audace! encore de l'audace! toujours de l'audace!—et la France est sauvée!" It is not a little remarkable, that philosophical sagacity should have inspired to the sage of the sixteenth, not only the idea, but the very words, which a practical acquaintance with the storms of the Revolution suggested to the terrible demagogue of the nineteenth century.

2. Never was the truth of these memorable words more strongly demonstrated than in France during the progress of the Revolution. Rank, influence, talent, patriotism, abandoned the field of combat, or sank in the struggle; daring ambition, reckless audacity, vanquished every opponent. The Girondists maintained that the force of reason, and of the people, was the same thing; and flattered themselves that, by their eloquence, they could curb the Revolution when its excesses became dangerous. They lived to experience their utter inability to contend with popular violence, and sank under the fury of the tempest they had created. The maxim "Vox populi vox Dei" is true only of the calm result of human reflection, when the period of agitation is past, and reason has resumed its sway. So predominant is passion in moments of excitation, that it too often then happens, that the voice of the people is that of the demons who direct them, and the maxim "Vox populi vox diaboli" would often, in reality, be nearer the truth. A horse, maddened by terror, does not rush more certainly on its own destruction than the populace when excited by revolutionary ambition. If the good do not early and manfully combine for their own and

tion—that is, the greatest part of men."—"The cannon which you hear," said Danton, "is not the cannon of alarm: it is the signal for charging our enemies. To conquer them, to crush them, what is required? Audacity! still audacity! always audacity!—and France is saved!"

their sovereign's defence in the first stages of political troubles, they are sure to be destroyed in the last. But neither do the crimes of the victorious party go in the end unpunished. A certain law of nature provides their slow but certain punishment. To scourge each successive faction which attains the head of affairs, another more hardy than itself arises, until the punishment has reached all the guilty classes, and the nation, in sackcloth and ashes, has expiated its offences.

3. The death of the king roused numbers, when too late, to the dangers of popular rule. Scarcely had his head fallen upon the scaffold when the public grief became visible: the brigands, who were hired to raise cries of triumph, failed in rousing a voice among the spectators. The executioner, after the savage custom of the time, held the bloody head aloft; but no shouts or cries announced the enthusiasm of the people. The magnitude of the deed appalled every heart. The name of Santerre was universally execrated. "The king was about to appeal to us," said the people, "and we would have delivered him." Many dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood of the victim; his coat was severed, and delivered to many to preserve; his hair was religiously gathered, and placed with the relics of saints, by the few who retained religious sentiments. The savage pikemen of the suburbs, seeing this, came forward and plunged their spears in the blood of the sovereign; some of the national guard did the same with their bayonets and swords; and one ferocious brigand, ascending the scaffold, took up the blood, which in large quantities had flowed from the body, in handfuls, and sprinkled it over the people, who pressed forward to receive a part of the crimson shower, saying, "Brothers! they have threatened us that the blood of Louis Capet would fall on our heads. Well, LET IT FALL! He has often stained his hands in ours. Republicans, the blood of a king brings happiness." But these desperate sal-

* "Many volunteers hastened to dip in the blood of the despot the point of their pikes, the bayonets of their muskets, or the blades of their swords. The gendarmes

lies produced little impression: the majority of the people were in consternation; many in the deepest affliction. The furies of the guillotine danced for some hours round the scaffold; but the bulk of the citizens took no part in these horrid orgies. The national guard, silent and depressed, returned to their homes: throwing aside their arms, they gave vent, in the bosom of their families, to feelings which they did not venture to display in public. "Alas! if I had been sure of my comrades!" was the general expression. Fatal effect of civil dissension! to paralyse the good from mutual distrust, and elevate the wicked from conscious audacity.

4. The execution was over at half-past ten; but the shops continued shut, and the streets deserted, during the whole day. Paris resembled a city desolated by an earthquake. Groups of assassins alone were to be seen, singing revolutionary songs, the same as those which had preceded the massacres of September. Their voices, with the discharge of artillery, re-echoed by the silent walls, reached the prison of the Temple, and first informed the royal family of the fate of the sovereign. The queen, with her orphan son, fell on her knees, and prayed that they might soon join the martyr in the regions of heaven. She exhorted her children to imitate the virtues and courage of their father, and to make no attempt to avenge his death. She then calmly asked for mourning for herself, her sister, and her children, which was furnished them by the municipality. The shops were closed during were not last. Many officers of the Marseillaise battalion steeped the envelopes of letters in this impure blood, and carried them on the point of their swords at the head of their companies, saying, 'Behold the blood of a tyrant!' One citizen mounted on the guillotine itself, and, plunging his naked arm in the blood of Capet, which had flowed together in a mass, filled his hands with it, and three times sprinkled the assistant crowd, who pressed round the foot of the scaffold to secure each a drop on the forehead. 'Brothers,' said the citizen, while sprinkling—'brothers, they have threatened that the blood of Louis Capet would fall on our heads—WELL! LET IT FALL! Louis Capet has often imbrued his hands with our blood. Republicans! the blood of a king brings happiness.'"—*PRUDHOMME, Révolutions de Paris*, No. 185.

the whole day: the women, generally speaking, exhibited a great degree of sensibility, and, in many instances, the most profound grief. An old officer of the order of St Louis died of grief on hearing of the execution; a bookseller, named Venté, went mad—and a hairdresser in the Rue Sainte Catherine committed suicide. But the extreme revolutionists gave vent to their joy in savage strains of exultation, which would be deemed incredible did not the originals yet exist to attest the general frenzy of the period.*

5. The death of the king not only rendered the parties irreconcilable, but weakened the influence of the Girondists with the people. The Jacobins incessantly taunted them with having endeavoured to save the tyrant; the generous design could not be denied, and constituted an unpardonable offence in the eyes of the democratic party. They accused them of being enemies of the people, because they deprecated their excesses; accomplices of the tyrant, because they strove to save his life; traitors to the Republic, because they recommended moderation

* Some idea may be formed of the revolutionary writings with which Paris was then deluged, from the following passage, which appeared on this occasion in the *Père Duchêne*, edited by Hébert, a leading person in the municipality of Paris: "Capet is at length dead, Foutre! I shall not say, like some simpletons, Speak of him no more. On the contrary, speak of him to recall his crimes, and inspire in all men the horror they ought to have of kings. See, Foutre! what induces me to undertake his funeral oration, not to make his eulge, or soften away his faults, but to paint him as he was, and show the universe whether such a monster ought not to have been stifled in his cradle. Read and shudder, Foutre. . . . His disposition was evil. Before it was in his power to bathe himself in the blood of men, he slaughtered animals with his own hands: he tortured the aged, the infirm, the lame, the blind. He never did of his own accord a good action. To bring France within a hairbreadth of ruin, he only required a wife as wicked as himself: a new Medici assisted him towards our destruction. It was, when this monster was king that his sanguinary character burst forth. That he might better destroy the people, he pretended to relieve them. Chance had given him a good minister. He forthwith dismissed him. He then allowed his brothers and his wife to tear the very bowels of the people."—*Lettres à—t Patriotiques du Vénérable Père Duchêne*, No. 212. Jan. 24, 1798.

towards its opponents. Lest the absurdity of these reproaches should become manifest by the return of reason to the public mind, they adopted every means of continuing the popular agitation. To strike terror into the enemies of the Revolution; to keep alive the revolutionary fervour, by the exhibition of danger, and the fury of insurrections; to represent the safety of the Republic as solely dependent on their exertions; to electrify the departments by the aid of affiliated societies—such was the system which they incessantly pursued, till all their enemies were destroyed. The Jacobins, to the last moment, were doubtful of the success of their attack upon the king. The magnitude of the attempt, the enormity of the crime, startled even their sanguinary minds; and their exultation was proportionally great at their unlooked-for success.

6. The Girondists, on the other hand, grieved for the illustrious victim, and, alarmed at the appalling success of their adversaries, perceived in the martyrdom of Louis the prelude to long and bloody feuds, of which they themselves would probably be the victims, and the first step in the inexorable system which so soon followed. They had abandoned Louis to his fate, out of terror at the passions of the people, to show that they were not royalists; but the humiliating weakness, as is ever the case with base deeds, deceived no one in the Republic. All were aware that they did so from necessity, not inclination; that fear had mastered their resolution; and that the appeal to the people was an attempt to devolve upon others a danger which they had not the vigour to face themselves. They lost in this way the confidence of every party: of the Royalists, because they had been the original authors of the revolt which dethroned the king; of the Jacobins, because they had recoiled from his execution. Roland, completely discouraged, not by personal danger, but by the impossibility of stemming the progress of disaster, which he had done so much to induce, was too happy at the prospect of escaping from his perilous eminence into the tranquillity of private life; he

accordingly resigned his office of minister of the interior. The Girondists exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent him from retiring from his thorny seat in the government, but all their efforts were in vain. Even the influence of his beautiful and gifted wife was unable to retain him at his post. He declared that death would be preferable to the mortifications and vexations he was daily obliged to endure. His party were in despair at his retirement, because they saw clearly the impossibility of supplying his place. They had become sensible of the ruinous tendency of their measures to their country and themselves, when it was no longer possible to retrace their steps.

7. All parties were disappointed in the effect which they had anticipated from the death of the king. The Girondists, whose culpable declamations had roused the spirit which brought him to the block, had imagined that their ascendancy over the populace would be regained by their concurrence in this great sacrifice, and that the multitude would prefer their conservative and moderate counsels to the fierce designs of their dreadful rivals, the Jacobins; but they were soon undeceived, and found to their cost that this act of iniquity, like all other misdeeds, rendered their situation worse than it had formerly been. The Orleanists lost by this terrible event the little consideration which they still possessed; and Philippe Egalité, who had flattered himself that, by agreeing to it, he would secure the crown to himself and his descendants, was speedily overwhelmed in the shock of the more energetic and extreme factions who contended for the lead in public affairs. The Jacobins, with more reason, expected that the destruction of the throne would secure to them a long lease of power. They did not enjoy it for eighteen months. France, overwhelmed by their tyranny, sought refuge from its horror, not in the vacillating hands of a benevolent monarch, but in the stern grasp of a relentless warrior. Such is the march of revolutions. They never recede when their leaders obtain unresisted ascendancy, but are precipitated on, like the career

of guilt in an individual, from one excess to another, till the extremity of suffering restores the lead to the classes qualified to take it, and expels the deadly poison of democracy from the social system.

8. A temporary union of the contending parties took place, in consequence of the consternation produced by the death of one of the deputies, Lepelletier St Fargeau, who was murdered for voting against the life of the king, by an old member of the Garde-du-Corps, named Paris. This event made a prodigious sensation in Paris, and was taken advantage of by the Jacobins, to give a colour to the alarms they had been continually sounding as to the counter-revolutionary projects which were in agitation. The republican journals, which had viewed with complacency or indifference the massacre of thousands of unresisting victims in the prisons in the beginning of September, were in the utmost consternation when one of the democratic party had fallen beneath the vengeance of a Royalist. Lepelletier's funeral obsequies were celebrated with extraordinary pomp; and such was the sensation excited by the assassination of a single man of their party, that it produced, for a few days, a cessation of party strife, and even an apparent reconciliation of its leaders. Garat was appointed by the Convention minister of the interior, in room of Roland, whom no entreaties could induce to resume his office. His successor was a man naturally of a benevolent disposition and considerable power of mind, which caused him to be selected for that onerous situation by the party of the Gironde to which he belonged, and who still had a majority in the Assembly. But he was alike ignorant of business and of the human heart; and, being destitute of moral courage and political firmness, he was wholly unfit to struggle with the dreadful dangers which soon overwhelmed his party and his country.

9. External events of no ordinary importance occurred at this time, which precipitated the fall of this celebrated party, and accelerated the approach of the Reign of Terror. The first of these was the accession of England to the

league of the Allied Sovereigns against the Republic. The execution of the king, as Vergniaud had predicted, at once dissolved the species of neutrality which subsisted between the rival states. Chauvelin, the French ambassador, received orders immediately to leave London; and this was succeeded, in a few days, by a declaration of war by the Convention against England, Spain, and Holland;—against England, as having already virtually declared war by the dismissal of the French ambassador; against Holland, as in reality influenced by England; against Spain, as already a secret enemy. These declarations were followed by an order for the immediate levy of three hundred thousand men. At the same time the national guard was declared to be a permanent force, and all those were decreed *hors la loi*—in other words, liable to instant death—who should oppose the slightest resistance to the conscription, or harbour or conceal any person drawn for the public service, who attempted to desert.

10. The effect of these measures throughout France was prodigious. "We thank you for having reduced us to the necessity of conquering," was the answer of one of the armies to the Convention in reply to the announcement of the death of the king, and the declaration of war. And, in truth, these sentiments were universal in the military, and general among the people. The feeling of national honour, in all ages so powerful among the French, was awakened; the dominant party of the Jacobins at Paris no longer appeared in the light of a relentless faction contending for power, but as a band of patriots bravely struggling for national independence. Resistance to their mandates seemed nothing short of treason to the commonwealth in its hour of danger. Every species of requisition was cheerfully furnished under the pressure of impending calamity: in the dread of foreign subjugation, the loss of fortune or employment was forgotten. One only path, that of honour, was open to the brave; one only duty, that of submission, remained to the good; and even the blood which

streamed from the scaffold seemed a sacrifice justly due to the offended genius of patriotism, indignant at the defection of some of its votaries.

11. The Royalist, Constitutional, and Moderate parties were never again able to separate the cause of France from that of the Jacobins, who then ruled its destinies. The people, ever led by their feelings, and often incapable of just discrimination — though more powerfully influenced by generous than selfish sentiments, and, when not awayed by wicked leaders, in the end generally true to the cause of virtue — constantly associated the adherents of these parties with the enemies of the Republic: — the Royalists, because they fought in the ranks of the Allies, and combated the Republic in La Vendée; the Constitutionalists, because they had entered into negotiations with the enemies of the state, and sought the aid of foreign armies to restore the balance of domestic faction; the Moderates, because they had raised their voices against internal tyranny, and sought to arrest the arm of power in the effusion of human blood. The party which becomes associated in the mind of the people with indifference to the fate of the country in periods of danger, can scarcely ever, during the subsistence of that generation, regain its influence; and opposition to the ruling power, during such a crisis, seldom escapes such an imputation. By a singular coincidence, the Opposition, both in France and England, at this period, lost their hold of the influential part of the nation from the same cause: the French Royalists, because they were accused of coalescing with foreign powers against the integrity of France; the English Whigs, because they were suspected of indifference to the national glory in the contest with Continental ambition.

12. The French leaders were not insensitive to the danger arising from the attack of so formidable a coalition of foreign powers as was now prepared to attack them; but retreat had become impossible. By the execution of Louis, they had come to a final rupture with all established governments. The re-

volt of the 10th August, the massacres in the prisons, the death of the king, had excited the most profound indignation among all the aristocratic portion of society throughout Europe, and singularly cooled the ardour of the middle ranks in favour of the Revolution. The Jacobins were no longer despised by the European powers, but feared; and terror prompts more vigorous efforts than contempt. But the republican leaders at Paris did not despair of saving the cause of democracy. The extraordinary movement which agitated France gave them good grounds for hoping that they might succeed in raising the whole male population for its defence, and that thus a much greater body might be brought into the field than the Allies could possibly assemble for its subjugation. The magnitude of the expense was to them a matter of no consequence. The estates of the emigrants afforded a vast and increasing fund, which greatly exceeded the amount of the public debt; while the unlimited issues of assignats, at whatever rate of discount they might pass, amply provided for all the present or probable wants of the treasury. Nor did these hopes prove fallacious; for, such was the misery produced in France by the stoppage of all pacific employment consequent on the Revolution, and such the terror produced by the Jacobin clubs and democratic municipalities in the interior, that the armies were filled without difficulty, and the Republic derived additional external strength from the very intensity of its internal suffering.

13. But although the armies of the Republic might be supplied by the misery which prevailed in its interior, and the terrors of its government increased by the merciless severity with which the measures taken for filling up its ranks were enforced, yet the great mass of the citizens necessarily remained at home, and it was daily becoming a more difficult matter to provide them with bread, in the midst of bankrupt fortunes, ruined credit, confiscated estates, depreciated assignats, and an insolvent government. The care of this, especially in the capital,

where the armed force of the multitude was so great, had long constituted one of the most arduous duties of the Convention. A committee, with Roland the minister of the interior at its head, had sat daily in Paris during the whole winter; but though they had tried everything that zeal or experience could suggest, nothing had been found capable of arresting the public distress. The universal suffering did not arise from scarcity or natural causes; the weather had been fine, the season propitious, the harvest good. It was entirely the result of the destruction of fortunes and ruin of credit which had arisen from the Revolution, and the prodigious issue of assignats, bearing a forced circulation, which had been made to sustain its fortunes.

14. Dread of pillage, repugnance on the part of the cultivators to sell their produce for payment in the depreciated currency, which necessarily resulted from the unlimited issue of assignats, rendered abortive all the efforts of government to supply the public necessities. At the same time, the price of every article of consumption increased so immensely as to excite the most vehement clamours among the people. The price, not only of bread, but of sugar, coffee, candles, and soap, had more than doubled since the Revolution commenced. Innumerable petitions on this subject succeeded each other at the bar of the Convention. The more violent of the Jacobins had a remedy ready; it was to proclaim a maximum for the price of every article, lay a forced tax on the rich, and hang all persons who sold at a higher price than that fixed by law. In vain Thuriot, and a few of the more educated of the party, raised their voices against these extreme measures; they were assailed with cries against the "*shopkeeper aristocracy*;" their voices were drowned by hisses from the galleries; and the Mountain itself found that resisting such proceedings would speedily render them as unpopular as the Girondists had already become. The people now declared that the leaders they had selected were as bad as the old nobles. Perhaps the greatest and most ruinous

delusion in such convulsions, is the common opinion, that, by selecting their rulers from their own body, the labouring classes will find them more inclined to sympathise with their distresses than if taken from a more elevated class—a natural but pernicious opinion, which all history proves to be fallacious, and which the common proverb, as to the effect of setting a beggar on horseback, shows to be adverse to the experience, in ordinary times, of mankind.

15. At length the extreme difficulty of procuring subsistence roused the people to a perfect fury. A tumultuous mob surrounded the hall of the Jacobins, and treated that body as they had so often treated the legislature. The object was to procure a petition from them to the Convention, to affix a maximum on the price of provisions. The demand was refused. Instantly, cries of "Down with the forestallers! down with the rich!" resounded on all sides; and the Jacobins were threatened as they had threatened the Convention. Marat, the following morning, published a number of his journal, in which, raising his powerful voice against what he called "the monopolists, the merchants of luxury, the supporters of fraud, the ex-nobles," he added: "In every country where the rights of the people are not a vain title, the pillage of a few shops, at the door of which they hang their forestalling owners, would put an end to an evil which reduces five millions of men to despair, and daily causes thousands to die of famine. When will the deputies of the people learn to act, without eternally haranguing on evils they know not how to remedy!"* Encouraged by these exhortations, the populace were not slow in taking the redress of their wrongs into their own

* "Dans tout pays où les droits du peuple ne sont pas des vains titres consignés fastueusement dans un temple, le pillage de quelques magasins, à la porte desquels on pendrait les accapareurs, mettrait bientôt fin à ces malversations, qui réduisent cinq millions d'hommes au désespoir, et qui font périr des milliers de misère. Les députés du peuple ne sauront-ils donc jamais que baver sur des maux, sans en présenter jamais le remède?"—MARAT, *Journal de la République*, No. 133.

hands. A mob assembled, and pillaged a number of shops in the streets of La Vieille-Monnaie, Cinq-Diamans, and Lombards. They next insisted that every article of commerce should be sold at half its present price, and large quantities were seized in that manner at a ruinous loss to the owners. Speedily, however, they became tired of paying at all, and the shops were openly pillaged, without any equivalent being given.

16. All the public bodies were filled with consternation at these disorders. The shopkeepers, in particular, whose efforts in favour of the Revolution had been so decided at its commencement, were in despair at the approach of anarchy to their own doors. The Girondists, who were for the most part the representatives of the commercial cities of France, were fully alive to the disastrous effects of a maximum in prices. But when they attempted to enforce their principles, they were universally assailed by the populace, and their efforts in this particular destroyed all the little consideration which still remained to them. The pillage began at seven in the morning, and continued without intermission for twelve hours, before the municipality elected by universal suffrage, who in secret favoured the agitation, made even a show of attempting to put it down. The consternation, in consequence, was unprecedented; for on the one hand the populace loudly clamoured for a maximum of prices, and the shopkeepers, as loudly, vociferated against the pillage, which was becoming universal. All attempts to calm the people were vain; even the Jacobins were wholly unsuccessful in their exertions in this respect. The suffering was real, and felt by all. Nothing could make the multitude see it was owing to the measures of the Revolution; they unanimously ascribed it to the arts of its opponents. The attempts of the authorities to restore order, or pass coercive regulations, were drowned in the cries of the mob and the hisses of the galleries; every new act of violence which was recounted was received with shouts of applause. Neither at the Convention, nor the Hotel de Ville, nor the

Jacobins, could any remedy be devised for allaying the fury of the people. Robespierre, St Just, Chaumette, were hooted down the moment they attempted to speak. The Royalists contrasted these deplorable scenes with the tranquillity enjoyed under the monarchy. "Behold," said the Girondists, "to what we are fast driving under the system of popular violence."—"It is all," said the Jacobins, "the work of Royalists, Rolandists, Girondists, and partisans of Lafayette, in disguise." Robespierre maintained in the evening, at the Jacobins, the popular doctrine "that the people could do no wrong," and that the Royalists were the secret instigators of all the disorders.

17. The debates in the Jacobin club on this occasion are highly interesting, as indicating clearly the existence of that division in the revolutionary party between the shopkeepers and the workmen—the holders of some property and the holders of none—which sooner or later must arise in all such convulsions, and which revealed the secret ultimate designs of Robespierre and his extreme followers. "The movements which have taken place," said Marat, "are owing to a perfectly natural cause: it is the excessively high price of provisions. These movements have been secretly instigated by the counter revolutionists, who wish to restore Roland, the god of their idolatry, to the ministry of the interior. The scarcity of bread is to be ascribed to an entirely different cause: it is owing to a combination among the bakers. This abuse has grown up from the malversations and inefficiency of the Committee of Subsistence, which has not yet rendered an account of its intromissions."

18. Robespierre immediately rose. "As I have ever loved humanity, and never flattered a human being, I will dare to tell the truth. I have ever maintained, often when I stood alone, and was the object of persecution for it—that the people are never wrong. I ventured to proclaim this at a time when it was not generally recognised: the course of the Revolution has now clearly demonstrated its truth. The people have so often heard the autho-

city of the law invoked by those who wished to maintain it only to oppress them, that they are become suspicious of that language. The people suffer; they have not yet received the fruit of their labours; they are persecuted by the rich, and the rich are what they always were—hard and pitiless. The people see the insolence of those who have betrayed them; they see fortunes accumulating in their hands; they feel their own misery, and thence the disorders. What do the agitators do who are at the head of the tumults? They declaim not against the rich—not against the monopolisers—not against the counter revolutionists; but against the Jacobins—against the Mountain—against the true patriots. I maintain, then, the people have never been wrong; the pillage has been the work of the aristocracy; the sugar loaves have been received by their valets. Our adversaries have done this; they wish to persuade us that the system of liberty and equality leads to such disorders. For myself, I praise the insurrection: I only lament it was directed to an unworthy object. The people should rise, not to plunder sugar, but to destroy their oppressors—to exterminate the factions in power, who, after the 10th August, had agreed to surrender Paris to the Prussians.*

19. The alarm in the capital soon became extreme: all the public bodies declared their sittings permanent; the *général* everywhere called the armed sections to their posts, and the people openly talked of the necessity of a new insurrection to "lop off the gangrened parts of the national representation." The Girondists, who were likely first to suffer, assembled, armed, at the house of Valazé, one of their number, where indecision and distraction of opinion paralysed all their counsels. The Jacobins were hardly less embarrassed than themselves. Robespierre himself, whose moral courage nothing in general could daunt, was in the greatest possible

alarm, and vehemently urged the immediate return of St Just from the army of the north, to make head against the danger.* It was at first proposed to march direct with the armed force of the sections upon the National Assembly, and put to death a hundred of the most obnoxious deputies, including the whole members of the Gironde. It was suggested, however, that this stroke might fail, and the Revolutionary Tribunal was not yet sufficiently efficient to effect the great work of the rapid extermination of the counter revolutionists. These doubts prevailed. Though supported by the municipality, the majority of the sections or national guard, and the armed multitude, they did not conceive the public mind yet ripe for a direct attack on the national representatives, where the Girondists still held the important offices. They resolved, therefore, to limit their demands to minor points, preparatory to the grand attack which was to overthrow their adversaries.

20. An event occurred at this time, which consolidated the influence of the Jacobins in the metropolis, and tended powerfully to accelerate the march of the Revolution. This was the unsuccessful attempt of Dumourier to restore the constitutional throne. This celebrated general, who was warmly attached to the principles of the Girondists, had long been dissatisfied with the sanguinary proceedings, and still more sanguinary declarations, of the democratic leaders, and saw no safety for France but in the re-establishment of the constitution of 1791. He left the command of his army, and came to Paris, in order to endeavour to save the life of Louis; and when that project failed he returned to Flanders, and entered into negotiations with the United Provinces and Great Britain. His design was to make an irruption into Holland, overturn the revolutionary authorities in that country; to form a new government in the seventeen provinces of the

* "Liberty is exposed to new dangers—disturbances are re-awakening with a character more alarming than ever. The provision mobs are more numerous and turbulent than ever, now when they have the least pretext

in reason. An insurrection in the prisons was contended for yesterday. The remains of the factions, or rather the still living factions, redouble in daring and perfidy."—*Recherches de St Just, 6 Prair., Ann. 2; Pap. Ind., ii. 5, 6.*

Netherlands, and raise an army of eighty thousand men; to offer the alliance of this state to the French government, on condition of their restoring the constitution of 1791; and in case of refusal, to march to Paris with his own forces and those of the Belgians, and overturn the Convention and the rule of the Jacobins.

21. Full of this extraordinary project, Dumourier, at the head of fifteen thousand men, threw himself into the Dutch territory. He was at first successful, and succeeded in obtaining possession of Breda and Gertruydenberg; but while prosecuting his career, intelligence was received of the rout of the French corps besieging Maestricht, and orders were given for the immediate return of the victorious army to cover the frontiers. So great was the consternation which immediately ensued among the Republican troops, that whole battalions disbanded themselves, and some of the fugitives fled as far as Paris, spreading the most exaggerated reports wherever they went. In obedience to the orders he had received, Dumourier returned to Flanders, and fought a general action with Prince Cobourg; but the Allies were successful, and the victory of Nerwinde compelled the French to abandon all their conquests in Flanders. These events, the details of which will be given in a subsequent chapter, occasioned an immediate rupture between this general and the Jacobins. Danton was immediately despatched from Paris to Flanders, to watch over and report on his proceedings. Shortly after the battle, Dumourier wrote a letter to the Convention, in which he drew too faithful a picture of their government, accusing them of all the anarchy and disorders which had prevailed, and declaring them responsible for the safety of their more moderate colleagues. This letter was suppressed by the government; but it was circulated in Paris, and produced the greatest sensation. Danton returned to the capital from the army, and openly denounced the "Traitor Dumourier" at the club of the Jacobins: his head was loudly called for as a sacrifice to national justice; and the agitation occasioned by the public disasters

was incessantly kept alive by the circulation of the most gloomy reports.

22. Impelled by the imminent danger of his own situation; dissatisfied with the measures of the Convention, who had both thwarted his political wishes and withered his military laurels; chagrined at the conduct of the government towards the Belgians, who had capitulated on the faith of his assurances, and had subsequently been cruelly treated by their conquerors, Dumourier entered into a correspondence with the allied generals. In the prosecution of this design, he neither acted with the vigour nor the caution requisite to insure success. To his officers he openly spoke of marching to Paris, as he had recently before spoken of marching to Brussels; while the soldiers were left to the seductions of the Jacobins, who found in them the willing instruments of their ambitious designs. Dumourier, as he himself admits, had not the qualities requisite for the leader of a party; but, even if he had possessed the energy of Danton, the firmness of Bouillé, or the ambition of Napoleon, the current of the Revolution was then too strong to be arrested by any single arm. Like Lafayette and Pichegru, he was destined to experience the truth of the saying of Tacitus—"Bellis civilibus plus militibus quam ducibus licere."* His power, great while wielding the force of the democracy, crumbled when applied to coerce its fury; and the leader of fifty thousand men speedily found himself deserted and proscribed in the midst of the troops whom he had recently commanded with despotic authority.

23. The first intimation which the Convention received of his designs was from the general himself. Three determined Jacobins, Proly, Pereira, and Dubuisson, had been sent to headquarters to obtain authentic accounts of his intentions. In a long and animated discussion with them, he openly avowed his views, and threatened the Convention with the vengeance of his army. "No peace," he exclaimed, "can be made for France, if we do not destroy

* "In civil war the soldiers have more power than the generals."—TACITUS, *Hist.* il. 44.

the Convention; as long as I have a sword to wield, I shall strive to overturn its rule, and the sanguinary tribunal which it has recently created. The Republic is a mere chimera; I was only deceived by it for three days; we must save our country, by re-establishing the throne, and the constitution of 1791. Ever since the battle of Jemappes, I have never ceased to regret the triumphs obtained in so bad a cause. What signifies it whether the king is named Louis, James, or Philip? If the lives of the prisoners in the Temple are endangered, France will still find a sovereign, and I shall instantly march to Paris to avenge their death." To the imprudence of this premature declaration, Dumourier, with that mixture of warmth and facility which distinguished his character, added the still greater fault of letting the commissioners, thus possessed of his intentions, depart for Paris, where they lost no time in informing the Convention of the danger which threatened them.

24. Instant measures were taken to counteract the designs of so formidable an opponent. Proceeding with the decision and rapidity which in civil dissensions are indispensable to success, they summoned him to appear at their bar, and, on his failure to obey, despatched four commissioners, with instructions to bring him before them, or arrest him in the middle of his army. Dumourier received these representatives in the midst of his staff; they read to him the decree of the Assembly, commanding his instant attendance at their bar: he refused to comply, alleging, as an excuse, the important duties with which he was intrusted, and promising to render an account of his proceedings at some future time. The representatives urged, as a reason for his submission, the example of the Roman generals. "We deceive ourselves," replied he, "in alleging as an apology for our crimes the virtues of the ancients. The Romans did not murder Tarquin; they established a republic, governed by wise laws; they had neither a Jacobin club nor a Revolutionary Tribunal. We live in the days of anarchy; tigers demand

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my head; I will not give it them." "Citizen-general," said Carnier, the leading representative, "will you obey the decree of the Convention, and repair to Paris?" "Not at present," replied Dumourier.—"I declare you then suspended from your functions, and order the soldiers to arrest your person." "This is too much!" exclaimed the general; and calling in his hussars, he arrested the representatives of the Convention, and delivered them as hostages to the Austrian general.

25. The die being now cast, Dumourier prepared to follow up his design of establishing a constitutional monarchy. Public opinion, in his army, was strongly divided: the corps attached to his person were ready to go all lengths in his support; those of an opposite tendency regarded him as a traitor; the majority, as in all civil convulsions, were indifferent, and ready to side with the victorious party. But the general wanted the firm hand requisite to guide a revolutionary movement, and the feelings of the most energetic of his soldiers were hostile to his designs. He set out for Condé, with the intention of delivering it to the Austrians, according to agreement, as a pledge of his sincerity; but having encountered a body of troops, headed by a young officer destined to future celebrity, DAVOUST, adverse to his designs, who opposed his progress, he was compelled to take to flight, and only escaped by abandoning his horse, which refused to leap a ditch. With heroic courage he endeavoured, the following day, with an escort of Austrian hussars, attended by a few faithful officers, among whom were the daughters of M. Fernig, in uniform and male attire, to regain his camp; but the sight of the foreign uniforms roused the patriotic feelings of the French soldiers; the artillery first abandoned his cause, and, soon after, their example was followed by the whole infantry. Dumourier with difficulty regained the Austrian lines, where fifteen hundred followers only joined his standard. The remainder of the army collected in an intrenched camp at Famars, where, shortly after, General Dampierre,

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by authority of the Convention, assumed the command.

26. The failure of this, as of every other conspiracy, added to the strength of the ruling party in the French capital. Terror, often greatest when the danger is past, prepared the people to take the most desperate measures for the public safety; the defection of Dumourier to the Austrians gave the violent revolutionists the immense advantage of representing their adversaries as, in reality, enemies to the cause of France. During the first fervour of the alarm, the Jacobins denounced their old enemies, the Girondists, as the authors of all the public calamities, and actually fixed the 10th March for a general attack upon the leaders of that party in the bosom of the legislature. The Convention had declared its sittings permanent, on account of the public dangers; and on the evening of the 9th it was determined at the secret committees, the club of the Jacobins, and the Cordeliers, on the following day, to close the barriers, to sound the tocsin, and march in two columns with the forces of the faubourgs upon the Convention. The agitation was unparalleled at the former great centre of insurrection. Night and day they sat debating in their vast and gloomy hall; but such was the vehemence of the members, and the burst of indignation against Dumourier, that scarce any orator could be heard at the tribune, and the debates exhibit only a series of passionate exclamations and vehement interruptions. At the appointed hour, the leaders of the insurrection repaired to their posts; but the Girondists, informed of their danger, abstained from joining the Convention at the dangerous period; the sections and national guard hesitated to join the insurgents; Bournonville, minister of war, marched against the faubourgs at the head of a faithful battalion of troops from Brest, and a heavy rain cooled the revolutionary ardour of the multitude. Pétion, looking at the watery sky, exclaimed, "It will come to nothing; there will be no insurrection to-night." The plot failed, and its failure postponed, for a few weeks, the commencement of the

Reign of Terror. By such slender means was it possible, at that period, to have arrested the disorders of the Revolution; and on such casual incidents did the most momentous changes depend.

27. The conspirators, astonished at the absence of the Girondists from the Convention during the critical period, broke out into the loudest invectives against them for their defection. "They were constantly at their posts," they exclaimed, "when the object was to save Louis Capet, but they hid themselves when the country was at stake." On the following day, all Paris resounded with the failure of the conspiracy; and Vergniaud, taking advantage of the general consternation, denounced in the Convention the Committee of Insurrection which had supported the intended massacre, and moved that the papers of the club should be seized, and the members of the Committee arrested. "We march," he exclaimed, "from crimes to amnesties, and from amnesties to crimes. The great body of citizens are so blinded by their frequent occurrence, that they confound these seditious disturbances with the grand national movement in favour of freedom, regard the violence of brigands as the efforts of energetic minds; and consider robbery itself as indispensable for public safety. You are free, say they; but unless you think like us, we will denounce you as victims to the vengeance of the people. You are free; but unless you bow before the idol which we worship, we will deliver you up to their violence. You are free; but unless you join with us in persecuting those whose probity or talents we dread, we will abandon you to their fury. Citizens, there is too much reason to dread, *that the Revolution, like Saturn, will successively devour all its progeny, and finally leave only despotism, with all the calamities which it produces.*" * These

* "Emathian plains with slaughter cover'd o'er,
And rage unknown to civil wars before,
Establish'd violence, and lawless might,
Avow'd and hallow'd by the name of right;
A race renown'd, the world's victorious lords,
Turn'd on themselves with their own hostile swords."—LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, l. 1.

prophetic words produced some impression; but, as usual, the Convention did nothing adequate to arrest the evils which it anticipated. Some of the conspirators were apprehended on charges of sedition; but their trials led to no result unfavourable to the violence of democracy.

28. Danton and the Jacobins made an immediate use of the agitation produced by these events, to urge the establishment of a **REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL**, "in order to defend from internal enemies the relations of those who were combating foreign aggression on the frontiers." The former tribunal established under this name had been suppressed, as too dilatory in its proceedings, after the massacres of September; but the vehement passions now abroad gave the Jacobins the entire command of the Convention. This tribunal, as proposed to be re-established, differed in one important particular from the former. The judges and public officers were to be nominated, not by the sections of Paris, but by the Executive Council, and the juries by the Convention. Thus the court was nothing but an engine of awful power put into the hands of the Executive Council of government, resting on the majority of the Convention, to exterminate their opponents. It was empowered to take cognisance of every anti-revolutionary enterprise, every attempt against liberty, equality, the unity or indivisibility of the Republic, the internal or external security of the state, and of all conspiracies tending to re-establish royalty, or any authority derogatory to freedom, equality, or the sovereignty of the people, whether the accused were civil or military functionaries or simple citizens. The judgments of the court were final, and to be instantly executed, and the whole estates, heritable and movable, of those condemned to death, were to be confiscated to the public treasury.

29. Agitation, as usual, was resorted to, to insure the success of this sanguinary project. A repast was provided for the people at the Halle-au-Blé; and the galleries of the Convention were

filled with the partisans of the Jacobins, heated with wine, and prepared to applaud every extravagance of their leaders. Lindet read the *projet* of the law for the regulation of the new tribunal. It bore that it should be "composed of nine members appointed by the Convention, liberated from all legal forms, authorised to convict on any evidence, divided into two permanent divisions, and entitled to prosecute either on the requisition of the Convention, or of their own authority, all those who either by their opinions misled the people, or, by the situations they occupied under the old regime, recalled the usurped privileges of despots." When this appalling *projet* was read, the most violent murmurs broke out on the right, which were speedily drowned in the loud applauses of the galleries and the left. "I would rather die," exclaimed Vergniaud, "than consent to the establishment of a tribunal worse than the Venetian Inquisition."—"Take your choice," answered Amar, "between such a measure and an insurrection."—"My inclination for revolutionary power," said Cambon, "is sufficiently known; but if the people may be deceived in their elections, are not we equally likely to be mistaken in the choice we make of the judges? and if so, what insupportable tyrants shall we then have created for ourselves!" The tumult became frightful; the evening approached; the Convention, worn out with exertion, was yielding to violence—the members of the Plain were beginning to retire, and the Jacobins loudly calling for a decision by open vote, when Féraud exclaimed, "Yes! let us give our votes publicly, in order that we may make known to the world the men who would assassinate innocences under cover of the law." This bold apostrophe recalled the yielding centre to their post; and, contrary to all expectation, it was resolved that the trials should take place by jury; that the jurors should be chosen from the departments; and that they should be named by the Convention.

30. After this unexpected success, the Girondists proposed that the Convention should adjourn for an hour;

but Danton, who was fearful lest the influence of terror and agitation should subside even in that short interval, raised his powerful voice. "I summon," said he, in a voice of thunder, "all good citizens to their places." The members who had risen instantly sat down. "What, citizens!" he continued, "can you separate without having adopted the measures requisite for the safety of the Republic? I feel how indispensable it is to adopt such measures as may strike terror into the counter revolutionists; for it is they who have rendered a revolutionary tribunal necessary. It is for their interest that it should exist, for it will supersede the last appeal to the vengeance of the people. Snatch them yourselves from public indignation; humanity demands, policy counsels it. Nothing is more difficult than to define a political crime; but is it not indispensable that extraordinary laws, beyond the pale of social institutions, should overawe the wicked, and for ever crush the efforts of the rebels? The public safety requires great measures and terrible instruments. I see no medium between ordinary forms and a revolutionary tribunal. We must instantly complete the formation of these laws, destined to strike terror into the internal enemies of the Revolution. They must be arbitrary, because they cannot be precise; because, how terrible soever they may be, they are preferable to those popular executions which now, as in September, would be the consequence of any delay in the execution of justice. After having organised this tribunal, we must organise an energetic executive power, which may be in immediate contact with you, and put at your disposal all your resources in men and money. Let us profit by the errors of our predecessors, and do that which the Legislative Assembly has not ventured to do. There is no medium between ordinary forms and a revolutionary tribunal. Let us be terrible, to prevent the people from becoming so; let us organise a tribunal, not which shall do good—that is impossible; but which shall do the least evil that is possible, to the effect that the sword of the law may descend

upon all its enemies. To-day, then, let us complete the revolutionary tribunal, to-morrow the executive power, and the day after, the departure of our commissioners for the departments. Calumniate me if you will, but let my memory perish, provided the Republic is saved." "I demand the *appel nominal*," cried Vergniaud, "that we may know who are the men who continually make use of the name of liberty to destroy it." But it was all in vain. The Convention, overwhelmed by terror, passed the decree as proposed by Lindet, investing the new tribunal with the despotic powers which were afterwards exercised with such ruinous effect on many of its own members.*

31. Fouquier Tinville was the public accuser in the Revolutionary Tribunal; and his name soon became as terrible as that of Robespierre to all France. He was born in Picardy, and exhibited a combination of qualities so extraordinary that, if it had not been established by undoubted testimony, it would have been deemed fabulous. Sombre, cruel, suspicious, the implacable enemy of merit or virtue of any kind, ever ready to aggravate the sufferings of innocence, he appeared insensible to every sentiment of compassion or equity. Justice in his eyes consisted in condemning; an acquittal was the source

* The decree of the Convention was in these terms:—"There shall be established at Paris an Extraordinary Criminal Revolutionary Tribunal. It shall take cognisance of every attempt against liberty, equality, the unity or indivisibility of the Republic, the internal or external security of the state, of all conspiracies tending to the re-establishment of royalty, or hostile to the sovereignty of the people, whether the accused are public functionaries, civil or military, or private individuals. The members of the jury shall be chosen by the Convention; the judges, the public accuser, the two substitutes, shall be named by it; the tribunal shall decide on the opinion of the majority of the jury; the decision of the Court shall be without appeal, and the effects of the condemned shall be confiscated to the Republic." The Girondists laboured hard to introduce the clause allowing the members of the Convention to be tried in that court, with a view to the trial of Marat before it; the same clause was afterwards made the means of conducting almost all of themselves to the scaffold.—*Hist. de la Conv.* ii. 209, 210; *Moniteur*, March 11, 1793.

of profound vexation; he was never happy unless he had secured the conviction of all the accused. He exhibited in the pursuit of this object an extraordinary degree of ardour. He seemed to consider his personal credit as involved in the decision on their guilt; their firmness and calm demeanour in presence of their judges inspired him with transports of rage. But with all this hatred for all that is most esteemed among men, he showed himself equally insensible to the attractions of fortune, or the sweetness of domestic life. He required no species of recreation: women, the pleasures of the table, of the theatre, were alike indifferent to him. Sober and sparing in diet, he never indulged in any bacchanalian excess, excepting when with the Judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal he celebrated what they termed a *feu de file*—that was, a sitting at which all the accused were condemned: he then gave way to intemperance. His power of undergoing fatigue was unbounded; he was seldom to be seen at the clubs or any public meeting: the Revolutionary Tribunal was the theatre of all his exertions. The sole recreation which he allowed himself was to behold his victims perish on the scaffold: he confessed that that spectacle had great attractions. He might, during the period of his power, have amassed an immense fortune: he remained to the last poor; and his wife is said to have died of famine. His lodgings were destitute of every comfort; their whole furniture, after his death, did not sell for twenty pounds. No seduction could influence him; he was literally inaccessible to all the ordinary desires of men. Nothing roused his mind but the prospect of inflicting death, and then his animation was such that his countenance became radiant and expressive.

32. The Jacobins were for a moment disconcerted by the failure of their conspiracy: but the war in La Vendée, which broke out about this period, and rapidly made the most alarming progress, soon reinvested them with their former ascendancy over the populace. The peculiar circumstances of this district, its simple manners, patriarchal

habits, remote situation, and resident proprietors, rendered it the natural centre of the royalist spirit, which the execution of Louis had roused to the highest degree throughout all France. The nobles and clergy, not having emigrated from its provinces, were there in sufficient force to counterbalance the influence of the towns, and raise the standard of revolt. The two most powerful passions of the human mind, religious fervour and popular ambition, were rapidly brought into collision; a war of extermination was the result, and a million of Frenchmen perished in the strife of the factions contending for dominion. But the details of this war, so glorious in its character, so interesting in its details, so heart-rending in its result, require a separate chapter; all that is necessary here is to notice it, as materially augmenting the general agitation, and adding to the strength which the Jacobin faction derived from its continuance.

33. Assailed by so many foreign and domestic dangers, the Convention adopted the most energetic measures, and the Jacobins resorted to their usual means to agitate and sway the public mind. The powers of the Revolutionary Tribunal were augmented; instead of proceeding on a decree of the Convention, as the warrant for judging of an accused person, it was empowered to *accuse* and *judge* at the same time. All the Sans-Culottes were directed to be armed with a pike and a fusil, at the expense of the opulent classes; a forced loan of a milliard (£40,000,000) was ordered to be exacted from those persons possessed of any property, and extraordinary taxes were levied in every department, according to the pleasure of the revolutionary commissioners. The municipality of Paris demanded the imposition of a maximum on the price of provisions—a demand certain of popularity with the lower orders, and the refusal of which increased their dissatisfaction with the measures of the Convention. At the same time another decree was passed, which imposed upon all proprietors an extraordinary war-tax: and a third, which organised forty-one commissions, of two members each,

to go down to the departments, armed with full powers to enforce the recruiting, disarm the refractory, seize all the horses destined for the purposes of luxury—in a word, exercise the most despotic sovereignty. These commissioners generally exercised their powers with the utmost rigour; and being armed with irresistible authority, and supported by the whole revolutionary party, laid the foundations of that iron net in which France was enveloped during the Reign of Terror.

34. But all these measures, energetic and vigorous as they were, and materially as they affected the future progress of the Revolution, yielded in moment to that which the Jacobins shortly after succeeded in extorting from the fears and weakness of the Convention. This was embodied in two decrees, by the first of which, passed on the 21st of March, it was enacted that in every commune of the Republic of France, and in every section of a commune which was divided into sections, there should be formed at the same hour, over the whole of France, by the election of all the inhabitants, a committee of twelve persons—of which committee no noble or ecclesiastic, or agent or dependent of a noble or ecclesiastic, could be a member—who were empowered instantly to arrest every person within its bounds who was suspected of being a foreigner or emigrant, or one of the individuals included in the list of emigrants, and who was ordered to be enjoined to leave the territory of the commune in twenty-four hours, and that of the Republic in eight days, under pain of being sentenced to ten years of the galleys in irons. Every such person taken in tumult or insurrection, was declared liable to the punishment of death. As the election of these commissioners in the communes, particularly in the towns, fell into the hands of the extreme Jacobin party, the effect of this decree was to invest that party, in all the 48,000 communes of France, with the right of making domiciliary visits in every house, under pretence of searching for foreigners or emigrants who had not returned within the time specified in former decrees,

and throwing them into prison, or, in the event of any resistance or disturbance, sentencing them at once to death. As the proceedings of these committees in arresting were subject to no review whatever, and the revolutionary tribunals, which were soon everywhere established in imitation of the one in the capital, supported all their proceedings, this decree, in effect, gave the Jacobins the entire command of the life and liberty of every man in France.

35. The other decree, which passed on the 25th of the same month, was attended with still more momentous consequences, as it established the famous Committee, for the general government of the kingdom, of GENERAL DEFENCE and PUBLIC SAFETY. Barère opened the subject with a gloomy representation of the state of the Republic, threatened as it was with invasion in Flanders, and insurrection in La Vendée and in Lyons. "I summon you," said he, "in the name of the public salvation, to unite to save yourselves in saving your country. It is in vain, in the present distracted state of the provinces, to talk of convoking the primary assemblies. We must concentrate power, and not divide it; no authority must exist which does not flow from the representatives of the people." Barbaroux in vain resisted this proposal: it was cheered nearly unanimously. On the day following, it was agreed, on the motion of Isnard, to appoint a committee of general defence and of public safety. It was to consist of twenty-five members, and to be charged with "the preparation and proposing of all the laws and measures necessary for the exterior and interior defence of the Republic." The executive counsel was ordered to give every assistance and information to this committee. Its composition, however, showed that the contest of the Girondists and Jacobins was still undecided, for the leaders of the two parties were appointed in nearly equal proportions members of the committee.* At the same time, Gohier

* The original members of this committee were Robespierre, Pétion, Dubois-Crance, Gensonné, Guyton-Morveau, Barbaroux, Ruhl, Vergniaud, Fabre d'Églantine, Buzot,

was named to succeed Danton in the office of minister of justice, as the transference of Danton to the Committee was likely to absorb his whole time and attention.*

36. Several measures, almost overlooked during the dreadful crash of events which soon followed, passed the Convention without attracting much notice during this period of anxiety and alarm, but all tending, in a remarkable manner, to augment the despotic power now daily and more rapidly being centralized in the Jacobin leaders at Paris. On the 26th of March it was decreed that the whole clergy and noblesse, with their servants and retainers, should be disarmed, as being all persons suspected; that the searches might be made during the night; and that, if they again acquired arms, they should be imprisoned. On the 27th, additional powers were conferred on the Revolutionary Tribunal; and all inferior tribunals were directed to send a list of their accused persons to the central court at Paris, to see if they should be selected for trial there. On the same day a decree was passed, ordering every householder in France, within three days, to affix a list on the outside of his house, of all the persons resident or lodging there; compelling them, within the same time, to send a duplicate of their lists to the committee of the commune or section.

37. During the period that the contest with Dumourier was going on, Marat in his journal, and the Jacobins in their debates, thundered in the loudest terms against that general and his counter-revolutionary designs. But when his arrest of the commissioners of the Convention, and flight into Austrian Flanders, became known in Paris on the 4th April, the agitation rose to

the highest pitch. At the municipality the scene was stormy beyond example; and the legislature, on the motion of Danton, decreed, amidst the most vehement agitation, the immediate formation of a camp of forty thousand men in the neighbourhood of the capital, from which all nobles and ex-nobles were to be rigidly excluded. At the same time a maximum was fixed on the price of bread; the difference of such price and the cost of production being to be laid as a tax on the rich. The Jacobins took advantage of the general consternation to propose the establishment of a new committee of nine members, to be called the Committee of PUBLIC SALVATION. To achieve this great object, they held out the most violent threats against the Convention. "We shall never succeed," said Robespierre the younger at the Jacobin club, "in defeating the designs of our enemies as long as we speak only, and do not act. Roland is not yet arrested: he has even received honours from his section. The Convention has shown itself incapable of governing: we must attack its leaders. Citizens, come not here to offer your arms and your lives—come to demand the blood of the criminals. Let the good citizens unite in their sections; let them rouse public opinion as strongly as possible, and come to the bar of the Convention to demand the arrest of the infidel deputies. It is by such measures alone that you can save the Republic."

38. Strengthened by these menaces, the Jacobins next day brought forward in the Convention the proposal for the establishment of a committee with a right to deliberate in secret, and armed with despotic powers. Buzot, on the part of the Girondists, strongly opposed this proposal, but the Plain, or neutrals, joined the Jacobins. "We must," said Marat, "adopt a great measure for the public salvation. The torpor of the executive, its negligence in regard to the armies, its evident connivance with the traitorous generals, call for the instant adoption of vigorous measures. Talk not of dictators! A dictator is a single man vested with absolute power: what is now proposed is a committee of

Delmas, Guadet, Condorcet, Bréard, Camus, Priour (de la Marne), Camille-Desmoulins, Barère, Quinette, Danton, Sibyes, La Source, Cambacérès, Isnard, Jean Debres. The Girondists at this time had the majority in its members.—*Histoire Parlementaire*, xxxv. 141.

* By a singular coincidence, the author has been fortunate enough to acquire the extensive and valuable collection of revolutionary tracts and journals formed by Gohier during the sitting of the Legislative Assembly and Convention, and is now surrounded by them in his interesting labours.

nine men, appointed by the Convention, and capable of being dissolved at any moment by it. And who are the men who now declaim against a dictator! The very men who strove to concentrate all power in the hands of Roland. Very possibly even this committee may not prove sufficiently powerful: it is by violence alone that liberty is to be established; and the time has come *when we must organise the despotism of liberty to overturn the despotism of kings.*" Loud applause from the galleries and the extreme left followed these words, and amidst the general transport, the awful Committee of Public Salvation was established.* On the same day—an ominous conjunction!—the new Revolutionary Tribunal commenced its sittings, and immediately condemned Louis Guisot Dumollans, an emigrant, accused of having been found in arms in France contrary to the law of 23d October, to the punishment of death. He was executed four hours afterwards, protesting he had never heard of the law till his sentence was pronounced.

39. Alarmed by the commencement of punishment by this formidable tribunal, and by the constant succession of orators of the sections of Paris, who loudly demanded at the bar the immediate denunciation of Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, Brissot, Barbaroux, Louvet, and all the leaders of the Gironde, with threats of instant insurrection if they were not forthwith arrested and sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal,† the Girondists resolved on a last effort to rescue their party from the destruction with which it was menaced. Meanwhile, however, they were anticipated by the Jacobins, who brought forward

a motion for the denunciation of the Duke of Orleans and the whole Girondists as guilty of high treason, along with Dumourier. This was the commencement of the terrible strife which ended with the fall of the latter party.

40. "A powerful faction," said Robespierre, in the Convention, "combines with the tyrants of Europe to give us a king, with a species of aristocratic constitution. It proposes to bring us back to that shameful compromise by the force of foreign armies, and the effect of internal intrigues. A republic suits only the people, and those few in the higher conditions who have pure and upright minds. External warfare is the system of Pitt, who is the soul of the coalition; it suits all the ambitious; it suits the *burgher aristocracy*, ever trembling for their property, and filled with horror at real equality; it pleases the nobles—too happy to find in a representation based on the aristocracy, and in the court of a new king, the distinctions which have slipped from their hands. The aristocratic system is that of Lafayette, and all such persons as are known under the name of Feuillants or Moderates; it is the system of those who have succeeded in their place. Persons have changed, but the end is the same—the means even are the same, with this difference, that their successors have augmented their resources and increased the number of their partisans. This ambitious faction has never made use of the people, except to serve its own purposes; it has never coalesced with the Jacobins, but to elevate itself. On the 10th August, it strove to shield the tyrant from the just vengeance of the people; it strove

* The persons chosen for this committee were Barère, Delmas, Bréard, Cambon, Jean Debres, Danton, Guyton-Morveau, Treillard, and Delacroix.—*Hist. Parl.* xxv. 307.

† "The orator of the Section Mancoisil:—'For a length of time the public voice points out to you the Vergniauds, the Guadets, the Gensonnés, the Brissots, the Barbaroux, the Louvets, the Buzots, &c. Why delay to strike them with the decree of accusation? You put Dumourier beyond the pale of the law, but you leave his accomplices seated among you. Do you want proofs? The calumnies they have poured forth against Paris bear witness against them.

Patriots of the Mountain, it is to you that the country confides the duty of denouncing traitors. It is time to strip them of their inviolability, so fatal to liberty. Rouse up from this slumber, which is death to liberty. Waken up! Give up to the tribunals the men whom public opinion accuses. Declare war upon the Moderates, on the Feuillants, on all those agents of the extinct court of the Tuilleries! Appear at the Tribune, ardent patriots!—bring down the sword of the law upon the head of those protected conspirators, and then posterity will bless the age in which you lived."—*Hist. Parl.*, xxv. 311, 312; 8th April 1793.

to bring us back to royalty, by giving a preceptor to his son. I need not designate this party; it is to the Brissots, the Guadets, the Vergniauds, the Gensonnés, and the other hypocrites of their faction alone, that the description applies.

"Every step of theirs has been marked by a departure from the principles of the revolution: never have they marched with it, except when constrained by necessity. They appropriated to themselves the whole fruits of the victory of the 10th August, by restoring their minions, Roland, Servan, and Clavière, to office; but, with the same breath, they began to calumniate the municipality of Paris, which alone had in reality gained the victory. To destroy the vast centre of public intelligence and republican virtue which exists in this immortal city, they incessantly slandered the citizens of Paris, representing them as a mere band of sanguinary assassins, of bloodthirsty vultures. Hence their eternal declamations against the revolutionary justice which punished the Montmorins, the Lessarts, and their brother conspirators, at the moment when the people and the *fédérés* were rising in a mass to repel the Prussians, whom their weak and treacherous administration had brought almost to the gates of the capital. Louis would have been brought to justice the very day the Convention met, if it had not been for their exertions. During four months they protracted the proceedings against the tyrant. Who can reflect without shuddering on the arts, the shuffling, the chicane to which they had recourse to avert the uplifted sword of national vengeance; or on the perfidious audacity with which they have sheltered the emigrants, and favoured their return to light the flames of that civil war which even now burns so fiercely in La Vendée and the western provinces?

"This just punishment of the tyrant—the single and glorious triumph of the Republic—has postponed only for a moment their unwearied activity against the sovereignty of the people. Won by their arts, the very generals of the Re-

public have betrayed us. Where are now Lafayette and Dumourier? How often have they been denounced as traitors in the patriotic clubs!—how often have been predicted the disasters which they would bring upon the arms of the Republic! They alone, leagued with the court, dragged us into the war; the Jacobins uniformly opposed it. Who does not now see their object in so doing?—what other was it but to bring the foreigners into our bosom, to light a civil war on our hearths, to deliver over our allies to their vengeance! But for the revolt of the 10th August, all their objects would have been gained, and the counter-revolution, aided by foreign bayonets and domestic treachery, would now have been triumphant. Dumourier, their creature, was impelled by the vigour of the Republic to a brilliant success; and, after the battle of Jemappes, if he had pushed on at once into Holland, and raised the standard of Republicanism in that country, England was ruined and Europe revolutionised. Instead of this, he halted in the midst of victory: and why? Because he was restrained by the Executive Council. He did, by their orders, everything in his power to prevent the execution of the decrees of 19th November and 15th December, which could alone consolidate the external conquests of the Republic. Would you ally yourselves with anarchy and murder? was the constant exclamation of the Guadets and the Gensonnés; and thus it was that they damped the ardour of the allies who were joining us in Flanders, and arrested our victorious legions till the enemy had again collected sufficient forces to threaten our frontiers. All the measures of Dumourier in the Low Countries were calculated to favour the counter revolution; until at length, gorged with the wealth which he had acquired in Belgium, and rampant with his support in the foreign alliances, he openly avowed his intention to restore royalty, and hoisted the standard of treason in the Republican camp. And who accompanied him in his flight to the stranger? Was it not young Egalité, the son of d'Orléans? During all this time the Committee of General

safety, with Vergniaud at their head, have constantly retarded every measure calculated to promote the general safety; to give Dumourier time to complete his detestable projects. I demand that all the individuals of the family of Orleans should be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, as well as Sillery and his wife,* Vergniaud, Guadet, and their accomplices."†

41. Vergniaud immediately rose to reply; but he could not be heard for some time for the loud applauses from the Mountain and the galleries at the conclusion of Robespierre's address. "It is," said he, "with a heart penetrated with grief that I rise to reply to accusations, the absurdity of which is only equalled by their malignity, at a time when the dangers of the country require all our united efforts. I will show who are the real accomplices of Dumourier. If we strove to moderate

* Madame Genlis.

† In making these accusations, Robespierre was only giving public vent to the opinions on the Girondists which, in common with the whole Jacobins, he had long entertained. This appears in a striking way from the following private conversation he had with Garat about this time, which the latter has recounted in his memoirs. "All the deputies of the Gironde," said Robespierre, "your Brissot, your Louvet, your Barbaroux, are counter-revolutionists and conspirators."—"Where do they conspire?" asked Garat. "Everywhere," rejoined Robespierre—"in Paris, throughout France, over Europe. The Girondists have for long formed the design of separating the southern provinces from France, to reinstate the ancient principality of Guienne, and form an alliance with England. Gensonné says openly, 'We are not here as the representatives, but the plenipotentiaries of the Gironde.' Brissot adds the conspiracy by his journal, which is the tocsin of civil war. He has just gone to London—we know why: his friend Clavière has been a conspirator all his life. Roland is in correspondence with the traitor Montesquieu: they labour together to open Savoy and France to the Piedmontese forces. Servan was only named General of the army of the Pyrenees to open their gates to the Spaniards. Dumourier menaces Paris more than either Belgium or Holland. That heroic charlatan, whom I would instantly have arrested, dines every day with the Girondists. Ah! I am tired of the Revolution: I am sick at heart. Never was this country in such danger: I doubt much if it can be yet saved."—"Have you no doubts," said Garat, "of the truth of all you have said?" "None in the world," replied Robespierre.—GARAT, *Memoirs*, 112; LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, iv. 235, 236.

the movement on the 10th August, which, ill directed, might have led to a regency, or a new sovereign, were we enemies to liberty! Did not we propose a republic in lieu of that royalty under which France had groaned for so many centuries? Did we not suspend the king amidst the clang of the tocsin on the 10th August? Robespierre, doubtless, knew nothing of these things, for he prudently hid himself in a cellar during the whole conflict. When the father was suspended from all authority, was there anything hostile to liberty in appointing a preceptor for his son, to preserve him from the courtly ideas he might otherwise have imbibed? The thing is too ridiculous to require a serious answer.

"We have praised Lafayette, and this is now brought as a charge against us: is there any one in the Convention who has not done the same? We entered into the war with Austria; was not that measure unanimously supported by the Legislative Assembly? Was not war *de facto* declared by the accumulation of Austrian and Prussian forces on our frontier; and did we not judge rightly in taking the initiative to remove the contest from our own frontiers? But we are charged with having calumniated the council-general of the municipality of Paris. Have we done so? During its administration enormous dilapidations were committed on the national domains, on the movables of emigrants, on the houses of royalists, on the effects deposited in the municipality; and, to put an end to these dilapidations, I proposed a decree that they should give an account of the property they had acquired? Was that calumniating the municipality? Was it not rather furnishing them with an opportunity of establishing their innocence? Robespierre accuses us of calumniating Paris. So far from it, I have constantly maintained that the massacres which have disgraced the Revolution, were the work of a small band of assassins who had flocked there from all parts of the Republic; and it was to exculpate Paris that I wished to surrender the real assassins to the sword of the law. The real calumniators of

Paris are those who, by striving to secure impunity to the brigands, confess that they belong to themselves. Which calumniate the people—the man who declares them innocent of the crimes of stranger assassins, or the man who obstinately persists in imputing, to the entire people, the odium of these scenes of blood?

"We are accused of having wished to leave Paris when the Prussians were in Champagne. This comes with singular propriety from Robespierre, who at that period wished to fly to Marseilles. But the accusation is an infamous calumny. If driven from Paris, we constantly maintained that the Revolution was lost; it was there we were determined to live or die. We have become moderate Feuillants! We were not so on the 10th August, when you, Robespierre, were in your cellar. We have heard much lately of the rights of insurrection, and I lament it. I understand insurrection where it has an object, when tyranny is there; but when the statue of liberty is on the throne, insurrection can be provoked only by the friends of royalty. Yes! it is the friends of royalty, or of tyranny under some other name, who would now provoke an insurrection. You are seeking to consummate the Revolution by terror: I would complete it by love. But I have yet to learn that, like the priests and barbarous ministers of the Inquisition, who speak of the God of pity at the stake, we should speak of liberty in the midst of poniards and executioners. You will find the real accomplices of Dumourier in the conspirators against the Convention on the 10th March, and in those who have since rendered nugatory your decrees for their punishment."

42. The Girondists had still the majority in the Convention, and this accusation of Robespierre was quashed. But the Jacobins were not discouraged; and, relying on the support of the armed sections of Paris, they published an address, on the instigation of Marat, and signed by him, from the Jacobins of Paris to the affiliated societies in the departments, in which they called on them to arm, and rise in insurrection

against the Convention.* This address was read by Guadet in the Assembly; and it excited such consternation that the cries arose on all sides, "A l'Abbaye! à l'Abbaye!" and Marat was, by acclamation from three-fourths of the legislature, ordered to be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Danton and the Jacobins vehemently resisted this; but it was carried, after a furious altercation, by a large majority. This was the first instance of the inviolability of the Convention being broken through; and, as such, it afforded an unfortunate precedent, which the sanguinary party was not slow in following. Yet the accusation of Marat was in reality no violation of the privileges of the legislature. He was sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, not for what he said or did in the Convention, but for a circular addressed to the departments as president of the Jacobin club; and it was never supposed that the members were privileged to commit treason without its walls.

43. The Jacobins lost no time in adopting measures to counteract this vigorous step. The clubs, the multitude, and the centre of insurrection, the municipality, were put in motion. The whole force of popular agitation was called forth to save, as they expressed it, "that austere, profound philosopher, formed by meditation and misfortune, gifted with such profound

* "Friends, we are betrayed! To arms! To arms! Behold now the fearful hour in which the defenders of the country must conquer or perish beneath the ruins of the Republic. Frenchmen! never was your liberty in greater peril: our enemies have at length put the crowning stone on their black perditions; and to consummate all, Dumourier, their accomplice, marches upon Paris. Friends and brothers! your greatest enemies are in the midst of you; they direct your movements, your measures of vengeance: they conduct your means of defence. Yes! it is in the senate that parricidal hands are rending you. Yes! the counter revolution is in the National Convention. It is there, the very central point of your safety and your hopes, that the criminal delegates weave the threads of the plot they have devised with the host of despots. It is there that a cabal, directed by the court of England and others — But enough, already indignation inflames your gallant hearts. Forward Republicans — to arms!" — MARAT, *Journal des Jacobins*, April 11, No. 174.

sagacity, and so great a knowledge of the human heart, who alone penetrated the designs of traitors on their triumphal cars, at the moment when the stupid vulgar were still loading them with applause." Pache, the mayor of Paris, appeared at the bar of the Convention, to demand, in the name of five-and-thirty sections, and of the municipality, the expulsion of the leaders of the Gironde. "The Parisians," said they, "first commenced the Revolution by overturning the Bastille, which was ready to thunder over their heads: they have come to-day to destroy a new tyranny, because they are the first witnesses of it. They are the first to raise, in the heart of France, the cry of indignation. We come not to accuse the majority of the Convention, which has shown its virtue by condemning the tyrant: we come to specify the perfidious men, his allies in the Convention, who have never ceased striving to save him, and are now endeavouring to sell us to England, and bring us back to slavery. We have not destroyed hereditary tyranny only to make way for that which is elective: already the departments are revoking your powers; hear now their demand. We call upon you to send this address of the majority of the sections of Paris to the departments; and that, as soon as they have intimated their adherence, the after-mentioned deputies be expelled from the Assembly."* The young and generous Boyer Fonfrède demanded to be included in the list of the proscribed—an act of devotion which subsequently cost him his life. All the members of the right and centre rose, and insisted upon being joined with their colleagues in the accusation. The petition was rejected, but the designs of its authors were gained: it accustomed the people to the spectacle of the Convention being besieged by popular clamour; and impaired the majesty of the legislature, by exhibiting the impunity with which its members might be assailed.

* Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Grangeneuve, Buzot, Barbaroux, Lalle, Bironneau, Ponte-Coulard, Pétion, Lanjuinais, Valazé, Hardy, Le Hardi, Louvet, Gorsas, Fauchet, Lanthenas, La Source, Valady, Chambon.—*Hist. Parl.* xxvi. 7.

44. Marat was accompanied to the Revolutionary Tribunal by the whole leaders of the Jacobin party. His trial from the outset was a mere mockery, and certain to terminate in a triumph to his supporters; for how could a tribunal instituted to try crimes against the sovereignty of the people find one guilty who had been loudest in asserting it! He entered the court with the air of a conqueror. His first words were—"Citizens! it is not a guilty person who appears before you; it is the apostle and martyr of liberty, against whom a handful of intriguers and factious men have obtained a decree of accusation." He was acquitted, and brought back in triumph to the Convention. An immense multitude came with him to the gates: the leaders of the mob entered, and exclaimed, "We bring you back the brave Marat, the tried friend of the people: they will never cease to espouse his cause!" A sapper broke off from the multitude, and exclaimed, "Marat was ever the friend of the people: had his head fallen, the head of the sapper would have fallen with it!" At these words he brandished his axe in the air, amidst shouts of applause from the Mountain and the galleries. The mob insisted upon defiling in triumph through the hall: before the president could consult the Convention on the subject, the unruly body rushed in, bearing down all opposition, and, climbing over all the barriers, seated themselves in the vacant places of the deputies, who retired in disgust from such a scene of violence. The Convention beheld in silence the defeat of its measures; the Jacobins redoubled their efforts to improve the victory they had gained. The approaches were incessantly besieged by an unruly mob, who clamoured for vengeance against the proscribed deputies: the galleries were filled by partisans of the Jacobins, who stifled the arguments of their opponents, and loudly applauded the most violent proposals: the clubs, at night, resounded with demands of vengeance against the traitor faction.

45. Although, however, the most execrable character of the Revolution, one who had never ceased for years to urge

the people to deeds of atrocity and blood was thus acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal; yet it was by no means equally indulgent to accused persons of another stamp, and it had already evinced that insatiate thirst for blood which subsequently rendered its proceedings so terrible. As fast as persons accused of royalist or moderate sentiments were brought before it, they were convicted without either distinction or mercy. Besides several persons of inferior note, who were condemned and executed in the first three weeks of April, Louis Philippe Blanchelande, formerly marshal of the camp, was convicted of attempts tending to disturb the state, and suffered death: Jeanne Clerc, of having attempted to re-establish royalty, underwent the same penalty: Anne Hyacinthe de Vagous, colonel of dragoons, was sentenced and executed the next day on the same charge: Gabriel Duguigny, a returned emigrant, suffered with uncommon firmness on the 21st; and on the 27th François Boucher, a dentist, and Charles Mingot, a hackney coachman, were condemned and executed for having used expressions tending to royalty. They died exclaiming, "Vive Louis XVII!" Already it had become evident that this terrible tribunal, instead of dispensing justice against all the enemies of the state with an equal hand, had become, under the influence of the vehement popular excitement and intimidation with which it was surrounded, nothing but a formidable engine in the hands of the Jacobin faction, for securing for themselves impunity for the worst crimes, and destroying on the most trifling grounds all their opponents.

46. The execution of persons accused of moderate or royalist opinions, however, could neither supply the markets, lower prices, nor fill the treasury; and the pressure of these exigencies, amidst its fierce internal contests, occupied no small portion of the time of the Convention. All its efforts to attain these objects, however, were nugatory: for the vast and increasing expenditure of the Republic could only, amidst the total failure of the taxes, be supplied by the issue of assignats; and this of

course, by rendering paper money redundant, lowered its value in exchange with other commodities, and occasioned a constant and even frightful rise of prices. The people did not understand this, and conceived, on the contrary, that the prices of all articles should fall, now that the reign of liberty and equality was established. The Jacobins incessantly told them it was all owing to the monopolisers, who, in league with the Royalists, Girondists, and Moderates, had entered into an infernal conspiracy to starve the people. The municipality of Paris, acting on this impulse, repeatedly and formally demanded from the Convention the fixing of a maximum on all articles of provision, accompanied with the denunciation of the penalty of death against all who should ask a higher sum; and proposed that the dealers should be indemnified for their losses by a forced tax on the rich. At length the clamour became so violent that the Assembly, on 2d May, passed a decree, fixing for a limited time a maximum on the price of grain, and imposing a forced loan of 1,000,000,000 francs (£40,000,000) on the rich, to be levied by taxing the whole of every proprietor's income who had a fortune that exceeded 2000 francs yearly.

47. It was not surprising that prices rose in this alarming manner; for the issue of assignats from the public treasury had now become unprecedented in the history of the world. The Convention, upon the report of the minister of finance, decreed on the 7th May, the immediate issue of 1,200,000,000 francs in paper (£48,000,000), in addition to 3,100,000,000 francs (£124,000,000) already in circulation! It was not surprising that so prodigious an issue of paper, in a country not at that period containing above twenty-five million souls, and with scarcely any commerce, external or internal, amidst the existing convulsions, should have led to a universal rise of prices, to such an extent as at once to destroy the fortunes of the rich, and increase tenfold the sufferings of the poor. The confusion of prices and depreciation of the assignats, under the influence of this enormous addition to the circulating medium

of the country, soon became such that debts were discharged in assignats bearing a forced circulation, for a third of the sum for which they had been contracted, and the price of provisions was tripled. Nor is this report of the finance minister less important, as exhibiting, on the one hand, the enormous defalcation of the ordinary revenue, which was estimated at 1,000,000,000 francs (£40,000,000), and, on the other, the stupendous amount of the confiscated property belonging to the church and the emigrants, which, after deducting the whole debts with which it was charged, was valued at 6,700,000,000 francs, or £268,000,000 sterling.*

48. The incessant declamations of the Jacobins at their central club, in the forty-eight sections of Paris, at the club of the Cordeliers, and in the hall of the municipality, aided by the incendiary press of Marat, Fréron, Hébert, and the other revolutionary journals, at length, coupled with these substantial grievances, worked the people up into such a state of fury, that they became ready for a general insurrection against the authority of the Convention. As a last resource, Guadet, one of the most energetic and intrepid leaders of the Gironde, proposed the convocation of the supplementary members of the Assembly† at Bourges, and the dissolution of the existing municipality of Paris. "Citizens," said he, "while good men lament in silence the misfortunes of the country, the conspirators are in motion to destroy it. Like Caesar, they exclaim—'Let others speak, we act!' To meet them, we must act also. The evil lies in the impunity of the conspi-

rators of March 10; in the preparing of anarchy; in the misuse of the authorities of Paris, who thirst only for power and gold. There is yet time to save the country, and our own tarnished honour. I propose instantly to annul the authorities of Paris; to replace the municipality by the presidents of the sections; to unite the supplementary members of the Convention at Bourges; and to announce this resolution to the departments by extraordinary couriers." These decisive measures, if adopted by the Assembly, would have destroyed the power of the municipality and the designs of the conspirators; but they would have at once occasioned a civil war, and, by dividing the centre of action, augmented the danger of foreign subjugation. The majority was influenced by these considerations; the separation of the Assembly into two divisions, one at Paris, and one at Bourges, seemed the immediate forerunner of conflicting governments. Barère supported these opinions. "It is by union and firmness," he said, "that you must dissipate the storms which assail you; division will accelerate your ruin. Do you imagine that, if the conspirators dissolve the Convention in the centre of its power, they will have any difficulty in disposing of its remnant assembled at Bourges? I propose that we should nominate a commission of twelve persons to watch over the designs of the commune, to examine into the recent disorders, and arrest the persons of their authors; but never, by acceding to the measures of Guadet, declare ourselves unequal to combat the influence of the municipality." This

* The total amount of the resources of the Republic was stated in this report to be—

	Francs	£
1. Arrears of taxes and contributions,	1,000,000,000	or 40,000,000
2. Due on national domains sold,	2,000,000,000	— 80,000,000
3. Woods and forests,	1,200,000,000	— 48,000,000
4. Effects on the civil list,	500,000,000	— 20,000,000
5. Engaged domains,	100,000,000	— 4,000,000
6. Feudal right,	50,000,000	— 2,000,000
7. Salt mines,	50,000,000	— 2,000,000
8. Unsold national domains of emigrants, deducting debts, 3,000,000,000	— 120,000,000	
	7,700,000,000	£308,000,000

of which £268,000,000, or 6,700,000,000 francs, arose from the confiscated estates.—*Rapport de JOURNAL sur les Finances de la République*, May 7, 1793; *Hist. Parl.* xxvi. 578.

† Members elected to supply any vacancies which might occur during the sitting of the Convention.

proposal was adopted by the Convention, ever ready to temporise rather than adopt a decisive course, and the opportunity of destroying the municipality was lost for ever.

49. The Commission of Twelve, however, commenced their proceedings with vigorous measures. A conspiracy against the majority of the Convention had for some time been openly organised in Paris: the club of the Cordeliers was the centre of the movement, and an insurrectionary committee sat night and day. The public fervour soon demanded more than the mere proscription of the thirty deputies: three hundred were required. Varlet had openly proposed a plan for the insurrection, which was discussed amidst furious cries at the Cordeliers, and the execution of the design was fixed for the 22d May. It was agreed that the armed multitude should proceed to the hall of the Convention, with the Rights of Man veiled with crape, to seize and expel all the members who had belonged to the Constituent or Legislative Assemblies, turn out the ministry, and destroy all who bore the name of Bourbon. The commission speedily obtained evidence of this conspiracy, and arrested one of its leaders, Hébert, the author of an obscene and revolting revolutionary journal, entitled the *Père Duchesne*, which had acquired immense circulation among the followers of the municipality. That turbulent body instantly put itself in a state of insurrection, declared its sittings permanent, and invited the people to raise the standard of revolt. Some of the most violent sections followed its example; the few who held out for the Assembly were besieged by clamorous bands of armed men. The club of the Jacobins, of the Cordeliers, of the revolutionary sections, sat day and night; the agitation in Paris rose to the highest pitch.

50. The Commission of Twelve, in this extremity, brought forward a measure eminently calculated to rescue the Convention from the dreadful thralldom to the armed force of Paris, to which they had hitherto been subjected. Vi-gée, in its name, said in the Assembly—"From the very first steps of our

career, we have discovered the traces of a horrible conspiracy against the Republic, against the national representation, against the lives of many of its members, and of other citizens. Every step we have taken has brought to light new proofs: yet a few days and the Republic is lost: you yourselves are no more. (*Loud murmurs on the left.*) I declare solemnly, on the responsibility of the whole Commission, that if France is not soon convinced of the existence of a conspiracy to murder many of yourselves, and to establish on the ruins of the Republic the most horrid and degrading despotism—if we do not demonstrate to all the world the existence of this conspiracy, we are ready to lay our heads on the scaffold." He then proposed, as a preliminary measure, a decree ordering all the citizens of Paris to be ready to join their respective sections at a moment's notice, and in the mean time to send two men from each company, to form a permanent guard for the Convention, and that the assemblies of the sections should close their sittings every night at latest at ten o'clock.

51. This was going to work in the right spirit; for it proposed to establish an armed force, to counterbalance that of which the Jacobins and municipality had the disposal. They stoutly denied, therefore, the existence of any conspiracy. "We are called upon," said Marat, "to discuss measures directed against a supposed conspiracy. I protest against discussing a motion founded on a fable. I know that you never can cure fear; it is on that account that you never can cure statesmen. But I declare I know of no other conspiracy in France except that of the Girondists." Danton strongly supported the same side. "What is the use," said he, "of additional laws to protect the national representation? The existing laws are amply sufficient for that purpose; all that is wanted is to direct them to the punishment of the really guilty. If guilty men are seized, they will find no defenders: the demand for an armed force to protect its sittings, betrays fears unworthy of the National Assembly. Can there be

a more decisive proof of the efficiency of the existing laws than the fact, that the National Convention is untouched; and that if one member has perished (Lepelletier), he at least was not one of those who betrayed any apprehension!" The Convention, however, now seriously alarmed, passed a decree in terms of the proposal, and at the same time, another for improving the composition of the juries for the Revolutionary Tribunal, by taking them from sixteen departments chosen by lot.

52. These measures, if carried into effect, would have struck both at the physical force and judicial tyranny of the Jacobins; and therefore they resolved instantly to commence their insurrections. On the next day, being the 25th May, a furious multitude assembled round the hall of the Convention, and a deputation appeared at the bar, demanding in the most threatening terms the suppression of the Commission of Twelve, and the immediate liberation of Hébert, the imprisoned member of the magistracy. Some even went the length of insisting that the members of the Commission should immediately be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal. "We come," said they, "to denounce a crime committed by the Council of Twelve on the person of Hébert: he is in the prison of the Abbaye. The council-general of the municipality will defend him to the death. These arbitrary arrests are civic crowns for good men." Isnard, the president of the Assembly, a courageous and eloquent Girondist, replied—"Listen to my words: if ever the Convention is exposed to danger—if another of those insurrections, which have recurred so frequently since the 10th March, breaks out, and the Convention is outraged by an armed faction, France will rise as one man to avenge our cause, Paris will be destroyed, and soon the stranger will inquire on which bank of the Seine Paris stood." This indignant reply produced, at the moment, a great impression;—but crowds of subsequent petitioners, whom Danton strongly supported from the benches of the Mountain, quickly appeared, and restored confidence to the conspi-

rators. Upon the continued refusal of Isnard to order the liberation of Hébert, crowds from the Jacobin benches rose to drag him from his seat; the Girondists thronged to defend him. In the midst of the tumult, Danton, in a voice of thunder, exclaimed, "So much impudence is beyond endurance: we will resist you: let there be no longer any truce between the Mountain and the base men who wished to save the tyrant. If there had been no ardent men, there would have been no Revolution. The small number of conspirators will soon be revealed; the French people will save themselves; the mask has fallen from the faces of those who have so often sworn to defend it, but who now strive only to save the aristocrats. France will rise and prostrate its enemies."

53. The deputies from the municipality retired on that occasion, without having obtained what they desired; but they were resolved instantly to proceed to insurrection. All the remainder of the 25th, and the whole of the 26th, was spent in agitation, and exciting the people by the most inflammatory harangues. Such was the success of their efforts that, by the morning of the 27th, eight-and-twenty sections were assembled to petition for the liberation of Hébert. The Commission of Twelve could only rely on the support of the armed force of three sections; and these hastened, on the first summons, to the support of the Convention, and ranged themselves, with their arms and artillery, round the hall. But an immense multitude crowded round their ranks; cries of "Death to the Girondists!" resounded on all sides; and the hearts even of the most resolute began to quail before the fury and menacing conduct of the people. The Girondists with difficulty maintained their ground against the Jacobins within the Convention and the furious multitude who besieged its walls, when Garat, the minister of the interior, entered, and deprived them of their last resource, the necessity of unbending firmness. When called upon to report upon the state of Paris, he declared "that he saw no appearance of a conspiracy; that he

had met with nothing but respect from the crowd which surrounded the Assembly; and that the only perfidious design which he believed existed, was to divide, by the dread of chimerical dangers, two parties, equally desirous of promoting the public welfare." In making this report, Garat had been deceived by Pache, mayor of Paris, a furious and hypocritical Jacobin, of the most dangerous character. France had reason then to lament the retirement of the more clear-sighted Roland from his important office. Struck dumb by this extraordinary and unexpected report, which appeared accountable only on the supposition of the defection of the minister of the interior, the Girondists, for the most part, withdrew from the Assembly, and the courageous Isnard was replaced in the president's chair by Hérault de Séchelles. Yielding to the clamour which besieged the legislature, he declared "the force of reason and of the people are the same thing; you demand a magistrate in detention, the representatives of the people restore him to you." The motion was then put, that the Commission of Twelve should be abolished, and Hébert set at liberty; it was carried at midnight, amidst shouts of triumph from the mob, who constituted the majority, by climbing over the rails, and voting on the benches of the Mountain with the Jacobins.

54. Ashamed of the consequences of their untimely desertion of the Convention, the Girondists, on the following day, assembled in strength, and reversed the decree, extorted by force on the preceding evening. Lanjuinais in an especial manner distinguished himself in this debate, which was tumultuous and menacing to the very last degree. "Above fifty thousand citizens," said he, "have already been imprisoned in the departments, by orders of your commissioners; more arbitrary arrests have taken place than under the old regime in a whole century; and you have excited all this tumult, because we have put into custody two or three individuals who openly proclaimed murder and pillage. Your

commissaries are proconsuls, who act far from you, and without your knowledge; and your whole jealousy is centred on the Commission placed under your eyes, and subject to your immediate control. On Sunday last it was proposed at the Jacobins to have a general massacre in Paris; to-night the same proposal is to be brought forward at the Cordeliers, and the electoral club of the Evêché: the proofs of the conspiracy are ready; we offer them to you, and yet you hesitate—you protect only assassins covered with blood." At these words the Mountain drowned the voice of the speaker, and Legendre threatened to throw him headlong from the Tribune. "Yesterday," said Danton, "you did an act of justice; beware of departing from its example. If you persist in asserting the powers you have usurped; if arbitrary imprisonments continue; if the public magistrates are not restored to their functions, after having shown that we surpass our enemies in moderation and wisdom, we will show that we surpass them in audacity and revolutionary vigour." But the intrepid Lanjuinais kept his ground; and the decree of the preceding day was reversed by a majority of fifty-one. The Jacobins instantly broke out into the most furious exclamations. "You have violated the Rights of Man," said Collet d'Herbois; "tremble! we are about to follow your example; they shall not serve as a shield to tyrants. Throw a veil over the statue of Liberty, so impudently placed in the midst of your hall; we will not incur the guilt of any longer restraining the indignation of the people." "It is time," said Danton, "that the people should no longer be restrained to a defensive system. They must attack the Moderate leaders; it is time that we should advance in our career, and secure the destinies of France. Paris has always been the terror of the enemies of liberty. Paris has once conquered; it will conquer again."

55. The agitation, which had begun to subside after the victory of the preceding evening, was renewed with redoubled violence on the reversal of the

decree. Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Chaumette, and Pache, immediately commenced the organisation of a new revolt; the 29th was employed in arranging the forces. "It is not Hébert," said Robespierre at the Jacobins, "who was attacked: it is the cause of freedom—it is the Republic. If the municipality of Paris does not now unite closely with the people, it violates its most sacred duty. The country is in danger. It is impossible for me, exhausted as I am by four years of revolutions, and the mournful spectacle of the triumph of tyranny, to specify the mode of action. I recognise no pure magistrates but those of the Mountain." On the 30th, the members of the electoral body, the commissioners of the clubs, the deputies of the sections, declared themselves in insurrection; Henriot received the command of the armed force; and the sans-culottes were promised forty sous a-day, by the municipality, while under arms. These arrangements being made, the tocsin sounded, the *général* beat at daybreak on the morning of the 31st, and the forces of the faubourgs marched to the Tuileries, where the Convention was assembled. On this occasion, the first symptom appeared of a division between Danton and Robespierre and the more furious Jacobins: the former was desirous of procuring the abolition of the Commission of Twelve, but not of an outrage on the legislature; the latter wished to overturn the Convention by the force of the municipality. But even Robespierre was already passed in the career of revolution by more desperate insurrectionists. A general revolt had been resolved on by the central committee of insurrection—a moral insurrection, as they termed it, unaccompanied by pillage or violence, but with such an appalling display of physical force as should render resistance impossible. Forty-eight sections met, and publicly announced their determination to raise the standard of revolt; and by daybreak on the 31st all Paris was in arms.

56. The national guard and the insurgent forces were at first timid, and uncertain whose orders to obey, and

for what object they were called out. The terrible cannoneers, the janizaries of the Revolution, took the lead. The cry, "Vive la Montagne! Périissent les Girondins!" broke from their ranks, and revealed the secret of the day; they fixed the wavering by the assumption of the lead. It was soon discovered that the object was to present a petition, supported by an armed force, to the Assembly, demanding the proscription of the twenty-two leaders of the Gironde, the suppression of the Commission of Twelve, and the imposition of a fresh maximum on the price of bread. In the Faubourg St Antoine, the old centre of insurrections, the revolt assumed a more disorderly character. Pillage, immediate rapine, and disorder, could alone rouse its immense population. The commune excited their cupidity, by proposing to march to the Palais Royal, whose shopkeepers were the richest in Paris. "Arm yourselves!" exclaimed the agents of the municipality, "the counter revolution is at hand; at the Palais Royal they are this moment crying 'Vive le Roi!' and trampling under foot the national colours; all its inhabitants are accomplices in the plot: march to the Palais Royal, and thence to the Convention." But the inhabitants of that district were prepared for their defence; the gates of the palace were shut, and artillery placed in the avenues which led to them. When the immense forest of pikes began to debouch from the side of the faubourgs, the cannoneers stood with lighted matches to their pieces; and the wave of insurrection rolled aside to the more defenceless quarter of the legislature.

57. The Convention had early assembled at the sound of the tocsin, in the hall of the Tuileries, which had now become their place of meeting, instead of the Salle du Manège; the chiefs of the Girondists, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of their friends, all repaired to the post of danger. They had passed the night assembled in the house of a common friend, armed, and resolved to sell their lives dearly; but at daybreak they left their asylum, and took their seats in the Convention

as the tocsin was sounding. Garat persisted in maintaining that there was nothing to fear; that a *moral insurrection* alone was in contemplation. Pache, with hypocritical zeal, declared that he had doubled the guards of the Convention, and forbidden the cannon of alarm to be discharged. At that instant the sound of the artillery was heard; the *générale* beat in all quarters, and the ceaseless roll, like the noise of distant thunder, showed that all Paris was in motion. "I demand," said Vergniaud, "to know by whose authority the cannon of alarm have been sounded." "And I demand," answered Thuriot, "that the Commission of Twelve be instantly dissolved." "And I," said Tallien, "that the sword of the law strike the conspirators in the bosom of the Convention." The Girondists insisted that Henriot, the commander-in-chief, should be called to the bar, for sounding the cannon of alarm without the authority of the Convention. "If a combat commences," said Vergniaud, "whatever be its result, it will ruin the Republic. Let all the members swear to die at their posts." They all took the oath; in a few hours it was forgotten. "Dissolve the Commission of Twelve," said Danton, with his tremendous voice. "The cannon has sounded. If you have any political discretion, you will take advantage of the public agitation to furnish you with an excuse for retracing your steps, and regaining your lost popularity. I address myself to those deputies who have some regard to the situation in which they are placed, and not to those insane mortals who listen to nothing but their passions. Hesitate no longer, therefore, to satisfy the people." "What people?" exclaimed Vergniaud. "That people," replied Danton, "that immense body which is our advanced guard; which hates alike every species of tyranny, and that base moderation which would speedily bring it back. Hasten, then, to satisfy them; save them from the aristocrats; save them from their own anger; and if the movement should continue when this is done, Paris will soon annihilate the factions which disturb its tranquillity." Vast

bodies of petitioners soon began to file through the Convention with menacing petitions. "We demand," said they, "the levy of a central Revolutionary army of Sans-culottes, who are to receive forty sous a-day each man; and demand a decree against the twenty-two members denounced by the sections of Paris, as well as the Committee of Twelve. We demand the price of bread to be fixed at three sous a pound in all the departments, and that the difference of price be made up by a forced tax on the rich.

58. The Tuileries were blockaded by the multitude: their presence, and the vociferous language of the petitioners who were successively admitted to the bar of the Assembly, encouraged the Jacobins to attempt the instant destruction of their opponents. Barère and the Committee of Public Salvation proposed, as a compromise, that the Commission of Twelve should be dissolved; Robespierre and his associates urged the immediate arrest of the Girondists. "Citizens," said he, "let us not lose our time in vain clamours and insignificant propositions. This day is perhaps the last of the struggles of freedom against tyranny." "Move, then!" exclaimed Vergniaud. "Yes," replied Robespierre, "I move, and my motion is against you!—against you, who, after the revolution of August 10th, strove to lead to the scaffold the men who achieved it; against you, who have never ceased to urge measures fatal to the prosperity of Paris; against you, who endeavoured to save the tyrant; against you, who have conspired with Dumourier to overthrow the Republic; against you, who have unrelentingly attacked those whose heads Dumourier demanded; against you, whose criminal vengeance has provoked the cries of indignation, which you now allege as a crime against those who have suffered from it. I move the immediate accusation of those who have conspired with Dumourier, and who are specified in the petitions of the people." The Convention, moved by the violence with which they were surrounded, deemed it the most prudent course to adopt the proposal of Barère and the Committee, for

the suppression of the Commission, without the violent proposals of the Jacobins—a ruinous precedent of submission to popular violence, which soon brought about their total subjugation.

59. But the revolutionists had no intention of stopping half-way in their career of violence. On the evening of the 31st, Billaud Varennes declared in the club of the Jacobins “that they had only half done their work; it must be instantly completed, before the people have time to cool in their ardour. The movement in Paris will be turned against us in the departments: already couriers are sent off in all directions to rouse them. I demand that the sittings of the Jacobins be declared permanent. There must be no compromise with tyranny.” “Be assured,” said Bourdon de l’Oise, “that all those who wish to establish a burgrave aristocracy will soon begin to reflect on their proceedings. Even Danton has lost his energy since the Commission of Twelve was dissolved. Already they ask, when urged to put themselves in insurrection, Against whom are we to revolt? The aristocracy is destroyed, the clergy are destroyed. Who, then, are our oppressors?” Lest any such reaction should take place, they resolved to keep the people continually in agitation. The 1st of June was devoted to completing the preparations; in the evening, Marat himself mounted the steeple of the Hotel de Ville, and sounded the tocsin. The *général* beat through the whole night, and all Paris was under arms by daybreak on the morning of the 2d.

60. On the preceding day, being the last that they were to meet in freedom in this world, the Girondists dined together to deliberate on the means of defence which yet remained in the desperate state of their fortunes. Their opinions, as usual, were much divided. Some thought that they should remain firm at their posts, and die on their curule chairs, defending to the last extremity the sacred character with which they were invested. Pétion, Buzot, and Gensonné, supported that mournful and magnanimous resolution. Barbaroux, consulting only his impetuous courage, was desirous to brave his

enemies by his presence in the Convention. Others, among whom was Louvet, strenuously maintained that they should instantly abandon the Convention, where their deliberations were no longer free, and the majority were intimidated by the daggers of the Jacobins, and retire each into his own department, to return to Paris with such a force as should avenge the cause of the national representation. The deliberation was still going forward, when the clang of the tocsin and the rolling of the drums warned them that the insurrection had commenced; and they broke up without having come to any determination.

61. At eight o'clock, Henriot put himself at the head of the immense columns of armed men assembled round the Hotel de Ville, presented himself before the council of the municipality, and declared, in the name of the insurgent people, that they would not lay down their arms till they had obtained the arrest of the obnoxious deputies. The forces assembled on this occasion were most formidable. One hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, with tumbrils, and waggons of balls complete, furnaces to heat them red-hot, lighted matches, and drawn swords in the hands of the gunners, resembled rather the preparations for the siege of a powerful fortress than demonstrations against a pacific legislature. In addition to this, several battalions, who had marched that morning for La Vendée, received counter orders, and re-entered Paris in a state of extreme irritation. They were instantly supplied with assignats, worth five francs each, and ranged themselves round Henriot, ready to execute his commands, even against the Convention. The whole battalions of the national guard which were suspected of leaning to the Convention were removed to distant parts of the city, so that the legislature was surrounded only by its most inveterate enemies. After haranguing them in the Place de Grève, Henriot proceeded to the other insurgents, put himself at their head, and marched to the Carrousel. By ten o'clock, the whole of the avenues to

the Tuileries were blockaded by dense columns and artillery; and 80,000 armed men surrounded the defenceless representatives of the people.

62. Few only of the proscribed deputies were present at this meeting. The intrepid Lanjuinais was among the number: from the tribune he drew a picture, in true and frightful colours, of the state of the Assembly, deliberating for three days under the poniards of assassins, threatened without by a furious multitude, domineered over within by a faction which wielded at will the violence of that multitude, descending from degradation to degradation, rewarded for its condescension with arrogance, for its submission by outrage. "As long as I am permitted to raise my voice in this place," said he, "I will never suffer the national representation to be degraded in my person. Hitherto you have done nothing; you have only suffered; you have sanctioned everything required of you. An insurrection assembles, and names a committee to organise a revolt, with a commander of the armed force to direct it; and you tolerate the insurrection, the committee, the commander." At these words, the cries of the Mountain drowned his voice, and the Jacobins rushed forward to drag him from the tribune: but he held fast, and the president at length succeeded in restoring silence. "I demand," he concluded, "that all the revolutionary authorities of Paris be instantly dissolved; that everything done during the last three days be annulled; that all who arrogate to themselves an illegal authority be declared out of the pale of the law." He had hardly concluded when the insurgent petitioners entered, and demanded his own arrest, and that of the other Girondists. Their language was brief and decisive. "The citizens of Paris," said they, "have been four days under arms; for four days they have demanded from their mandatories redress of their rights so scandalously violated; and for four days their mandatories have done nothing to satisfy them. The conspirators must instantly be placed under arrest: you must forthwith save the people, or they will take their safety into their own hands."—

"Save the people!" exclaimed the Jacobins; "save your colleagues, by agreeing to their provisional arrest." Barère and the neutral party urged the proscribed deputies to have the generosity to give in their resignations, in order to tranquillise the public mind. Isnard, Lanthenas, and others, complied with the request; Lanjuinais positively refused. "Hitherto," said he, "I have shown some courage; I shall not fail at the last extremity. You need not expect from me either suspension or resignation." Being violently interrupted by the left, he added, "When the ancients prepared a sacrifice, they crowned the victim with flowers and garlands when they conducted him to the altar; the priest sacrificed him, but added not insult or injury. But you, more cruel than they, commit outrages on the victim who is making no efforts to avert his fate." "I have sworn to die at my post," said Barbaroux; "I shall keep my oath. Bend, if you please, before the municipality, you who refused to arrest its wickedness; or rather imitate us, whom its fury immediately demands. Wait, and brave its fury. You may compel me to sink under its daggers; you shall not make me fall at its feet."

63. While the Assembly was in the utmost agitation, and swayed alternately by terror and admiration, Lacroix, an intimate friend of Danton's, entered with a haggard air, and announced that he had been stopped at the gate, and that the Convention was imprisoned within its walls. The secret of the revolt became now evident; it was not conducted by Danton and the Mountain, but by Robespierre, Marat, and the municipality. "We must instantly avenge," said Danton, "this outrage on the national representation. Let us go forth, and awe the rebels by the majesty of the legislature." Headed by its president, the Convention set out, and moved in a body, with the signs of distress, to the principal gate leading to the Place de Carrousel. They were there met by Henriot on horseback, sword in hand, at the head of the most devoted battalions of the faubourgs. "What do the people demand?" said the

president, Hérault de Séchelles; "the Convention is occupied with nothing but their welfare." "Hérault," replied Henriot, "the people are not to be deceived with fine words; they demand that the twenty-four culpable deputies be given up."—"Demand rather that we should all be given up!" exclaimed those who surrounded the president. "Cannoneers, to your pieces!" replied Henriot. Two guns, charged with grape-shot, were pointed against the members of the Convention, who involuntarily fell back; and after in vain attempting to find the means of escape at the other gates of the garden, returned in dismay to the Hall. Marat followed them, at the head of a body of brigands—"I order you, in the name of the people, to enter, to deliberate, and to obey."*

64. When the members were seated, Couthon rose. "You have now had convincing evidence," said he, "that the Convention is *perfectly free*. The indignation of the people is only pointed against certain unworthy members: we are surrounded by their homage and affection: let us obey alike our own conscience and their wishes. I propose that Lanjuinais, Vergniaud, Sillery, Gensonné, Le Hardi, Guadet, Pétion, Brissot, Boileau, Birotteau, Valazé, Gomaire, Bertrand, Gardien, Kervélegan, Mollevaut, Bergeon, Barbaroux, Lydon, Buzot, La Source, Rabaut St Etienne, Salles, Chambon, Gorsas, Grangeneuve, Le Sage, Vigée, Louvet, and Henri Larivière, be immediately put under arrest." With the dagger at their throats, the Convention passed the decree: a large body had the courage to protest against the violence, and refuse to vote. This suicidal measure was carried wholly by the voters of the Mountain, and a few adherents: the great majority refused to have any share in it. The multitude gave tumultuous cheers, and dispersed: their victory was complete; the municipality of Paris had overthrown the National Assembly.

* So sensible were the Revolutionists themselves of the violence done on this occasion to the Convention, that no mention is made of this event in the *Moniteur*—See *Moniteur*, June 4, 1793, p. 671.

65. The political career of the Girondists was terminated by this day; thenceforward they were known only as individuals, by their heroic conduct in adversity and death. Their strife with the Jacobins was a long struggle between two classes, which invariably succeed each other in the lead of revolutionary convulsions. The rash and reckless, but able and generous party, which trusted to the force of reason in popular assemblies, perished because they strove to arrest the torrent they had let loose, to avenge the massacres of September, avoid the execution of the king, resist the institution of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and of the Committee of Public Salvation. With the excitement of more vehement passions, with the approach of more pressing dangers, with the advent of times when moderation seemed a crime, they perished. Thereafter, when every legal form was violated, every appeal against violence stifled by the imprisonment of the Girondists, democratic despotism marched on in its career without an obstacle; and the terrible dictatorship, composed of the Committee of Public Salvation and the Revolutionary Tribunal, was established in resistless sovereignty. The proscribed members were at first put under arrest in their own houses. Several found the means of escape before the order for their imprisonment was issued. Barbaroux, Pétion, Lanjuinais, and Henri Larivière, arrived at Caen, in Normandy, where a feeble attempt at resistance to the usurped authority of the Parisian mob was made, which speedily yielded to the efforts of the Jacobin emissaries. Louvet escaped to Bordeaux, and subsequently wandered for months among the forests and caverns of the Jura, where he employed his hours of solitude in composing the able memoirs of his life.

66. Vergniaud, Guadet, Brissot, and the other leaders, were soon afterwards arrested in different places, and thrown into prison, from whence, after a painful interval, they were conducted to the scaffold. On the walls of the cell in the prison of the Carmes in the Rue Vaugirard, in which he was confined, were found written with

blood, in Vergniaud's handwriting, the words—

"Potius mori quam fedari." *

The prison itself bore, over its entrance, the inscription "La Liberté, l'Egalité, ou la Mort." The same gloomy abode now contained the Girondists which had formerly witnessed the sorrows of men they had overthrown, and afterwards resounded with the wail of their prosecutors. The walls of their cells bore ample testimony to the heroic feelings with which they were animated.† They were detained in confinement for above four months before being brought to trial, in order to secure the power of the Jacobin faction before they brought the illustrious leaders of the opposite party, so long the idols of the people, to trial and death. The prisoners during this interval endured the greatest privations: it was only from the aid of their relatives they could procure even a change of linen. But their courage never forsook them. A nephew of Vergniaud having been introduced into his cell, with some little aid, the prisoner took him on his knee. "My child," said he, "don't be afraid: look at me, and remember my visage when you are a man. You will remember you have seen Vergniaud, the founder of the republic, in the most honourable period of his life, when he was suffering the

persecution of the wicked, and preparing to die for freemen." Fauchet now bewailed in sincere terms his abandonment of the faith of his youth, and expressed his conviction that it alone furnished an antidote to the evils of life.‡ When brought to trial, the people were so prejudiced, and the power of their enemies so confirmed, that their condemnation was secure ere they were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Their trial and condemnation took place in the end of October before that court. The Convention passed a decree authorising their trial; the indictment against them was general, but its specific charges affected only five or six of the accused. They insisted upon the right of separate defence; the Jacobins, the Committee of Public Salvation, and the Convention, held this demand decisive evidence of a new conspiracy. To obviate its supposed danger, and guard against the effect of the well-known eloquence of the accused, which had already strongly moved the audience, the Revolutionary Tribunal, after the trial had proceeded some days, obtained from the Convention a decree, authorising them, when any trial had lasted three days, to ask the jury if their minds were made up as to the guilt of the accused, and if they said they were, to convict, and pass sentence, whether they had been heard in their defence or not.§

* "Rather die than be disgraced."

† In the handwriting of these eloquent and unhappy men were found the following, among many other inscriptions:—

"Quand il n'a pu sauver la liberté de Rome, Caton est libre encore, et sait mourir en homme."

"Dignum certe Deo spectaculum fortem Virum colluctantem cum calamitate."

"Cui virtus non deest Nunquam omnino miser."

"Dulce est decorum est pro patria mori."

"Non omnis moriar."

"Summum credo nefas animam præferre pudori."

If the Girondists had known how to live, as they proved they knew how to die, they might have averted or arrested the whole horrors of the Revolution.—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, vii. 16, 17.

‡ "Fauchet beat his breast in presence of his colleagues. He accused himself, with sincere and firm repentance, of having abandoned the faith of his youth. He showed that religion alone could guide liberty. He rejoiced in the prospect of giving to his approaching death the character of a double martyrdom—that of the priest who repents, and of the republican who perseveres. Silly remained silent, feeling that in these supreme moments silence was more dignified than complaint. He returned, like Fauchet, to the belief and practice of religion. Both frequently separated themselves from their colleagues to hold commune apart with a venerable priest, imprisoned for his faith."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, vii. 21, 22.

§ On the fifth day of the trial, the Revolutionary Tribunal addressed to the Convention the following letter: "Five days have already been consumed, and nine witnesses only have been examined; each in making his deposition thinks it necessary to give a

67. The grounds of the accusation were of the most contemptible kind, and consisted of the charges brought against them by Robespierre, which have been already given, [Chap. xi. § 40.] Chaumette recounted all the struggles of the municipality with the *Côté Droit*, without adding a single fact that could inculpate the accused: the wretch Hébert narrated the particulars of his arrest by the Commission of Twelve, and alleged that Roland had endeavoured to corrupt the public writers, by offering to buy up his obscene journal, the *Père Duchesne*: Destournelle deponed that the accused had exerted themselves to crush the municipality, declared against the massacres in the prisons, and laboured to institute a departmental guard. Chabot was the most virulent of the witnesses against them: he ascribed to them a Machiavelian policy throughout all the Revolution; accused them of endeavouring to convert everything to their own pro-

history of the whole Revolution. The loquacity of the accused renders the discussions long between them and the witnesses. The trial, therefore, will never be finished. But why, we ask, *have any witnesses at all?* The Convention, the whole Republic, are accusers in this case: the proofs of the crimes of the accused are evident. Every one has already in his conscience a conviction of their guilt. But the Tribunal can do nothing of itself; it must follow the law. It is for the Convention itself to sweep away the formalities which trammel our proceedings." Upon this the Convention, on the motion of Robespierre, passed the following resolution, which was precisely in terms of a petition presented the same day by the Jacobin club to the Convention: "After three days' debate, the president of the Revolutionary Tribunal will ask the juries if they have sufficient information to satisfy their conscience: if they reply in the negative, the trial will be continued until they declare that they are in a position to pronounce judgment."—*Moniteur*, Oct. 30, 1793. The decree was in these terms, and the original was found in Robespierre's own handwriting among his papers after his death: "If it happens that the consideration of a case brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal has been prolonged for three days, the president will open the next sitting by asking the juries if they have sufficient information to satisfy their consciences. If the juries reply 'Yes,' judgment will immediately be proceeded with. The president will not allow any interpolation or interruption inconsistent with the present ordinance."—*Papiers Induits trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*, il. 4.

fit, and even permitting the massacres of September, in order to cut off some of their enemies among the victims. The prosecution lasted nine days. At the end of that time, the jury declared themselves convinced; the eloquence of Vergniaud, the vehemence of Brissot, had pleaded in vain. The court then read to the accused the decree of the Convention, empowering them to *terminate the proceedings as soon as the jury had declared their minds made up*; they saw upon this that their fate was determined, as they were to be condemned without being heard in their defence.* They all rose, and by loud expressions of indignation drowned the voice of the president, who read their sentence. Valazé stabbed himself with a poniard, and perished in the presence of the court, who immediately ordered that his dead body should be borne on a car to the place of execution, and beheaded with the other prisoners. La Source exclaimed, "I die at a time when the people have lost their reason: you will die as soon as they recover it." The other prisoners embraced each other, and exclaimed, "Vive la République!" The audience, though chiefly composed of the assassins of the 2d September, was melted to tears.

68. The anxiety of his friends had provided Vergniaud with a certain and speedy poison. He refused to make use of it, and threw it away the night before his execution, in order that he might accompany his friends to the scaffold. The eloquence of this highly gifted man, which poured forth the night before his execution, on the expiring liberty of France, in strains of unprecedented splendour, entranced even the melancholy inmates of the prison. On this occasion the Girondists, like the Christian martyrs at Rome, were permitted to take their last repast together. By a strange feeling,

* "The public accuser requires the reading of the law on the acceleration of criminal trials. This reading is gone through. The tribunal orders the law to be inscribed on the registers. The president—'Virtuous citizens, in terms of the law just read, I ask if your minds are conscientiously made up.' The juries retire to deliberate."—*Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, No. 62, p. 246.

but copied from the example of antiquity on such occasions, the table was decked out in the principal apartment of the prison with unusual care. The choicest fruits and flowers of autumn adorned the board; the finest wines circulated among the friends who were to taste of the fruit of the vine no more. Vergniaud presided. "My friends," said he, "in trying to engraft the tree, we have killed it. It was too old; Robespierre cuts it down. Will he be more fortunate than we? No! The soil is too light here to nourish the roots of civil liberty; the people are too infantine to govern themselves: they will return to their king, as a child returns to its playthings. We mistook our time in being born, and dying for the liberty of the world; we thought we were at Rome, and we were at Paris. But revolutions are like the misfortunes which blanch in a night the hair of the sufferer: they quickly ripen a people. The blood in our veins is warm enough to enrich the soil of the Republic. Let us not bear the future with us, but leave hope to the people in exchange for the death which they have given us. Let us die, then, if not with confidence, at least with hope: our consciences are our witnesses in the great trial; our Judge the Eternal. Death is only the most important event of life, because it is the passage to a superior state of being. Were it not so, man would be greater than God; for he would have conceived what his Creator could not execute. No! Vergniaud is not greater than God, but God is more just than Vergniaud, and He will raise him to-morrow on the scaffold, only to justify him to future ages." "Christ," said Sillery, "dying on the scaffold, was, like us, a divine witness. His religion, which we have confounded with tyranny, was not oppression, but deliverance. He was the Girondist of Immortality."

69. The illustrious prisoners were conducted, on the 31st October, to the place of execution. They marched together with a firm step, singing the Revolutionary song, which they applied by a slight change to their own situation,—

"Allons, enfans de la patrie!
Le jour de gloire est arrivé;
Contre nous de la tyrannie
Le couteau sanglant est levé."

Never since the execution of Lally, in 1766, had there been seen such a crowd as now assembled in the Place Louis XV. to witness their execution. The quays, the gardens of the Tuileries, the Pont de la Concorde, and all the windows from thence to the Conciergerie, from which they were brought, were crowded with spectators. Brissot and Fauchet alone wore a sad and pensive expression. When they arrived at the place of execution at one o'clock in the afternoon, they mutually embraced, exclaiming, "Vive la République!" Sillery ascended first; he bowed with a grave air to the people, and received with unshrinking firmness the fatal stroke. Le Hardi exclaimed, "Vive la République!" as he was bound to the plank, so loud as to be heard over the whole Place. The execution of the whole lasted thirty-eight minutes, during which the condemned, awaiting their turn, as their friends were successively beheaded, never ceased chanting with firm voices an air, the burden of which was, "Rather death than slavery." A voice was withdrawn from the swell with every fall of the axe; their numbers were thinned at the foot of the guillotine. One voice alone continued to chant the Marseillaise to the very end: it was that of Vergniaud, who, as their leader, was chosen to suffer last. He could hardly be said to die by the executioner's hand; he swooned, before the blade fell, from the vehemence of his enthusiasm. They all died with the resolution of Romans, chanting with their last breath the hymn of the Revolution. One single grave received their united remains; it was beside that in which had been laid the uncoffined body of their royal victim, Louis XVI. Some years after, in searching the archives of the parish of the Madeleine for documents connected with the victims of the Revolution, an order on the treasury was found for the expenses of the burial of the twenty deputies of the Gironde; it was only 210 francs! So humble were the ob-

sequies of the first founders of the Republic.*

70. A young man, named Girey Dufoce, editor of the *Patriote Français*, was brought to the bar of the Revolutionary Tribunal. The president asked if he had been a friend of Brissot. "I had that happiness."—"What is your opinion of him?"—"That he lived like Aristides and died like Sydney!" was the intrepid answer. He was forthwith sent to the scaffold, where he perished with the firmness of his departed friend. Rabaut St Etienne, one of the most enlightened and virtuous of the proscribed deputies, had escaped soon after the 2d June from Paris. Tired of wandering through the provinces, he returned to the capital, and lived concealed in the house of one of those faithful friends of whom the Revolution produced so many examples. His wife, influenced by the most tender attachment, incessantly watched over his safety. In the street, one day, she met an acquaintance, a Jacobin, who assured her of his interest in her husband, and professed his desire to give him an asylum in his own house. Rabaut being informed of the circumstance, and desirous of saving his generous host from further danger, informed the Jacobin of his place of retreat, and assigned an hour of the night for him to come and remove him from it. The perfidious wretch came accompanied by gendarmes, who dragged their victim, with his friendly host and hostess, to the Revolutionary Tribunal, whence they were sent to the scaffold. In despair at having been the instrument, however innocently, of such treachery, his wife, in the flower of youth and beauty, put herself to death.

71. Madame Roland was the next victim. This heroic woman had been early involved in the proscription of the Girondists, of whom her splendid talents had almost rendered her the head. She was afterwards confined among the common prostitutes of Paris, in the prison of St Pelagie; and it was only the pity

of the jailers which there, at length, procured for her a separate bed. While confined in the prison of the Abbaye, she employed the tedious months of captivity in composing the Memoirs which so well illustrate her eventful life. With a firm hand she traced, in that gloomy abode, the joyous as well as the melancholy periods of her existence; the brilliant dreams and ardent patriotism of her youth; the stormy and eventful scenes of her maturer years; the horrors and anguish of her latest days. While suffering under the fanaticism of the people, when about to die under the violence of the mob, she never abandoned the principles of her youth, nor regretted her martyrdom in the cause of freedom. If the thoughts of her daughter and her husband sometimes melted her to tears, she regained her firmness on every important occasion. In the solitude of prison she had leisure to reflect on the stormy political career in which she had borne so distinguished a part, and lamented the delusions in which she had so long been involved. Her friends had provided her with the means of escape; but she refused to avail herself of them. During the long and dreary period of her captivity, she studied Tacitus incessantly. "I cannot sleep," said she, "without reading some of his writings: *we seem to see things in the same light.*" At another time she said, "The present government is a kind of monster, of which the action and the forms are equally revolting: it destroys all it touches, and devours itself." On the day of the execution of the Girondists, she was transferred to the Conciergerie, and placed in a cell adjoining that lately occupied by the queen. The beautiful and ambitious leader of the Girondists was brought by the Revolution to the same bourne as her royal victim. There she was strictly watched, in a wretched damp apartment, with a straw mattress alone for a bed. Though she had opium secreted, she refused to make use of it, alleging that she would not shrink from the fate of her friends, and that her death would be of service to the world. Her memoirs evince unbroken serenity of mind, though she was frequently in-

* "For 22 deputies of the Gironde. Coffins, 142 francs; expenses of interment, 68; total, 210."—LAMARTINE, *Hist. des Girondins*, vii. 59, 59.

interrupted in their composition by the cries of those whom the executioners were dragging from the adjoining cells to the scaffold.

72. On the day of her trial she was dressed with scrupulous care in white. Her fine black hair fell in profuse curls to her waist; but the display of its beauty was owing to her jailers, who had deprived her of all means of dressing it. She chose that colour for her dress as emblematic of the purity of her mind. Her advocate, M. Chaveau Lagarde, visited her to receive her last instructions. Drawing a ring from her finger, she said, "To-morrow I shall be no more; I know well the fate which awaits me; your kind assistance could be of no avail; it would endanger you without saving me. Do not, therefore, I pray you, come to the tribunal; but accept this as the last testimony of my regard." Her defence, composed by herself the night before the trial, is one of the most eloquent and touching monuments of the Revolution. Her answers to the interrogatories of the judges, the dignity of her manner, the beauty of her figure, melted even the revolutionary audience with pity. They had the barbarity to ask her questions reflecting on her honour: the unworthy insult brought tears to her eyes, but did not disturb her serenity of demeanour. Finding they could implicate her in no other way, the president asked her if she was acquainted with the place of her husband's retreat. She replied, that "whether she knew it or not she would not reveal it, and that there was no law by which she was obliged, in a court of justice, to violate the strongest feelings of nature." Upon this she was immediately condemned. When the reading of her sentence was concluded, she rose and said, "You judge me worthy to share the fate of the great men whom you have assassinated. I shall endeavour to imitate their firmness on the scaffold." She regained her prison with an elastic step and beaming eye; and on entering the wicket, made, with a joyous air, a sign to show she was to be beheld. Her whole soul appeared absorbed in the heroic feelings with which she was animated.

73. She was conveyed to the scaffold in the same car with a man of the name of Lemarche, condemned for forging assignats, whose firmness was not equal to her own. While passing along the streets, her whole anxiety appeared to be to support his courage. She did this with so much simplicity and effect, that she frequently brought a smile on the lips which were about to perish.* At the place of execution she bowed before the gigantic statue of Liberty, and pronounced the memorable words, "O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!" When they arrived at the foot of the scaffold, she had the generosity to renounce, in favour of her companion, the privilege of being first executed. "Ascend first," said she: "let me at least spare you the pain of seeing my blood flow." Turning to the executioner, she asked if he would consent to that arrangement; he replied, "That his orders were that she should die the first."—"You cannot, I am sure," said she with a smile, "refuse a woman her last request!" Undismayed by the spectacle which immediately ensued, she calmly bent her head under the guillotine, and perished with the serenity she had evinced ever since her imprisonment.

74. Madame Roland had predicted that her husband would not long survive her. Her prophecy was speedily fulfilled. A few days afterwards, he was found dead on the road between Paris and Rouen; he had stabbed himself in that situation, that he might not, by the place in which his body was found, betray the generous friends who had sheltered him in his misfortunes. In his pocket was found a letter, in these terms: "Whoever you are, O passenger! who discover my body, respect the remains of the unfortunate. They are those of a man who consecrated his whole life to be useful to his country; who died as he had lived, virtuous and unsullied. May my fellow-

* "Silent she saw the one, the other plain,
The weaker body lodged the nobler heart:
Yet him she saw lament, as if his pain
Were grief and sorrow for another's smart;
And her keep silence so, as if her eyes
Dumb orators were to entreat the skies."

citizens embrace more humane sentiments : not fear, but indignation, made me quit my retreat when I heard of the murder of my wife. I loathed a world stained with so many crimes." The other chiefs of the party, dispersed in the provinces of France, underwent innumerable dangers, and some of them made escapes more wonderful even than those which romance has figured. Condorcet swallowed opium and perished. He had long been concealed in the house of a female friend, who sheltered him with generous devotion ; but when the sun shone forth in the next spring, he was so captivated by the beauty of nature, that he went forth to the fields, and was apprehended. He was discovered in disguise by the fineness of his linen, and immediately swallowed the poison he carried with him. Louvet owed his salvation to the fidelity of female attachment. Buzot stabbed himself when he heard of Madame Roland's execution ; the passion which had been concealed in life appeared in death. But the wound was not mortal, and he was reserved for a more melancholy fate. Barbaroux, Buzot, Pétion, and Valazé, were long concealed at St Emilion, in a cavern, by a sister of Guadet. But the Jacobins at length got trace of their retreat, and they were obliged to leave it. Guadet himself was soon discovered, and perished by the guillotine at Bordeaux ; as did also the ardent and impetuous Barbaroux on the 25th June 1794. Pétion and Buzot were found in a field near the Garonne half devoured by wolves, which in those days of war had descended from the mountains to share in the spoils of humanity. A few only escaped the anxious search of the Jacobins ; their memoirs evince a curious proof of the indignation of enthusiastic but virtuous minds at the triumph of guilty ambition.

75. While these events were in progress, the arm of female enthusiasm arrested the course of one of the tyrants ; and her deed, though it occurred a few weeks after their fall, was the direct consequence of the overthrow of the Girondists. Charlotte Corday, a native of Rouen, at the age of five-and-twenty, was animated by a heroism and devo-

tion above her sex. A grand-daughter of the great Corneille, she was animated with his lofty spirit. This is not surprising—poetry, heroism, and love, are sisters of each other ; they spring from the same exalted sentiments. Gifted with a beautiful form and a serene temper, she deemed the occupations and ordinary ambition of women beneath her serious regard ; possessed of more than masculine courage, she had lost nothing of female delicacy. One only passion, the love of liberty, concentrated the ardent aspirations of her mind. Her enthusiasm was awakened to the highest degree by the arrival of the proscribed Girondists at Rouen after their overthrow at Paris ; all the romantic visions of her youth seemed blighted by the bloody usurpation of the ruling faction at Paris. Marat, the instigator of all the atrocities, she imagined to be their leader. He was considered in the provinces, from his numerous journals, which had long stimulated to massacre and blood, as the demon of the Revolution. If he could be removed, no obstacle appeared to remain to the reign of justice and equality, to the commencement of the happiness of France. In the heroic spirit of female devotion, she resolved to sacrifice her life to this inestimable object.*

76. Having taken her resolution, she regained all her wonted cheerfulness of manner, which the public calamities had much impaired. Deceived by the appearance of joy which she exhibited, her relations allowed her to set off on some trifling commissions to Paris. A young man in the national guard of Rouen, named Franquelin, was deeply attached to her. She gave him, before departing, her portrait, which he preserved with religious care, with her letters. He died of grief soon after her melancholy fate, having previously directed that her miniature and letters should be buried with him, which was accordingly done. "I weep," said she to a friend, "the woes of my country, of my

* "Ergo ego germanam, fratremque, patremque, deosque,
Et natale solum, fatis ablata relinquam.
Maximus intra me Deus est: non magna relinquam,
Magna sequar."—OVID, *Méam.* vii. 50-54.

relations, of you. So long as Marat lives, no one can be sure of his life." In an old bible in her possession she had marked the passage,—“The Lord made choice of Judith to deliver Israel.” In the public conveyance she was chiefly distinguished by the amiable playfulness of her demeanour, uninterrupted even by the savage conversation of some Jacobins who were present.* The first day of her arrival at Paris was employed in executing her commissions; on the second she purchased a knife at the Palais Royal, to plunge into the bosom of the tyrant. On the third day, she with difficulty obtained an entrance to Marat. She was ushered into a room adjoining the cabinet, where he lay in a covered bath. He eagerly inquired after the proscribed deputies at Caen. Being told their names,—“They shall soon meet with the punishment they deserve,” said Marat. “Yours is at hand!” exclaimed she, and stabbed him to the heart. He uttered a loud shriek and expired. The blood flowed so profusely from the wound that he seemed to expire in a bath of gore. Charlotte Corday remained motionless in the

apartment, and was seized and conducted to prison.

77. When in confinement, the cheerfulness and serenity of her manner astonished the jailers, who, though they watched her day and night, could discern no change in the tranquillity which she evinced. On the same day she wrote to Barbaroux at Caen, in terms singularly descriptive of her state of mind.† This letter was afterwards made the chief ground of his condemnation. Before leaving home, she had given away all her books except a volume of Plutarch, which she took with her. On the day of her trial, her extraordinary beauty and innocence of manner excited universal interest. She interrupted the witnesses, who were beginning to prove the death of the deceased: “These formalities are unnecessary: I killed Marat!”—“What tempted you to commit the murder?” “His own crimes.”—“What do you mean by his crimes?” “The misfortunes which he has inflicted on France since the Revolution, and which he was preparing to increase.”—“Who are your associates?” “I have none: I alone conceived the idea.”—“What did you propose to yourself by putting Marat to death?” “To stop the anarchy of France. I have slain one man to save a hundred thousand—a wretch,

* “To her came message of the murderment,
Wherein her guiltless friends should hopeless sterve;
She that was noble, wise, as fair and gent,
Cast how she might their harmless lives preserve:
Zeal was the spring whence flow'd her hardiment,
From maiden's shame yet was she loth to swerve;
Yet had her courage ta'en so sure a hold,
That boldness, shamefast; shame had made her bold.

“And forth she went, a shop for merchandise,
Full of rich stuff, but none for sale exposed;
A veil obscured the sunshine of her eyes,
The rose within herself her sweetness closed.
Each ornament about her seemly lies,
By curious chance, or careless art, composed;
For what she most neglects most curious prove,
So beauty's help'd by nature, heaven, and love.

“Admired of all went on this noble maid.”
FAIRFAX'S *Tasso*, li. 17, 18.

There is nothing grand, generous, or pathetic in human character which the poets had prefigured, that the French Revolution has not realised.

† “They are such good republicans at Paris that they cannot conceive how a useless woman, the longest term of whose life could be of no service, can calmly sacrifice herself to save her country. *For two days I have enjoyed a delightful peace of mind; the happiness of my country insures mine.* I could not be better than in my prison: the turnkeys are the best people possible. They have put gardeners beside me to prevent my wearying. I have felt this very well during the daytime, but very awkward at night. I have complained of this indecency, but they have not thought fit to pay any attention. I believe that it is an invention of Chabot; such an idea could only have occurred to a Capuchin. Those who now regret me must rejoice to see me enjoying the repose of the Champs Elysées with the Brutuses of antiquity: there are few patriots who know how to die for their country. The prisoners, far from insulting me like the people in the street, seemed to pity me; *misfortune makes us compassionate—that is my last reflection.*”—CHARLOTTE CORDAY to BARBAROUX, the second day of the preparation for peace at the prison of the Abbaye; *FRUD-NOHME, Révolutions de Paris*, p. 686. No. 207.

to preserve the innocent—a savage monster, to give repose to my country. I was a republican before the Revolution, and I have never failed in energy.”—“What do you understand by energy?” asked the president. “The sentiment which animates those who, disdaining the consideration of their own safety, sacrifice themselves for the sake of their country.” During the interrogatory, she observed an artist taking a sketch of her profile. She turned her head so as to give him a proper view, and remained so steady that he completed it in a few minutes. She requested him to send a few copies to her family. Upon hearing her sentence, she gave a joyful exclamation, and, with a radiant countenance, handed to the president two letters, one addressed to Barbaroux, the other to her father. In the latter, she said, “Pardon me, my dear papa, for having disposed of my life without your permission. I have avenged many victims, prevented others. The people will one day acknowledge the service I have rendered my country. For your sake I wished to remain *incognito*, but it was impossible; I only trust you will not be injured by what I have done. Farewell, my beloved papa; forget me, or rather rejoice at my fate: it has sprung from a noble cause. Embrace my sister for me, whom I love with all my heart, as well as all my relations. Never forget the words of Corneille—

‘The crime makes the shame, and not the scaffold.’”

She then said to her counsel, “You have defended me in a delicate and generous manner: the only one which was fitting. I thank you for it; it has made me conceive for you an esteem of which I wish to give you a proof. These gentlemen,” looking to the judges, “have informed me that my effects are confiscated: I owe some debts in the prison—I charge you to acquit them.” Not the slightest appearance of emotion was visible on her countenance, even when the court shook with the applause of the multitude at her condemnation. When she was conducted back to her cell, a confessor presented himself—“Thank you,” said she, “for your kindness; but I have no need of your as-

sistance. The blood which I have shed, and that which I am about to offer, are the only sacrifices I can present to the Eternal.”

78. The crowd which assembled to witness her execution exceeded anything yet seen in Paris; her youth, her beauty, her astonishing courage, the magnitude of the deed for which she was to suffer, produced universal and thrilling interest. When the executioners bound her hands and cut off her long hair, she said, “This is the toilet of death, arranged by somewhat rude hands, but it leads to immortality.” A young stranger named Adam Lux, from Mayence, saw her pass in the car at the entrance of the Rue St Honoré; with devout admiration he followed it to the place of execution, and witnessed her death. Such were his feelings at the sight that he soon after published a vindication of her memory. She was drawn in a car, dressed in a scarlet robe—the colour assigned by law to assassins. As she passed along, at half-past seven in the evening, to the place of execution in the Place Louis XV., “her manner,” says the revolutionary journal, “had that exquisite grace which is above beauty, which art cannot imitate, nor language depict. She voluntarily held out her hands to be bound; but when they began to attach her feet to the plank, she shuddered, conceiving they were going to insult her. When the object was explained, she consented with a smile. A blush of virgin modesty overspread her beautiful face and neck when the executioner undid the clasp from her bosom; but it took nothing from her serenity of manner, and she herself placed and adjusted her head under the terrible axe. The immense multitude awaited the stroke in deathlike silence. When the guillotine had fallen, the executioner lifted the head, still perfectly beautiful, but pale; and struck it with his hand. A universal shudder was felt in the crowd: he raised it, and struck it again; the blood then suffused the cheeks, and restored their lovely carnation. Cries of ‘Vive la République!’ arose on all sides: but the beauty and courage of Charlotte Corday had made a profound

impression on every heart." Vergniaud said, on hearing the particulars of her execution, "She has destroyed us, but taught us how to die."

79. But crime is never expedient. Murder, even when prompted by the most generous intentions, seldom fails to defeat its own purpose. The dagger of Charlotte Corday only caused more blood to flow over France. It killed Marat as a man; but, in the excited state of the public mind, it made him a god. Robespierre pronounced an eloquent eulogium on his virtues in the Convention. "If I speak to-day," added he, "it is because I am bound to do so. Poniards were here used: I should have received the fatal blow. Chance alone made it light on that great patriot. Think no longer, therefore, of vain declamations or the pomp of burial; the best way to avenge Marat is to prosecute his enemies with relentless vigour. The vengeance which is satisfied with funeral honours is soon appeased, and loses itself in worthless projects. Renounce, then, these useless discussions, and avenge him in the only manner worthy of his name." His obsequies were celebrated with extraordinary pomp: a band of young women, and deputies from the sections of Paris, were invited to throw flowers on the body; and the President of the Popular Societies, who pronounced his funeral oration, said: "Let us not pronounce his eulogy; it is to be found in his conduct, his writings, his ghastly wound, his death. Citizens! cast your flowers on the pale body of Marat. He was our friend—the friend of the people; it was for the people that he lived, for the people that he died. Enough has now been given to lamentation: listen to the great soul of Marat, which rises from the grave, and says—'Republicans, put an end to your tears: Republicans should weep but for a moment, and then devote themselves to their country. It was not me whom they wished to assassinate; it was the Republic. It is not I who cry for vengeance: it is the Republic; it is the people; it is yourselves!'" His remains were consigned with funeral pomp to the Pantheon; and monu-

ments were raised to him in every town and village of France. Posterity has reversed the sentence: it has consigned Marat to eternal execration, and associated Charlotte Corday with Timoleon and Brutus.

80. Robespierre and the Decemvirs made the assassination of Marat the ground for increased severity towards the broken remains of the Girondist party. Many of their friends remained in the Convention; with generous constancy they still sat on the benches to the right, thinned by the proscription of so many noble members. During the trial of Charlotte Corday, a secret protest, signed by seventy-three deputies, against the usurpation of 2d June, was discovered; they were all immediately arrested, and thrown into prison. The Convention, after their removal, contained no elements whatever of resistance to the tyrants. Adam Lux, the ardent stranger who had witnessed the execution of Charlotte Corday, and published an apology for her crime, was soon afterwards arrested for doing so, and condemned. On entering the prison, he exclaimed, "I am then about to die for her;" and he did die in effect, hailing with his last breath the scaffold, as the altar of patriotism and devotion which her blood had consecrated.

81. Thus perished the party of the Gironde, reckless in its measures, culpable for its rashness, but illustrious from its talents, glorious in its fall. It embraced all the men who were philanthropists from feeling, or republicans from principle—the brave, the humane, and the benevolent. But with them were also combined within its ranks numbers of a baser kind; many who employed their genius for the advancement of their ambition, and were careless of their country provided they elevated their party. It was overthrown by a faction of coarser materials, but more determined character; with less remains of conscientious feeling, but more acquaintance with practical wickedness. Adorned by the most splendid talents, supported by the most powerful eloquence, actuated at times by the most generous intentions, it

perished the victim of a base and despicable faction—of men sprung from the dregs of the populace, and impelled by guilty and selfish ambition. Such ever has, and ever will be, the result of revolutionary convulsions in society, when not steadily opposed in the outset by a firm union of the higher classes of the community. In the collision of opposite factions, the virtuous and the moderate will, unless bold and united, be always overcome by the reckless and the daring.* Prudence clogs their enterprise; virtue checks their ambition; humanity paralyses their exertions. They fall, because they recoil from the violence which becomes essential to success in revolutions.

82. The principles of this celebrated party disqualified them from taking an energetic or successful part in public affairs. Their aversion to violence, their horror at blood, rendered them totally unfit to struggle with their determined antagonists. They deemed it better to suffer than to commit violence; to die in the attempt to preserve freedom, rather than live by the atrocities which would subvert it. Their principles in the end, when driven to extremities, were those so finely expressed by Louis XVIII. when urged to assassinate Napoleon—"In our family we are murdered, but we never commit murder." Their greatest fault, and it is one which all their subsequent misfortunes could not expiate, consisted in the agitation which, partly from philosophic delusion, partly from ignorance of the world, partly from selfish ambition, they so sedulously maintained in the public mind. The storm which their eloquence created, it was beyond the power of their wisdom to allay. They roused the people against the throne on the 10th August; they failed in saving the monarch on the 21st January, and fell on the 31st May before the power of the populace, whose furious passions they had awakened. Such is the natural progress of revolution,

and the means provided by Providence for its termination and punishment. Its early leaders become themselves the objects of jealousy when their rule is established; the turbulent and the ambitious combine against an authority which they are desirous of supplanting; stronger flattery to popular licentiousness, more extravagant protestations of public zeal, speedily arouse the multitude against those who have obtained the influence which they desire for themselves. Power falls into the hands of the most desperate: they gain everything because they scruple at nothing.

83. The time which elapsed from the death of the king to the fall of the Girondists, was to the revolutionary Executive what the Legislative Assembly was to the constitutional throne. Both were brief periods, during which the inability of government to combat the forces of the Revolution was made clearly manifest, and in both of which, after a lingering and painful struggle, the ruling power was overthrown by an insurrection in the capital. The throne and Girondist government fell from the same cause, viz. the want of any military force to coerce the populace, and maintain the independence of the legislative as well as the executive. Both were the victims of the fatal delusion, that a government can rest on the moral support of the nation, without any protection from its institutions, and that no danger is to be apprehended from the people, if they are practically invested with the command of the only military force in the state. The Girondists destroyed themselves by the lamentable prostration of the power of government which they forced upon the reluctant Louis; the revolt of the 10th August, in which they bore so conspicuous a part, ultimately brought themselves to the scaffold not less than their sovereign. And, by a remarkable coincidence and just retribution, the want of that very constitutional guard which they basely compelled their king to disband on the 31st May 1792 [chap. vii. §60], proved fatal to their party on *that very day year*, on the 31st May 1793; and surrendered themselves to the scaffold—France to the Reign of Terror.

* So true in all ages is the opinion of Petrarch—

"Che chi discerne, e vinto da chi vuole."

"He who discerns, is conquered by him who wills."

84. The party headed by Chaumette and the municipality of Paris, whose insurrection overthrew the illustrious league of eminent and eloquent men who had done so much to overturn the throne, was the basest and most atrocious that ever was elevated by popular passion or madness to power, in any age or country. Without the fanaticism and energy of Robespierre or St Just, without the vigour and occasional humanity of Danton and Camille Desmoulins, they possessed the whole bloodthirstiness and cruelty of both these parties, and added to them a baseness and cruelty peculiarly their own. Sprung from the very dregs of society, alike without character or employment when the Revolution broke out, they brought to the important situations in the municipality of Paris, to which they were elevated by their dexterity in pandering to the worst passions of the people, a baseness, falsehood, and villany, rare, fortunately for the world, in any class.* Perhaps there is not to be found in any language such a mass of ribaldry, falsehood, and obscenity, unrelieved by any talent save that which panders to the thirst for scandal, as is to be found in Hébert's well-known journal, the *Père Duchesne*. Yet this infamous production elevated him to greatness—rendered him one of the rulers of the municipality of Paris, enabled him to bid defiance to the party which had overturned the throne of Louis XVI., and bring the Girondists and whole philosophers of the Revolution to the scaffold! A memorable proof

of the rapid ascendancy which, in revolutionary struggles, the basest and most atrocious of mankind ere long acquire, and of the fatal nature of the delusions which lead so many well-meaning but inexperienced men, in every age, to imagine that the multitude will select good governors for themselves, because it is for their interest to be well governed.

85. The Girondists, and the whole constitutional party of France, experienced, when they attempted to coerce their former allies, and restrain the march of the Revolution, the necessary effect of the false principles on which they had acted, and the perilous nature of the doctrines which they had taken such pains to spread among the people. They were never able thereafter to command the assistance of either of the great parties in the state—of the holders of property, or the advocates for spoliation. The former could place no confidence in them after they had confiscated the church property, persecuted the priests, carried the cruel decree against the emigrants, provoked the revolt of the 10th August, and voted for the death of the king; the latter felt against them all the bitterness of personal deceit and party treachery, when they strove to wield the power of the executive against the men with whom they had formerly acted, and the principles by which they had excited so terrible a convulsion. It is this feeling of distrust on the one hand, and treachery on the other, which so speedily annihilates the power of the authors of a re-

out; but that soon found him employment. He was, from his command of vulgar slang and gross ideas, early employed by the extreme Jacobin party to conduct a democratic journal, called the "*Père Duchesne*," the nature of which may be judged of from its title, "*Lettres b——t patriotiques du véritable Père Duchesne*." The author is in possession of a copy of this curious and valuable record of the Revolution. Full of blackguard expressions, atrocious falsehoods, filthy obscenity, and frightful blasphemy, it soon became a powerful engine in the hands of the atheistical and anarchical party, was hawked daily in every street of Paris, sent down in profusion to the departments, and forwarded by cart-loads to the armies. It now forms eleven volumes, one of the most curious monuments of the Revolution.—*Biog. Univ.*, xix. 545, 547 (HERBERT); and viii. 300 (CHAUMETTE).

* Chaumette, born at Nevers in 1763, was the son of a cooper, and at first received some education; but dissipation soon made him abandon his studies, and he gained his livelihood for some years as a pilot on the Loire. In 1789, when the Revolution broke out, he came to Paris, and got employment as a copying-clerk, and first rose to notice by his power of speaking in the Cordeliers club, where he was patronised by Camille Desmoulins. He was appointed Procureur of the Commune, on being elected member of the Convention, in September 1792.—Hébert, born at Alençon in 1755, of obscure parents, came to Paris in 1775 in quest of subsistence, and after living some time by villany, he was appointed a box-keeper at one of the lesser theatres, and afterwards became a footman, both of which situations he lost by his dishonesty. He was utterly destitute when the Revolution broke

volution, when they endeavour to restrain its excesses, and renders the leader of a mighty host in one year utterly powerless and contemptible in the next. It is the charge of inconsistency which they never can get over; the bitterness excited by an abandonment of principle, which paralyses all their efforts even to correct its abuses. The Girondists and Constitutionals experienced this cruel reverse in the most signal manner, in all the later stages of the Revolution. Lafayette wielded the whole power of France when he arrayed the national guard against the monarchy in 1789; but he could not raise thirty men to join his standard in defence of the throne in 1792: and the former leader of the populace owed his escape from their ferocity solely to his confinement in an Austrian dungeon. Vergniaud and the Girondists were all-powerful while they were declaiming against the supposed treachery of the court, and inflaming the nation to plunge into a European war; but when they inveighed against the massacres in the prisons, and sought indirectly to save the life of the monarch whom they had dethroned, they became to the last degree unpopular, and were consigned to prison and the scaffold amidst the applause of the very multitude which had so recently followed them with acclamations. "Unhappy Girondists!" said Danton some time after their fall, and when the effect of their deeds had become apparent, "they have precipitated us into the abyss of anarchy; they themselves were drowned in it; we shall be submerged in our turn; already I hear the sound of the waves a hundred feet above my head!"

86. These facts suggest an important conclusion in political science, which is, that the injustice and violence of a revolutionary party can hardly ever be effectually controlled by those who have participated in its principles; but that the only hope of the friends of order, in such circumstances, is to be found in those who, under every intimidation, have resolutely resisted measures of injustice. There is something in courage and consistency which commands respect, even amidst the bitterness of fac-

tion; and if a reaction against the reign of violence is ever to arise, its leaders must be found, not among those who have at first promoted and afterwards abandoned, but among those who have ever resisted the march of revolution. It costs little to a soldier to fight under the banners of an able and resolute adversary; but he will never place confidence in a general who has deserted his colours during the combat. The Republican writers are all in error when they assert, that the horrors of the Revolution were owing to the king not having cordially thrown himself into the arms of the Constitutional party. With such allies he never could have mastered the Jacobin party, supported as it was by so large a proportion of the indigent and urban population of France. It was the Royalists alone who could have effectually taken advantage of the strong reaction against the Revolution which the first open acts of violence against the throne occasioned, and it was their emigration which left the nation impotent against its excesses. And the event has abundantly proved the justice of these principles. The Orleans and Girondist parties were never able to oppose any serious resistance to the progress of the Revolution, and history can hardly find a skirmish to record, fought in defence of their principles;* whereas the peasants of La Vendée, without any external aid, and under every disadvantage, waged a desperate war with the Republic, and after many battles had been fought, and a million of men slaughtered, were still, on the accession of Napoleon, unsubdued. It was the general desertion of the country by the emigrants, the treachery of the army, and the undue humanity of the king, which really paved the way for the Jacobin excesses.

87. But although the previous excesses and reckless ambition of the Girondists precluded them from opposing any effectual resistance to the progress of revolution, they did much to redeem their ruinous errors by the

* The resistance at Lyons and Toulon, though begun under Girondist colours before the fighting commenced, was in reality conducted by the Royalist party.

heroism of their death. Posterity invariably declares for the cause of virtue; the serenity and courage of the supreme hour often cause many previous faults to be forgotten. The last impressions are those which are the most durable; the principles which, in the end, prove triumphant are those which find a responsive echo in the human heart. Already this effect has become conspicuous. The talents, the vigour, the energy of the Jacobins, are forgotten in the blood which stained their triumphs; the guilty ambition, the imprudent zeal, the irresolute conduct, the inexperienced credulity of the Girondists, are lost in the Roman heroism of their fall. The Reign of Terror, the night of the Revolution, was of

short duration; the stars which were extinguished in its firmament only turned the eyes of the world with more anxiety to the coming dawn. But the eloquence of Vergniaud, the devotion of Charlotte Corday, the heroism of Madame Roland, have made a lasting impression upon the world; and while history, which records the dreadful evils which their impetuous declamations produced upon their country, cannot absolve them from the imputation of rash and perilous innovation—of reckless and guilty ambition—it must respect some of the motives which led even to errors, whose consequences were then in a great degree unknown, and venerate the courage with which, in the last extremity, they met their fate.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WAR IN LA VENDEE.

1. THE French Revolution was a revolt not only against the government and institutions, but the opinions and the belief, of former times. It was ushered in by an inundation of scepticism and infidelity; it was attended by unexampled cruelty to the ministers of religion; it led to the overthrow of every species of devotion, and the education of a generation ignorant even of the first elements of the Christian faith. When the French soldiers approached the cradle of our religion, when they beheld Mount Carmel and Nazareth, when they visited the birthplace of Christ, and saw from afar the scene of his sufferings, the holy names inspired them with no emotion; they gazed on them only as Syrian villages, unconnected either by history or tradition with any interesting recollections. The descendants of Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse, of those who perished in the service of the holy sepulchre, viewed the scenes of the

Crusaders' glory with indifference; and names at which their forefathers would have thrilled with emotion, designated for them only the abodes of barbarous tribes.

2. But it was not in the nature of things, it was not the intention of Providence, that this prodigious Revolution should be effected without a struggle, or the Christian faith obliterated for a time from a nation's thoughts, without a more desperate contest than the dearest interest of present existence could originate. Such a warfare accordingly arose—and was marked, too, with circumstances of deeper atrocity than even the Reign of Terror or the rule of Robespierre. It began, not amidst the dignity of rank, or the lustre of courts—not among those distinguished by their knowledge, or blessed by their fortune; but among the simple inhabitants of a remote district—among those who had gained least by the ancient institutions, and perilled most in seek-

ing to restore them. While the nobility of France basely fled on the first appearance of danger, while the higher orders of the clergy, in some instances, betrayed their religion by their pusillanimity, or disgraced it by their profligacy; the dignity of patriotism, the sublimity of devotion, appeared amidst the simplicity of rural life; and the peasants of La Vendée set an example of heroism which might well put their superiors to the blush, for the innumerable advantages of fortune which they had misapplied, and the vast opportunities of usefulness which they had neglected. It was there, too, as in the first ages of Christianity, that the noblest examples of religious duty were to be found; and while the light of reason was unable to restrain its triumphant votaries from unheard-of excesses, and stained with blood the efforts of freedom, the village pastors and uneducated flocks of La Vendée bore the temptations of victory without seduction, and the ordeal of suffering without dismay.

3. The district immortalised by the name of La Vendée embraces a part of Poitou, of Anjou, and of the county of Nantes, and is now divided into four departments, those of Loire Inferieure, Maine-et-Loire, Deux-Sèvres, and Vendée. It is bounded on the north by the Loire, from Nantes to Angers; on the west, by the sea; on the south, by the road from Niort to Fontenoy, Luçon, and the Sables d'Olonne; on the east, by a line passing through Brissac, Thouars, Parthenay, and Niort. This space comprehends the whole of what was properly the seat of the La Vendée contest, and contains eight hundred thousand souls: the Loire separated the district from that which afterwards became so well known from the Chouan wars. This country differs, both in its external aspect and the manners of its inhabitants, from any other province of France. It is composed for the most part of considerable hills, not connected with any chain of mountains, but which rise in gentle undulations from the generally level surface of the country. The valleys are narrow, but of no great depth;

and at their bottom flow little clear streams, which glide by a gentle descent to the Loire, or the neighbouring ocean. Great blocks of granite rise up at intervals on the heights, and resemble castellated ruins amidst a forest of vegetation. On the banks of the Sèvre, the scenery assumes a bolder character, and that stream flows in a deep and rocky bed amidst overhanging woods; but in the districts bordering on the Loire, the declivities are more gentle, and extensive valleys reward the labours of the cultivator.

4. The Bocage, as its name indicates, is covered with trees; not indeed anywhere disposed in large masses, but surrounding the little enclosures into which the country is subdivided. The smallness of the farms, the great subdivision of landed property, and the prevalence of cattle husbandry, have rendered the custom universal of enclosing every field, however small, with hedges, which are surmounted by pollards, the branches of which are cut every five years for firewood to the inhabitants. Little grain is raised, the population depending chiefly on the sale of their cattle, or the produce of the dairy; and the landscape is only diversified at intervals in autumn by yellow patches glittering through the surrounding foliage, or clusters of vines overhanging the rocky eminences. The air in this region is pure, the situation of the farmhouses, overshadowed by aged oaks, or peeping out of luxuriant foliage, picturesque in the extreme. There are neither navigable rivers nor canals, no great roads nor towns, in the district: secluded in his leafy shroud, each peasant cultivates his little domain, severed alike from the elegances, the ambition, and the seductions of the world.

5. The part of La Vendée which adjoins the ocean to the south of the district, and which was formerly buried beneath its waves, is called the Marais, and bore a prominent part in this memorable contest. It is perfectly flat, and in great part overspread by salt marshes, which never yield to the force of the sun. This humid country is intersected by innumerable canals, com-

municating with each other, which are planted with willows, alders, poplars, and other marsh trees, whose luxuriant foliage frequently overshadows the little enclosures. The peasants are never seen without a long pole in their hands, with the aid of which they leap over the canals and ditches with surprising agility. Nothing can be more simple than the habits of the inhabitants. One roof covers a whole family, their cows and lambs, which feed on their little possession; the chief food of the people is obtained from milk, and the fish which they procure in great quantities in the canals with which their country is intersected. The silence and deserted aspect of these secluded retreats—the sombre tint of the landscape, and the sallow complexions of the peasantry, owing to the general prevalence of aguish complaints, give a melancholy air to the country: but in the midst of its gloom a certain feeling of sublimity is experienced, even by the passing traveller; and in no part of France did the people give greater proofs of an elevated and enthusiastic character.

6. A single great road, that from Nantes to Rochelle, traverses the district; another, from Tours to Bordeaux, by Poitiers, diverges from it, leaving betwixt them a space thirty leagues in extent, where nothing but cross-roads are to be found. These cross-roads are all dug out as it were between two hedges, whose branches frequently meet over the head of the passenger; while in winter or rainy weather they generally become the beds of streams. They intersect each other extremely often; and such is the general uniformity of the scenery, and the absence of any remarkable feature in the country, that even the natives frequently lose themselves if they wander two or three leagues from their place of ordinary residence. This peculiar conformation of the country offered the greatest obstacles to an invading army. "It is," says General Kleber, "an obscure and boundless labyrinth, in which it is impossible to advance with security even with the greatest precautions. You are obliged, across a succession of natural redoubts and intrenchments, to

seek out the road the moment that you leave the great chaussée; and when you do find it, it is generally a narrow defile, not only impracticable for artillery, but for the smallest species of chariots which accompany an army. The principal roads have no other advantage in this respect but that arising from their greater breadth; for, being everywhere shut in by the same species of enclosure, it is rarely possible either to deploy into line, or become aware of your enemy till you are assailed by his fire."

7. There are no manufactures or great towns in the country. The land is cultivated by métayers, who divide the produce with the proprietors; and it is rare to find a farm which yields the proprietor a profit of £25 a-year. The sale of the cattle constitutes almost the whole wealth of the country. Few magnificent chateaus are to be seen; the properties are in general of moderate extent, the landlords all resident, and their habits simple in the extreme. The profligacy and vices of Paris have never penetrated into the Bocage; the only luxury of the proprietors consisted in rustic plenty and good cheer; their sole amusement was the chase, at which they have long been exceedingly expert. The habits of the gentlemen rendered them both excellent marksmen and capable of enduring fatigue without inconvenience; the ladies travelled on horseback, or in carts drawn by oxen. But what chiefly distinguished this simple district from every other part of France, and what is particularly remarkable in a political point of view, is the relation, elsewhere unknown, which there subsisted between the landlords and the tenantry on their estates. The proprietor was not only always resident, but constantly engaged in connections, either of mutual interest or of kindly feeling, with those who cultivated his lands. He visited their farms, conversed with them about their cattle, attended their marriages and christenings, rejoiced with them when they rejoiced, and sympathised with them when they wept. On holidays the youths of both sexes danced at the chateau, and the ladies joined the festive circle. No sooner was a boar or wolf hunt deter-

mined on, than the peasantry of all the neighbouring estates were summoned to partake in the sport; every one took his fusil, and repaired with joy to the post assigned to him; and they afterwards followed their landlords to the field of battle with the same alacrity with which they had attended them in those scenes of festivity and amusement.

8. These invaluable habits, joined to a native goodness of heart, rendered the inhabitants of the Bocage an excellent people; and it is not surprising that while the peasantry elsewhere in France revolted against their landlords, those of La Vendée almost all perished in combating with them against the Revolution. They were gentle, pious, charitable, and hospitable, full of courage and energy, with pure feelings and uncorrupted manners. Rarely was a crime, seldom a lawsuit, heard of amongst them. Their character was a mixture of savage courage against their enemies, and submissive affection to their benefactors: while they addressed their landlords with familiarity, they had the most unbounded devotion to them in their hearts. Their temperament inclined them rather to melancholy; but they were capable, like most men of that character, of the most exalted sentiments. Slow and methodical in their habits, they were little inclined to adopt the revolutionary sentiments which had possessed so large a portion of the population in the more opulent districts of France; when once they were impressed with any truth, they invariably followed the course which they deemed right, without any regard either to its consequences, or the chances of success with which it was attended. Isolated in the midst of their woods, they lived alone with their children and their cattle. Their conversation, their amusements, their songs, all partook of the rural character. Governed by ancient habits, they detested every species of innovation, and knew no principle in politics or religion, but to fear God and honour the king.

9. Religion, as might naturally be expected with such manners, exercised an unbounded sway over these simple

people. They looked up with filial veneration to their village pastors, whose habits and benevolence rendered them the worthy representatives of the primitive church. But little removed from their flocks either in wealth, situation, or information, they sympathised with their feelings, partook of their festivities, assuaged their sorrows. They were to be seen beside the cradle of childhood, the fireside of maturity, the death-bed of age; they were regarded as the best friends of this life, and the dispensers of eternal felicity in that to come. The supporters of the Revolution accused them of fanaticism; and doubtless there was a great degree of superstition mingled with their belief, as there must be with that of every religious people in the early stages of society, and every faith which obtains general influence in that period of national existence. But it was a superstition of so gentle and holy a kind, that it proved a blessing rather than a misfortune to those who were subjected to its influence; and while the political fanaticism of the Revolution steeped its votaries in unheard-of atrocities, and produced unbounded suffering, the religious fanaticism of La Vendée only drew tighter the bonds of moral duty, and enlarged the sphere of Christian charity.

10. When the Revolution broke out in 1789, the inhabitants of this district were not distinguished by any peculiar opposition to its tenets. Those who dwelt in the towns were there, as elsewhere, warm supporters of the new order of things; and though the inhabitants of the Bocage felt averse to any changes which disturbed the tranquillity of their rural lives, yet they yielded obedience to all the orders of the Assembly, and only showed their predilection for their ancient masters by electing them to all the situations of power which were committed to popular election. In vain the revolutionary authorities urged them to exert the privileges with which the new constitution had invested them, and appoint members of their own body to the situations of trust of which they had the disposal; the current ran so strongly in favour of the old proprietors, that all these

efforts were fruitless. When the national guards were formed, the seigneur was besought in every parish to become its commander; when the mayor was to be appointed, he was immediately invested with the dignity; when the seigniorial seats were ordered to be removed from the churches, the peasants refused to execute the injunction: all the efforts of the revolutionists, like throwing water on a higher level, only brought an accession of power to the depositaries of the ancient authority. A memorable instance of the kindly feeling which necessarily grows up between a resident body of landed proprietors and the tenantry on their estates; and a decisive proof of the triumphant stand which might have been made against the fury of the Revolution, had the same good offices which had there produced so large a return of gratitude on the part of the peasantry, existed on the landlords' side in the other parts of France.

11. It was the violent measures of the Assembly against the clergy which first awakened the sympathy of the rural tenantry. When the people in the Bocage saw their ancient pastors, who had been drawn from their own circle, bred up amongst themselves, and to whom they were attached by every bond of affection and gratitude, removed because they refused to take the revolutionary oaths, and their places supplied by a new set of teachers, imbued with different tenets, strangers in the country, and ignorant of its dialect, their indignation knew no bounds. They ceased to attend the churches where the intruding clergy had been installed, and assembled with zeal in the woods and solitudes, where the expelled pastors still taught their faithful and weeping flocks. The new clergyman of the parish of Echaubroignies was obliged to quit his living from the experienced impossibility of procuring either fuel or provisions in a parish of four thousand inhabitants. These angry feelings led to several contests between the peasantry and the national guards of the towns, or the gendarmerie, in which the people suffered severely; and the heroism of the prisoners in their last mo-

ments augmented the loyalty and enthusiasm of the people.

12. These causes produced a serious insurrection in the Morbihan near Vannes, in February 1790; but the peasants, though several thousands in number, were dispersed with great slaughter by the national guard, and the severities exercised on the occasion long terrified the indignant inhabitants into submission. Another revolt broke out in May 1791, occasioned by the severities against the faithful clergy; and the heroism of the peasants who were put to death, evinced the strength of the religious enthusiasm which had now taken possession of their minds. "Lay down your arms!" exclaimed several Republican horsemen to a peasant of Lower Poitou, who defended himself with only a fork. "Restore me first my God," replied he, and fell pierced by two-and-twenty wounds. Nor was this heroic spirit confined to the peasantry: it pervaded all classes in these rural communities. During the summer of 1792, the gentlemen of Brittany entered into an extensive association for the purpose of rescuing the country from the oppressive yoke which had been imposed by the Parisian demagogues. At the head of the whole was the Marquis de la Rouarie, one of those remarkable men who rise into eminence during the stormy days of a revolution, from conscious ability to direct its current. Ardent, impetuous, and enthusiastic, he was first distinguished in the American War, where the intrepidity of his conduct attracted the admiration of the republican troops, and the same qualities rendered him at first an ardent supporter of the Revolution in France; but when the atrocities of the people began, he espoused with equal warmth the opposite side, and used the utmost efforts to rouse the noblesse of Brittany against the plebeian yoke which had been imposed upon them by the National Assembly. He submitted his plan to the Count d'Artois, and had organised one so extensive as would have proved extremely formidable to the Convention, if the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, in September 1792, had not damped the ardour of the whole

of the west of France, then ready to break out into insurrection.

13. Still the organisation continued, and he had contrived to engage not only all Brittany, but the greater part of the gentlemen of La Vendée, in the cause, when his death, occasioned by a paroxysm of grief for the execution of Louis, cut him off in the midst of his ripening schemes, and proved an irreparable loss to the Royalist party, by depriving it of the advantages which otherwise would have arisen from simultaneous and concerted operations on both banks of the Loire. The conspiracy was discovered after his death, and twelve of the noblest gentlemen in Brittany perished on the same day, in thirteen minutes, under the same guillotine. They all behaved with the utmost constancy, refused the assistance of the constitutional clergy, and after tenderly embracing at the foot of the scaffold, expired exclaiming "Vive le Roi!" One young lady of rank and beauty, Angélique Désilles, was condemned by mistake for her sister-in-law, for whom she was taken. She refused to let the error be divulged, and died with serenity, the victim of heroic affection.

14. These severities excited the utmost indignation among all the Royalists in the west of France. These feelings, with difficulty suppressed during the winter of 1792, broke out into open rebellion in consequence of the levy of three hundred thousand men ordered by the Convention in February 1793. The attempt to enforce this obnoxious measure occasioned a general resistance, which broke out without any previous concert, at the same time, over the whole country. The chief points of the revolt were St Florent in Anjou, and Châlons in Lower Poitou; at the former of which places the young men, headed by Jacques Cathelineau, defeated the Republican detachment intrusted with the execution of the decree of the Convention, and made themselves masters of a piece of cannon. This celebrated leader, having heard of the revolt at St Florent, was strongly moved by the recital, and addressing five peasants who surrounded him. "We shall

be ruined," he exclaimed, "if we remain inactive; the country will be crushed by the Republic. We must all take up arms." The six set out amidst the tears of their wives and children, and fearlessly commenced a war with a power which the kings of Europe were unable to subdue.

15. A few days after, the insurrection assumed a more serious aspect at Cholet, which was attacked by several thousand armed peasants; the Republicans opposed a vigorous resistance, but they were at length overwhelmed by the number and resolution of the insurgents. An incident on that occasion marked in a singular manner the novel character of the war. In the line of retreat which the Republicans followed, was placed a representation of our Saviour on Mount Calvary, and this arrested the progress of the victors; for all the peasants, as they passed the holy spot, fell on their knees before the images, and addressed a prayer, with uplifted hands, before they resumed the pursuit. This continued even under a severe fire from the national guards; the peasants threw themselves on their knees within twenty-five paces of the post occupied by the enemy, and bared their bosoms to the fatal fire, as if courting death in so holy a cause. When they made themselves masters of the town, instead of indulging in pillage or excesses of any sort, they flocked in crowds to the churches to return thanks to God; and contented themselves with the provisions which were voluntarily brought to them by the inhabitants. Everywhere the insurrection bore the same character; the indignities offered to the clergy were its exciting cause, and a mixture of courage and devotion formed its peculiar character. In a few days fifty thousand men were in a state of insurrection in the four departments of La Vendée; but on the approach of Easter the inhabitants all returned to their homes to celebrate their devotions; and a Republican column, despatched from Angers, traversed the whole country without meeting with any opposition, or finding an enemy on their road.

16. After the Easter solemnities were

over, the peasants assembled anew ; but they now felt the necessity of having some leaders of a higher rank to direct their movements, and went to the chateaus to ask the few gentlemen who remained in the country to put themselves at their head. These were not long in answering the appeal : MM. de Lesouire, de Larochejaquelein, Bonchamp, Stofflet, d'Elbée, undertook the dangerous duty of directing the tenantry over which they had most influence ; while the brave Cathelineau, who, though only a charioteer, had already, by his successful enterprise, gained the confidence of the peasantry, was made commander-in-chief—names since immortalised in the rolls of fame, which long opposed an invincible barrier to the progress of revolution, and acquired only additional lustre, and shone with a purer light, from the sufferings and disasters which preceded their fall.

17. When the peasants of the neighbouring parishes assembled to put themselves under Henri de Larochejaquelein, he addressed them in these memorable words : " My friends, if my father was here he would be worthy of your confidence : I am but a youth, but I hope to show myself worthy of commanding you by my courage. If I advance, follow me ; if I retreat, kill me ; if I fall, avenge me." The peasants answered him with acclamations ; but their arms and equipments were far from corresponding to the spirit by which they were animated. Most of them had no other weapons but scythes, pikes, and sticks ; not two hundred fusils were to be found among many thousand men. Sixty pounds of powder, for blasting rocks, discovered in the hands of a miner, formed their whole ammunition. The skill and intrepidity of their chief, however, supplied every deficiency. He led them next day to attack a Republican detachment at Aubiers, and, by disposing them behind the hedges, kept up so murderous a fire upon the enemy, that they wavered, upon which he rushed forward at the head of the most resolute, and drove them from the field with the loss of two pieces of cannon.

18. La Vendée soon became the theatre of innumerable conflicts, in all of

which the tactics and success of the insurgents were nearly the same. An inconceivable degree of activity immediately prevailed over the whole country. The male population were all in insurrection, or busily engaged in the manufacture of arms ; the shepherds converted their peaceful huts into workshops, where nothing was heard but strokes of the hammer and the din of warlike preparation. Instruments of husbandry were rudely transformed into hostile weapons ; formed for the support of life, they became the instruments of its destruction. Agriculture at the same time was not neglected ; it was intrusted to the women and children. But if fortune proved adverse, and the hostile columns approached, they, too, left their homes, and flew to the field of battle, to stimulate the courage of their husbands, stanch their wounds, or afford them shelter from the pursuit of their enemies.

19. The method of fighting pursued by this brave but motley assemblage was admirably adapted both to the spirit by which they were animated, and the peculiar nature of the district in which the contest was conducted. Their tactics consisted in lining the numerous hedges with which the fields were enclosed, and remaining unseen till the Republicans had got fairly enveloped by their forces : they then opened a fire at once from every direction, and with such fatal accuracy, that a large proportion of the enemy was generally struck down by the first discharge. This thicket species of warfare continued till the Republican ranks began to fall into confusion ; upon which the peasants leapt from their places of concealment with loud cries, and, headed by their chiefs, rushed upon the artillery. The bravest took the lead : fixing their eyes on the cannon's mouth, they prostrated themselves on the ground the moment they saw the flash ; and rising up when the sound was heard, ran forward with the utmost rapidity to the battery, where the cannoniers, if they had not taken to flight, were generally bayoneted at their guns. In these exploits the chiefs always led the way : this was not merely the result of

a buoyant courage, but of consideration and necessity; the Vendéans were in that stage of society when ascendancy is acquired by personal daring, and the soldiers have no confidence in their chiefs if they are not before them in individual prowess.

20. Although the Vendéans took up arms for the royal cause, the most perfect confusion of ranks pervaded their forces. High and low, rich and poor, were, at the commencement of the war, alike ignorant of the military art. The soldiers were never drilled, a limited number of them only having been habituated to the use of firearms. In this extremity, the choice of the men fell on the most intrepid or skilful of their number, without much attention to superiority of station. A brave peasant, a shopkeeper in a little town, was the comrade of a gentleman: they led the same life, were interested in the same objects, shared the same dangers. The distinction of birth, the pride of descent, even the shades of individual thought, were obliterated amid the magnitude of present perils. Many differences of opinion existed in the beginning of the contest, but the atrocities of the Republicans soon made them disappear in the Royalist army. Persons of intelligence or skill, of whatever grade, became officers, they knew not how; the peasants insensibly ranged themselves under their orders, and continued their obedience only as long as they showed themselves worthy to command.

21. It was extremely difficult for the Republicans in the outset to withstand this irregular force, acting in such a country, and animated with so enthusiastic a spirit. There was in all the early actions a prodigious difference between their losses and those of their opponents. The peasants, dispersed in single file between the hedges, fired with a clear view of their enemies, who were either in column, or two deep in the fields; while their volleys could only be answered by a discharge at a green mass, through which the figures of the Royalists were scarcely discernible. Harassed and disconcerted by this murderous fire, the Republicans were rarely

able to withstand the terrible burst, when, with loud shouts, the Royalists broke from their concealment, and fell sword in hand on the thinned ranks of their opponents. Defeat was still more bloody than action. Broken and dispersed, they fled through a woody and impervious country, and fell into the hands of the few peasantry who still remained in the villages, and who assembled with alacrity to complete the destruction of their enemies. When the Royalists, on the other hand, were routed, they immediately dispersed, leapt over the hedges, and returned home without the victors being able to reach them. Nowise discouraged by the reverse, they assembled again in arms, with renewed hopes, in a few days, and gaily took the field, singing "Vive le Roi quand même."

22. When a day was fixed on for any exploit, the tocsin sounded in the village assigned as the rendezvous of the peasants—the neighbouring steeples repeated the signal, the farmers abandoned their homes if it was night, their ploughs if day, slung their fusils over their shoulders, bound their girdle loaded with cartridges round their waists, tied their handkerchiefs over the broad-brimmed hats which shaded their sun-burnt visages, addressed a short prayer to God, and gaily repaired to the appointed place, with a full confidence in the protection of Heaven and the justice of their cause. There they met their chiefs, who explained to them the nature and object of the expedition on which they were to be employed; and, if it was the attack of an enemy's column, the route they were to follow, the point of attack, and the hour and manner in which it was to be made. Immediately the groups dispersed, but the men regained their ranks; every one repaired to the station assigned to him, and soon every tree, every bush, every tuft of broom which adjoined the road, concealed a peasant holding his musket in one hand, resting on the other, watching like a savage animal, without moving, almost without drawing his breath.

23. Meanwhile the enemy's column advanced, preceded by a cloud of scouts

and light troops, who were allowed to proceed without challenge close past the lurking foe. They waited till the division was fairly in the defile, and was so far advanced that it could not recede; then a cry was suddenly raised like that of a cat, and repeated along the whole line, as a signal that every one was at his post. If the same answer was given, a human voice was suddenly heard ordering the attack. Instantly a deadly volley proceeded from every tree, every hedge, every thicket: a shower of balls fell upon the soldiers without their being able to see the assailants; the dead and the wounded fell together into the bottom of the road; and if the column did not immediately fall into confusion, and the voice of the officers, heard above the roar of musketry, roused them to burst through the hedges by which they were enveloped, the peasants instantly fell back behind the next enclosure, and from its leafy rampart a fire as deadly proceeded as that which mowed them down on the road. If this second hedge was carried in the same manner, three, four, ten, twenty intrenchments of the same sort offered their support to that murderous retreat: for the whole country is subdivided in this manner, and everywhere presented to its children an asylum, to its enemies a tomb. But the great cause of the early and astonishing success of the Vendéans was their enthusiastic and indomitable valour. The Republicans were, for the most part, composed of national guards and volunteers, who, though greatly better armed, equipped, and disciplined, were totally destitute of the ardent, devoted spirit by which the Royalists were animated. The former took the field actuated by no common feeling, but from the dread of the requisitions and sanguinary measures of the Convention; the latter fought alongside of their neighbours and landlords, in defence of their hearths, their children, and their religion. The one acted in obedience to the dictates of an unseen but terrible power, which had crushed the freedom in whose name they were arrayed; the other yielded to their hereditary feelings of loyalty, and deemed themselves secure of

Paradise in combating for their sovereign.

24. Had the Vendean chiefs possessed the same authority over their troops which is enjoyed by the commanders of regular soldiers, they might at one time have marched to Paris, and done that which all the forces of the coalition were unable to effect. But their greatest success was always paralysed by the impossibility of retaining the soldiers at their colours for any considerable length of time. The bulk of the forces was never assembled for more than three or four days together. No sooner was the battle lost or won, the expedition successful or defeated, than the peasants returned to their homes. The chiefs were left alone with a few hundred deserters or strangers, who had no family to return to, and all the advantages of former success were lost for want of the means of following them up. The army, however, was as easily reformed as it was dissolved: messengers were despatched to all the parishes; the tocsin sounded, the peasants assembled at their parish churches, when the requisition was read, which was generally in the following terms: "In the holy name of God, and by the command of the king, this parish is invited to send as many men as possible to such a place at such an hour, with provisions for so many days." The order was obeyed with alacrity; the only emulation among the peasants was, who should attend the expedition. Each soldier brought a certain quantity of bread with him, and some stores were also provided by the generals. The corn and oxen necessary for the subsistence of the army were voluntarily furnished by the gentlemen and chief proprietors, or drawn by requisitions from the estates of the emigrants; and as the troops never remained together for any length of time, no want of provisions was ever experienced. The villages vied with each other for the privilege of sending carts for the service of the army, and the peasant girls flocked to the chapels on the road-side to furnish provisions to the soldiers, or offer up prayers for their success.

25. The army had neither chariots

nor baggage-waggons; tents were totally out of the question. But the hospitals were regulated with peculiar care: all the wounded, whether Royalists or Republicans, were transported to St Laurent sur Sèvre, where the charitable sisters and religious votaries, who flocked from all quarters to the scene of woe, assuaged their sufferings. They never could be brought to establish patrols or sentinels, or take any of the precautions against surprise which are in use among regular troops; and this irregularity not only exposed them to frequent reverses, but often rendered unavailing their greatest successes. The men marched, in general, four abreast, the officers in front being alone acquainted with their destination. They had few dragoons; and their cavalry, which never exceeded nine hundred men, was almost entirely mounted on the horses taken from the Republicans.

26. When the troops were assembled, they were divided into different columns, to attack the points selected by the generals. The only orders given, were—Such a leader goes such a road; who follows him? Arrived at the point of attack, the commands were given after the same fashion—Move towards that house, towards that tree; leap that hedge, were the only orders ever issued. Neither threats, nor the promise of rewards, could induce them to send forward scouts: when that duty was necessary, the officers were obliged to take it upon themselves. The peasants never went into battle without praying, and generally made the sign of the cross before they discharged their firelocks. They had a few standards which were displayed on important occasions; but no sooner was the victory gained than they piled standards and drums upon their carts, and returned with songs of triumph to their villages. When the battle began, and the sound of the musketry and cannon was heard, the women, the children, the sick, and the aged, flocked to the churches, or prostrated themselves in the fields to implore a blessing on their arms. With truth it might be said, that on such occasions there was but one thought, one wish, throughout all La Vendée—every

one waiting, in prayer, the issue of a struggle on which the fate of all depended. As the insurrection broke out from the prevalence of a common feeling, without any previous concert, so it was conducted without any definite object, or the least alloy of individual ambition. Even after great successes had inspired the most desponding with the hope of contributing in a powerful manner to the restoration of the monarchy, the wishes of the insurgents were of the most moderate kind. To have the king once visit their sequestered country; to be allowed, in memory of the war, to have a white flag on each steeple; to be permitted to furnish a detachment for the body-guard of the sovereign, and to have some old projects for the improvement of the roads and navigation of the country carried into effect, constituted the sole wishes of those whose valour had so nearly accomplished the restoration of the monarchy.

27. The early successes of the Vendéans, and their enthusiastic valour, did not extinguish the humanity which their dispositions, and the influence of religion, had nourished in their bosoms. In the latter stages of the war, the atrocities of the Republicans, the sight of their villages in flames, and their wives and children massacred, excited an inextinguishable desire of vengeance, and deeds of blood were common to both sides; but during the first months of the contest, their gentleness was as touching as their valour was admirable. After entering by assault into the towns, they neither pillaged the inhabitants, nor exacted either contribution or ransom; frequently they were to be seen, shivering with cold or starving with hunger, in quarters abounding both with fuel and provisions. "In the house where I lodged," says Madame de La Rochejaquelein, at Bressuire, "there were many soldiers, who were lamenting that they had no tobacco. I asked if there was none in the town. 'Plenty,' they replied, 'but we have no money to buy it.' Under our windows a quarrel arose between two horsemen, and the one wounded the other slightly with his sabre; his antagonist quickly disarmed

him, and was proceeding to extremities, when M. de Larochejaquelein exclaimed from the windows—'Jesus Christ pardoned his murderers, and a soldier of the Christian army is about to kill his comrade!' The man, abashed, put up his sabre, and embraced his enemy." These touching incidents occurred in a town recently carried by main force, occupied at the time by twenty thousand insurgents, and peculiarly obnoxious to the Royalists, from the cruelty which its national guards had exercised towards the peasantry. "In this town," she adds, "I was surprised in the evening to see all the soldiers in the house with me on their knees at prayers, and the streets filled with peasants at their devotions. When they were concluded, they led me out to see their favourite cannon, called Marie Jeanne, their first trophy from the Republicans, which, after having been retaken, had again fallen into their hands: it was decorated with flowers and ribbons, and the peasants embraced it with tears of joy." When Thouars was carried by assault, the Republican inhabitants were in the utmost consternation, as they anticipated a severe retaliation for the massacre perpetrated by them upon the Royalists in that town, in the August preceding. What, then, was their astonishment when they beheld the soldiers, instead of plundering or committing acts of cruelty, flocking to the churches, and returning thanks to God at the altars for the success with which he had blessed their arms. Even the garrison was treated with the most signal humanity. Twelve only were retained from each department as hostages, and the remainder, without either ransom or exchange, dismissed to their homes.

23. In one district only the insurrection was early stained by the most frightful atrocities. In the marshes of Lower Poitou the peasants were seized with an uncontrollable thirst for vengeance, in consequence of the cruelties exercised by the Republicans on the Royalist leaders after the insurrection of the ensuing year. Machecoul was captured during the absence of Charette; and, under the influence of re-

volting news of the Republican cruelties at Nantes and Paris, the prisons were forced by a furious mob, and above eighty prisoners massacred in one day. Nearly five hundred Republicans fell victims to the rage of a Royalist committee, at the head of which was a wretch named Souchu, who soon after hoisted his true colours, and joined the Republicans, but fell a victim to the just indignation of the widows of those he had murdered. Charette, on his return, was horror-struck at these atrocities, and, finding his military authority not yet sufficiently established to coerce them, he had recourse to the clergy to aid his efforts. They fabricated a miracle at the tomb of a saint to influence the minds of the people, and, while they were prostrated round the altar, conjured them, in the name of the God of Peace, never to kill but in the hour of combat. At the same time Charette forbade any prisoner to be slain in his army, under pain of death, and concealed in his own house several zealous Republicans, whose heads were loudly demanded by his soldiers. By these means, the cruelty which at first had stained the Royalist cause in Lower Poitou was arrested, and a reply made, in a true Christian spirit, to the savage decrees of the Convention, which had ordered every Vendean taken in arms to be put to death without mercy in twenty-four hours.

29. M. Bonchamp, chief of the Army of Anjou, was the most distinguished of the Royalist leaders. To the heroic courage of the other chiefs, he joined consummate military talents, and an eloquence which at once gave him an unlimited sway over the minds of the soldiers. Had he lived, the fate of the war would, in all probability, have been widely different, and the expedition beyond the Loire, which led to such disastrous results, been the commencement of the most splendid success. Gentle in his manners, humane in his conduct, affable in his demeanour, he was adored by his soldiers, who were at once the most skilful and best disciplined of the Vendean corps. In the midst of the furies of a civil war, and the dissensions of rival chiefs, he was the enemy

of intrigue; free from personal ambition, he was intrusted with an important command solely from his personal merits. His character may be appreciated from the words which he addressed to his young and weeping wife, when he put himself at the head of his troops. "Summon to your aid all your courage; redouble your patience and resignation: you will have need for the exercise of all these virtues. We must not deceive ourselves; we can look for no recompense in this world for what we are to suffer; all that it could offer would be beneath the purity of our motives, and the sanctity of our cause. We must never expect human glory; civil strife affords none. We shall see our houses burned; we shall be plundered, proscribed, outraged, calumniated, perhaps massacred. Let us thank God for enabling us to foresee the worst, since that presage, by redoubling the merit of our actions, will enable us to anticipate the heavenly reward which awaits those who are courageous in adversity, and constant in suffering. Let us raise our eyes and our thoughts to heaven; it is there that we shall find a Guide who cannot mislead, a force which cannot be shaken, an eternal reward for transitory grief."

30. Cathelineau, a peasant by birth, and a charioteer by profession, was the first of the chiefs who acquired the unlimited confidence of the soldiers. To an extraordinary degree of intelligence, and the strongest natural sagacity, he joined a nervous eloquence, admirably calculated to influence the soldiers. His age was thirty-four years; his disposition modest and retiring. He was without either ambition or cupidity; humble and unassuming, he sought only to do his duty. He acquired influence without either desiring or intending it; and got a lead in the armies he knew not how—a situation in which its noble leaders had the patriotism and judgment at once to confirm him. Such was his reputation for piety and rectitude, that the peasants called him the Saint of Anjou, and earnestly sought to be placed in battle by his side, deeming it impossible that those could be

wounded who were near so unblemished a man.

31. Henri de Larochejaquelein, son of the Marquis de Larochejaquelein, was the leader of all the parishes which were situated round Châtillon. He refused to follow the general tide of emigration, and, on the contrary, repaired to Paris to defend the constitutional monarchy; and when the revolt on the 10th August overturned the throne, he set out for La Vendée, exclaiming, "I will retire to my province, and soon you will hear of me!" Though still young, he acquired the confidence of the soldiers by his invincible courage and coolness in action, which gained for him the surname of the Intrepid. He was reproached for being too forward in battle, carried away by his ardour, and forgetting the general in the soldier. Frequently, before making a prisoner, he offered to give him the chance of escape by a personal conflict. Councils of war, or the duties of a commander, fatigued his buoyant disposition, and he generally fell asleep after giving his opinion, and answered to the reproaches of his brother officers, "Why do you insist upon making me a general? I wish only to be a hussar, to have the pleasure of fighting." Notwithstanding this passion for danger, he was full of sweetness and humanity; and when the combat was over, no one was more generous to the vanquished. Even after his eminent services, he formed only the most humble wishes for himself. "Should we replace the king on the throne," said he, "I hope he will give me a regiment of hussars." He performed the most eminent services in the war, and at its most critical period was unanimously elected to the supreme command. After innumerable heroic actions, he fell in an obscure skirmish, and was interred in the cemetery of St Aubin. "Chance," says the annalist, "has covered his tomb, as well as that of his brother Louis, with the Flower of Achilles; and never did it blossom over remains more worthy of the name."

32. M. de Lescure, the cousin and intimate friend of Henri de Larochejaquelein, was distinguished by a brav-

ery of a totally different character. Cool, intrepid, and sagacious, he was not less daring than his youthful comrade; but his valour was the result of reflection and a sense of duty. His counsels were much regarded, from his knowledge of fortification and the art of war; but a certain degree of obstinacy diminished the weight of his opinions. His humanity was angelic. During the whole of that terrible war, in which generals as well as soldiers so often fought personally with their enemies, no one ever fell by his hand; and even in the worst times, when the cruelties of the Republicans had roused the most gentle to fury, he incessantly laboured to save the lives of the prisoners. Learned, studious, and thoughtful, he had prescribed to himself, at the age of eighteen, the most severe economy, to discharge the debts of an extravagant father; and it was not till he was twenty-five, and had become a father, that gentler feelings softened the native austerity of his character. His young wife, only daughter of the Marquis of Donnissan, a rich heiress, united to all the beauty and graces more than the courage of her sex. The only occasion on which he was heard to swear, was when his indignant soldiers murdered a prisoner behind his back, whom he had disarmed in the act of discharging a musket at his bosom. The number of lives which he saved during the war was incalculable; and, alone of all the chiefs in that memorable struggle, it could be said with truth, that his glory was unstained by human blood.

33. In the Grand Army, as it was called, of La Vendée, the principal chief was M. d'Elbée, a peasant of Saxon descent, but naturalised in France. He was forty years old when the contest commenced, ignorant of the world, devout, enthusiastic, and superstitious; but his principal merit consisted in an extraordinary coolness in danger, which rivalled that of Marshal Ney himself. He resembled more nearly than any of the other chiefs the Puritan leaders of the great rebellion in England. His talents for war were great, and his courage undaunted; but greater still was his influence over his rude and en-

thusiastic followers. His devotion was sincere; but finding, like Cromwell, that it was the most powerful lever to move the peasants, he carried it to an extravagant height. He acquired, by extraordinary sanctity, an unbounded ascendancy over his soldiers, and justified their confidence by great talents as a leader, which ultimately led to his appointment as commander-in-chief—a situation which he filled with unshaken firmness during a period of disaster and ruin.

34. Stofflet, an Alsatian by birth, and a gamekeeper by profession, was early distinguished by his devotion to the royal cause, and headed some of the first detachments which took the field. Endowed with a powerful frame, hardy in his habits, harsh in his manners, he never acquired, like the chiefs of gentle blood, the love of the soldiers; but his stern character and unbending severity made him more implicitly obeyed than any other leader, and on that account his services were highly prized by the Royalist generals. Active, intelligent, and brave, he was a skilful partisan rather than a consummate general; and when the death of the other chiefs opened to him the way to a high command, his ambition and jealousy contributed much to the ruin of the common cause.

35. Charette, the last of this illustrious band, succeeded to eminence late in the struggle, and when the war had become an affair of posts rather than a regular contest. He was originally a lieutenant in the navy, and of a feeble and delicate constitution; but the habits of the chase, to which he was passionately attached, and in which he frequently lay for months in the woods, strengthened his frame to such a degree as rendered him capable of enduring any fatigue, and made him intimately acquainted both with the rural inhabitants and the country which he had occasion to traverse. He was for some days unwilling to place himself at the head of the peasantry, who entreated him to take the command, from a distrust of success with their feeble means; and when he was prevailed on, he showed at once his decision of character, by

requiring from them instantaneous submission to his orders, and his spirit of devotion, by taking an oath on the Gospels, at the high altar of the church of Machecault, to be faithful to the cause of God and the throne. His courage was unconquerable, his firmness invincible, his resources unbounded; and long after the conflict had become hopeless in other quarters, he maintained, in the marshes and forests of Lower Vendée, a desperate struggle. Such was the terror inspired by his achievements, that when he was at the head of only fourteen followers, the Convention offered him a million of francs if he would retire to England; but he refused the bribe, and preferred, even with that inconsiderable band, to wage war with a power to which the kings of Europe were hastening to make submission. Betrayed at length to his enemies, he met his fate with unshaken firmness, and left the glorious name of being the last and most indomitable of the Vendean chiefs.

36. The troops which these chiefs commanded were formed into three divisions. The first, or the Army of Angoulême, under the orders of Bonchamp, composed of twelve thousand men, was destined to combat the Republicans from the side of Angers. The second, called the Grand Army, under the command of d'Elbée, amounted to twenty thousand men, and on important occasions it could be raised to double that amount. The third, called the Army of the Marais, obeyed the orders of Charette, and at one time also was raised to twenty thousand combatants. Besides these, a corps of twelve thousand men was stationed at Montaigu, to observe the garrison of Luçon; and several smaller bodies, amounting in all to three thousand men, kept up the communications between these larger corps.

37. The early measures of the Convention to crush the insurrection were marked by the bloody spirit which had so long characterised their proceedings. Orders were despatched, on the first intelligence of the revolt, to the Republican soldiers, to exterminate men, women, children, animals, and vegetation. They sent against them the ruffian bands

of the Marseillais, who, on their arrival at Bressuire, immediately exclaimed, that they must begin by massacring the prisoners; and surrounding the jail, put to death eleven peasants, who had been seized in their beds a few days before, on suspicion of being in concert with the insurgents. The fate of these brave men, who were cut down with sabres while on their knees praying to God, and exclaiming "Vive le Roi!" excited universal enthusiasm among the inhabitants. "It is painful," said the Republican commissioners, "to be obliged to proceed to extremities; but they cannot be avoided, from the fanaticism of the peasants, who, in no one instance, have been known to betray their landlords. We must cut down the hedges and woods, decimate the inhabitants, send the remainder into the interior of France, and repopulate the country by colonies of patriots." Nor were these atrocities the work merely of the generals in command. By a solemn decree of the Convention, they were enjoined to proceed with unheard-of rigour against the insurgents. By this sanguinary law, "all the persons who have taken any share in the revolts are declared *hors la loi*, and in consequence deprived of trial by jury, and all the privileges accorded by law to accused persons; if taken in arms, they are to be shot within twenty-four hours by a military commission, proceeding on the testimony of a single witness; those who had any share in the revolt, though not taken in arms, shall be subjected to the same mode of trial and punishment; all the priests and nobles, with their families and servants, shall undergo the same punishment; the pain of death shall in all cases draw after it a confiscation of goods; and the same shall hold with those slain in battle, when the corpse is identified before the criminal judges."

38. The Royalists in no instance in the commencement of the war resorted to any measures of retaliation, except at Machecault, where the peasants, as already noticed, immediately after the insurrection broke out, and before Charette had succeeded to the command, exercised the most revolting cruelties.

These atrocities, to which the armies of La Vendée proper were ever strangers, and which were severely repressed by Charette when he assumed the command, did incalculable injury to the Royalist cause, by the horror which they inspired in the neighbouring towns. They not only prevented the opulent city of Nantes from joining the insurrection, but produced that obstinate resistance on the part of its inhabitants to the attack of Cathelineau, which occasioned the first and greatest of their reverses.

39. But the Republicans soon found that they had a more formidable enemy to contend with than the unarmed prisoners on whom their atrocities at Paris had so long been exercised. The first expedition of importance undertaken by the Royalists was against Thouars, which was occupied by General Quétinau, with a division of seven thousand men. A large proportion of the peasants were here brought into action for the first time; but their courage supplied the place both of discipline and experience. After a severe fire, the ammunition of the Royalists began to fail, upon which M. de Lescure seized a fusil from a soldier, descended the heights on which his troops were posted, and calling to the soldiers to follow him, rushed over the bridge which led to the city. A tremendous discharge of grape and musketry deterred even the bravest of his followers, and he stood alone amidst the smoke; he returned to his companions, exhorted them to follow him, and again tried the perilous pass; but again he stood alone, his clothes pierced in many places with balls. At this moment Henri de Larochejaquelein came up, and, along with Foret and a single peasant, advanced to support their heroic comrade: all four rushed over the bridge, followed by the soldiers, who now closely pursued their steps, and assailed and carried the barricades; while Bonchamp, who had discovered a ford at a short distance, destroyed a body of the national guard which defended it, and drove the Republicans back to the town. Its ancient walls could not long resist the fury of the victors; Henri de Larochejaque-

lein, by mounting on the shoulders of a soldier, reached the top of the rampart, helped up the boldest of his followers, and speedily the town was carried. Six thousand prisoners, twelve cannons, and twenty caissons, fell into the hands of the Royalists. Though strongly inclined to Republican principles, and stained by the massacre of the Royalists in the preceding August, the city underwent none of the horrors which usually await a place taken by assault: not an inhabitant was maltreated, nor a house pillaged; the peasants flocked to the churches to return thanks to God; and amused themselves with burning the tree of liberty, and the papers of the municipality.

40. Encouraged by this success, the Vendéans advanced against Chataigneraie, which was garrisoned by four thousand Republicans. By a vigorous attack it was carried, and the garrison, after sustaining severe losses, with difficulty escaped to Fontenay. Thither they were followed by the Royalists: but the strength of the army melted away during the advance; great numbers of the peasants returned to cultivate their fields, and put their families in a place of security; and when the army came in sight of Fontenay, it only mustered ten thousand combatants. With this force they assailed the town; but though M. de Lescure and Larochejaquelein penetrated into the suburbs, the Royalists were defeated on other sides, with the loss of twenty-four pieces of cannon, including the celebrated Marie Jeanne, so much the object of their veneration. The victorious wing with difficulty drew off their artillery from the place. This first check spread the deepest dejection through the army. Marie Jeanne, their favourite cannon, was taken; they had now but six pieces left; the ammunition was exhausted; the soldiers had only a single cartridge remaining for each musket; and they were returning in numbers to their villages. In this extremity, the firmness of the chiefs restored the fortune of the war. They instantly took their determination; fell back to Chataigneraie, spoke cheerfully to the peasants,

declared that the reverse was a punishment of heaven for some disorders committed by the troops, and sent orders to the priests in the interior to send forward, without delay, all the strength of their parishes.

41. An unexpected incident at this period contributed in a powerful manner to revive the Royalist cause. An Abbé, who had been seized by the Republicans, made his escape to the insurgents, declared that he was the Bishop of Agra, and arrived at Châtillon on the very day of the defeat. The peasants, overjoyed at having a bishop amongst them, flew to receive his benediction, and flocked in multitudes, full of confidence, singing psalms and litanies, to rejoin the army. Thirty-five thousand were speedily assembled, and the Royalist leaders lost no time in taking advantage of their enthusiasm to repair the late disaster. Bonchamp commanded the right, Cathelineau the centre, and d'Elbée the left, while Henri de Larochejaquelein led the small but determined band of horsemen. On the following day they returned to Fontenay, where the Republicans, ten thousand strong, with forty pieces of cannon, were drawn up on the outside of the town to await their attack. The Royalist army received absolution on their knees, and M. de Lescure addressed them in these words: "Let us advance, my sons; we have no powder—we can only retake the cannon with our staffs; Marie Jeanne must be rescued—she will be the prize of the swiftest of foot amongst you." The peasants answered with acclamations; but when they approached the Republican guns, the severity of the fire made the bravest hesitate. Upon this M. de Lescure advanced above thirty paces before his men, directly in front of a battery of six pieces, which was discharging grape with the utmost violence, stood there, took off his hat, exclaimed "Vive le Roi!" and slowly returned to the troops. His clothes were pierced, his spurs carried away, his boots torn, but he himself was still un wounded. "My friends," said he, "you see the Blues do not know how to fire."

42. This decided the peasants; they rushed forward with rapidity; but before they reached the battery a new incident arrested their course: they perceived on an eminence a cross, and the whole soldiers instantly fell on their knees, under the fire of the cannon. An officer wished to raise them: "Allow them," said Lescure, "to pray to God; they will not fight the worse for it." In effect, a moment after, the men sprang up and rushed forward, armed with staffs and clubbing their muskets, with such resolution, to the cannons' mouths, that the artillerymen deserted them, and fled in confusion towards the town. Meanwhile, M. de Bonchamp, who had skilfully disposed his right wing in an oblique order, pushed forward with his men, and threw in so murderous a fire, at the distance of fifty paces, that on his side also the Republicans gave way, and the victory was complete. The victors and fugitives entered together into the town, headed by Lescure, who was the first man within the gates. No sooner was he there than he used all his efforts to save the vanquished, incessantly exclaiming, "Lay down your arms: quarter to the vanquished." Forty pieces of cannon, several thousand muskets, ammunition, and stores in abundance, rewarded this triumph of the Royalist arms, who sustained no serious loss except that arising from a wound of Bonchamp, who was shot by a traitor to whom he had just given his life. It was not the least part of their success, in the estimation of the peasants, that they retook their first and much-loved gun, Marie Jeanne, which was rescued from the Republicans by Foret, who with his own hand slew two gendarmes who guarded it. The enthusiasm excited by the recovery of this favourite piece of artillery was unbounded. Filled with joy, the peasants threw themselves on their knees, embraced their favourite cannon, covered it with branches, flowers, and garlands, and themselves drew it into the market-place in Fontenay, preparatory to its removal to a place of security in the Bocage.

43. The Royalists were much perplexed with the course to be pursued

with the prisoners, to the number of many thousands, who were now in their hands. To retain them in custody was impossible, for they had no fortified places; to follow the example of the Republicans, and murder them, out of the question. At length it was determined to shave their heads, and send them back to the Republicans—a resolution the execution of which caused no small merriment to the soldiers. After the success at Fontenay, it was proposed to advance to Niort, where all the Republican troops of the neighbourhood were assembled; but the peasants returned so rapidly to their homes that it was found to be impossible. In four-and-twenty hours after the capture of the town, three-fourths of the army had returned to the Bocage, to recount their exploits to their agitated families. It was resolved, therefore, to withdraw from their conquest, which was an indefensible post in the midst of a hostile territory, and in a few days the whole army re-entered the Bocage.

44. Meanwhile, equal success had attended the arms of the Vendéans in other quarters. Cathelineau, Stofflet, and Charette had defeated all the Republican bodies which attempted to penetrate into the parts of La Vendée where they commanded, and the latter had made himself master of the Isle of Noirmoutier. Successful combats took place at Vihiers, and Doué and Montreuil, which all tended to elevate the spirit of the troops; and it was at length resolved to unite all their forces for the attack of the important city of Saumur, where the Convention, who were now making the most vigorous efforts to check the insurrection, had collected twenty-two thousand regular troops, besides a great number of national guards. The Royalist forces, forty thousand strong, approached this city on the 10th June. The Republican army had taken post in a fortified camp which surrounded the town. Their left rested on the heights in front of the old castle, their right on St Florent; while formidable batteries lined all the intermediate space between these points. Field-works had been thrown

up, and in many places redoubts completed, to strengthen their intrenched camp, which covered the whole space running through the heights from the broad and deep stream of the Thouet to the banks of the Loire. Sixteen thousand men, and nearly one hundred pieces of cannon, were assembled on this important post, which commanded one of the chief passages over that great river.

45. While the chiefs were deliberating about the best mode of assailing this formidable camp, the Vendéans, of their own accord, engaged in the attack. Such was the ardour of the troops, in consequence of some successful skirmishes in which the advanced guard was engaged, that the whole army precipitated itself upon the town without waiting for the command of their leaders. This tumultuous assault, without any orders, was little calculated to insure success; M. de Lescuré was wounded: the sight of his blood, whom they believed invulnerable, shook the courage of the soldiers, and a charge of cuirassiers completed their disorder. The peasants, seeing that their balls could not pierce these steel-clad enemies, fled in confusion, and were only rallied by M. de Lescuré behind some overturned waggons, which formed a barricade in the line of their flight. The Royalist leaders, as well as the confusion would admit, now took measures to attack in regular form. Stofflet and Cathelineau directed their forces against the heights, and made a feint against the castle, while Lescuré put himself at the head of the left wing to assault the bridge of Fouchard, and turn the redoubts of Bournan; and Henri de Larochejaquelein marched with his division towards the meadows of Varrins, to storm on that side the intrenched camp. While Lescuré was rallying his men behind the waggons, Henri de Larochejaquelein assailed the Republican camp on the other side, where it was protected by a rampart and ditch. Finding that the soldiers hesitated to cross the fosse, he took off his hat, threw it into the ditch, and exclaiming, "Who will get it for me?" plunged in himself, and was the first to seize it, followed by the soldiers,

who now broke through in great numbers, escalated the rampart, and entered the town.

46. Followed by sixty foot-soldiers, he traversed the streets, crossed the bridges of the Loire, planted cannon on them to prevent the return of the Republicans, and pursued them for a considerable distance on the road to Tours. General Coustard, who commanded the Republicans on the heights of Bournan, was now cut off from all communication with the remainder of the army, and he took the bold resolution to enter Saumur, taking the victorious Royalists in rear. For this purpose, it was necessary to cross the bridge, where the Vendéans had established a battery which commanded the passage. Coustard ordered a regiment of cuirassiers, supported by the volunteers of Orleans, to storm the battery. "Where are you sending us?" said the soldiers. "To death," replied Coustard; "the safety of the Republic requires it." The brave cuirassiers charged at the gallop, and carried the guns; but the Orleans volunteers disbanded under the fire, and they were forced to relinquish them to the Royalists. While these advantages were gained on their side, M. de Lescure had succeeded in rallying his soldiers, who, by falling on their faces when the artillery was discharged, succeeded in capturing the redoubts opposed to them, while Stofflet broke into the town, and completed the victory. The trophies of the Vendéans in this great victory, more important by far than any yet gained over the Republicans by the allied sovereigns, were eighty pieces of cannon, ten thousand muskets, and eleven thousand prisoners, with the loss only of sixty men killed, and four hundred wounded. On the following day, the castle surrendered, with fourteen hundred men and all the artillery which it contained. This success gave them the command of both banks of the Loire. The Royalists shaved the heads of their prisoners, and sent them back to the Republicans on no other condition than that of not again serving against La Vendée—an illusory condition, speedily violated by the bad faith of their antagonists. This humanity

was the more remarkable, as at this period the Republicans had already commenced their inhuman system of massacring their prisoners, and all taken in arms against the Convention.

47. After the capture of Saumur, the opinion of the council of generals was divided as to the course which they should pursue; but at length they were determined by the consideration of the great advantages of the possession of Nantes, which would open up a communication with England, and serve as a depot and base for future operations up the course of the Loire, and, in consequence, it was resolved to attack that town. This resolution in the end proved fatal to the Royalist cause, by turning their Grand Army from the road to Paris, where it might have arrived, and stifled the reign of blood in its cradle, in the first moments of alarm following the taking of Saumur. Nevertheless it was ably conceived in a military point of view, as it was evident that the course of the Loire formed the line of the Royalist operations, and that Nantes was indispensable to their security. The day after the battle, M. Bonchamp arrived with his division, five thousand strong; while two noble young men, Charles Beaumont d'Autichamp and the Prince of Talmont, also joined the Royalist cause. At the same time the supreme command was given, by the council of generals, to the peasant Cathelineau—a striking proof of the disinterested magnanimity which distinguished the noble chiefs of the army; while, by a strange contrast, Biron, a peer of France, and son of a marshal, led the Republican forces.

48. M. Bonchamp, who was gifted with the true military genius, strongly urged a descent into Brittany, to obtain a communication with the ocean, and thereafter an immediate advance to Paris; and if this plan could have been adopted, it might have led to incalculable results. But the other leaders, though brave and able men, were not equally penetrated with the necessity of striking at the decisive moment at the heart of their enemies; and, besides, great difficulty was anticipated in prevailing on the peasants to undertake

so distant an expedition, or believe that anything could be required of them out of sight of their beloved Bocage. It was resolved, therefore, to descend the Loire to Nantes, in order to secure a firm footing on the sea-coast, and open a communication with England, after which, it was thought, more distant operations might with greater safety be attempted. A garrison having been left in Saumur, to maintain the passage of the Loire, the Grand Army under Cathelineau, after occupying Angers, which was hastily abandoned by the Republicans, advanced towards Nantes by the right bank of the river; while Charette, who had twenty thousand men under his command, was invited to co-operate in the attempt on the left.

49. During the march, however, the ardour of the peasants sensibly diminished. They had been long absent from home, and lamented the interruption of their agricultural labours; nor could anything persuade them that, after having gained so many victories, it was necessary to attempt the reduction of so distant a place as Nantes. Great numbers left their colours, and returned to their fields; and when the main army approached that city, it hardly amounted to ten thousand combatants. The hour of attack was fixed at two o'clock on the morning of the 29th June, and Charette, on his side, commenced the assault at that hour; but the army of Cathelineau, having been detained ten hours before the little town of Nort, did not arrive till ten. They were there arrested by a few hundred of the national guard, who fought with heroic valour. Notwithstanding this delay, the united forces commenced the attack with great vigour, and Cathelineau had actually penetrated, at the head of the bravest of his troops, into the town, when on the Place d'Armes he was severely wounded by a ball in the breast. The peasants, in despair, carried him out of the town, and abandoned all the advantages they had gained. In the end, although the combat continued for eighteen hours, the want of a leader rendered the courage of the soldiers of no avail, and the enterprise failed.

50. This check proved extremely pre-

judicial to the Vendean cause. The army was dissolved in an instant. The brave Cathelineau was disabled by his wound; officers, soldiers, hastily threw themselves into boats and recrossed the Loire; the right bank was entirely deserted, and the men, in groups of twenty and thirty, straggled homewards. After an interval of a fortnight this noble chief expired, to the inexpressible regret of both the leaders and soldiers, and carried with him to the grave the best hopes of the re-establishment of the Royalist cause. The death of the commander was announced by a peasant, a neighbour of the deceased, to the anxious group who surrounded the house where he breathed his last, in these simple words—"The good Cathelineau has restored his spirit to Him who gave it to avenge his glory."

51. While these events were in progress on the one side of Nantes, a formidable invasion by disciplined troops and able generals was defeated in the Bocage. Westermann, the celebrated chief of the Jacobin insurgents at Paris on the 10th August, having organised what he called a German Legion, from soldiers trained in the regular wars on the Rhenish frontier, and entertaining the most supreme contempt for the insurgents, penetrated, during the absence of the Grand Army of the Royalists at Nantes, into the heart of La Vendée. He made himself master in the first instance of Parthenay and Amaillou, which he reduced to ashes, and burnt Clisson, the chateau of M. de Lescure. The leaders fled to Châtillon, where the Supreme Royalist Council was assembled; but this last refuge was soon after invaded by Westermann, who burned to the ground the castle of La Durbellière, the domain of M. de Larochejaquelein. But here terminated the success of this enterprise. M. de Lescure had apprised the other chiefs of the danger, and they were now advancing by forced marches to his aid. Stofflet and Bonchamp arrived with their divisions, while the tocsin roused the inhabitants of the surrounding parishes; and an able attack directed by Lescure, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, proved completely successful. In little more

than an hour, two-thirds of Westermann's army were destroyed; and the fugitives who escaped owed their salvation to the humanity of the very general whose chateau they had just destroyed. Westermann, with the utmost difficulty, escaped out of the Bocage with a few followers, and was in the end sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, and perished on the scaffold.

52. After Cathelineau's death, M. d'Elbée was appointed generalissimo, and the utmost efforts of all the chiefs were exerted to reassemble the army. Such was the disinterestedness of the other leaders, that Bonchamp, qualified above all others for the situation, made his own officers vote for his rival. Meanwhile Biron, having collected fifty thousand troops, commenced a regular invasion of the Bocage in four divisions, extending from the Loire to the Sèvre. This inroad was at first attended with success. The Royalists, with twenty-five thousand men, attacked General Lebarollière, who, with fifteen thousand, was established at Martigné-Briand; but after an obstinate engagement they were defeated, and retired to Coron. Thither they were pursued by Santerre, who deemed himself now secure of conquest; but a dreadful reverse awaited him. The tocsin was sounded in all the parishes; the curate of St Laud, who eminently distinguished himself in the war, collected all the forces of the neighbouring districts; and on the 17th the Republicans were attacked, while marching in column on the high-road, in front and flank at the same time, and driven back in the utmost disorder towards Saumur and Chinon, with the loss of ten thousand men, and all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition.

53. Soon after, M. d'Elbée, with Charette, attacked a corps of fifteen thousand men at Luçon; but although success at first attended the Royalists, they were ultimately defeated with the loss of fifteen hundred men and eighteen pieces of cannon—one of the greatest disasters experienced since the commencement of the war. It was chiefly owing to their having followed, on M. de Lescure's advice, a plan of attack which,

though admirably adapted for regular troops, was not suited to the desultory and impetuous mode of warfare adopted by the peasantry. The whole artillery of the Royalists would have fallen into the hands of the Republicans, had not Larochefajoulein, at the head of sixty of the bravest of his followers, by prodigies of valour arrested the pursuit at the bridge of Dissay.

54. Encouraged by this success, the armies of the Convention, now greatly reinforced by the efforts of the government, on all sides invaded the Bocage. Santerre, fatally celebrated in the Revolution, advanced at the head of powerful bodies of regular soldiers; Chantonay was occupied, and the country, wherever they penetrated, devastated with fire and sword. Even the farm-houses and the mills were consumed, in obedience to the orders of the Convention. But a severe retribution was awaiting them. The Royalists sounded the tocsin in all the parishes in the heart of the Bocage, and having reassembled the peasants, made a combined and skilful attack on the Republican force, seven thousand strong, in the neighbourhood of Chantonay. It proved completely successful, chiefly in consequence of the valour of the division of Bonchamp, which, not having shared in the preceding reverses, had preserved all its wonted enthusiasm. The Republicans were routed, with the loss of all their artillery and baggage; and such was the carnage that scarce eighteen hundred could be reassembled after the battle, and Santerre himself narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. At the same time, Charette maintained an obstinate contest in Lower Vendée. Though frequently defeated, he never suffered himself to be discouraged by his reverses, and destroyed several Republican columns that endeavoured to penetrate into his district.

55. But the Convention, which was at last awakened to a full sense of the danger of the war, was now collecting forces on all sides to crush the insurgents. The garrison of Mayence, fourteen thousand strong, commanded by Kleber, and which the Allies, with culpable negligence, had not made prison-

era of war, and only bound not to combat the *Allies* for a year, was despatched by post to the scene of action; and great part of the garrisons of Valenciennes and Condé, which had been restored on the same condition, soon followed in the same direction. Not only the national guards, but the *levée en masse* of the neighbouring departments, were assembled: and before the middle of September, upwards of two hundred thousand men surrounded La Vendée on all sides, and, by a simultaneous advance, threatened to crush its revolt. To oppose this formidable invasion, the Royalists were formed into four divisions;—that in the neighbourhood of Nantes, under the command of Charette; that on the banks of the Loire, under Bonchamp; M. de Larochejaquelein in Anjou, and M. de Lescure in Eastern Poitou—while d'Elbée retained the supreme command.

56. The plan which Bonchamp strenuously recommended, and which bears the mark of great military genius, was to allow the enemy to penetrate, in detached columns, into the Bocage; to overwhelm them successively by a junction in that district of the Royalist forces, who occupied a central position; and to take advantage of the first moment of alarm, cross the Loire, rouse the Royalist population of Brittany, and nourish the war from the resources of a hitherto untouched country. "What fortunate accident," said he, "has made us acquainted with the designs of the enemy! In it I see clearly the hand of God for the safety of La Vendée. The Republicans have at length discovered the secret of our victories; they wish to concentrate their forces to overwhelm us by their mass. We may, indeed, repulse the army of Mayence; but will it not return to the charge with accumulated numbers, and irresistible force! Let us, then, anticipate the enemy. Brittany calls us; let us march, and extend our destinies. Let us no longer be deceived by the hope that the allied powers will restore the monarchy; that glory is reserved for us alone. Masters of a harbour on the ocean, we shall find the princes at our head, and we will at length acquire that

political consistence, without which we cannot hope for durable success." D'Elbée combated the latter part of the project, as too hazardous in the irregular state of the army; and, after a long discussion, it was resolved to remain on the defensive in La Vendée.

57. It was the army of Charette which first found itself assailed by the immense forces of the Republicans. The Vendéans were there attacked by the redoubtable garrison of Mayence, which crossed the Loire and invaded the country on the 10th September. The Royalists were defeated in several encounters, and driven back by this invasion. Bonchamp was defeated near the rock of Erigné, while Lescure experienced a check at Thouars; and the whole of Lower Poitou was wasted with fire and sword, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of Charette. The successive retreat of these columns, however, brought the Royalist bodies near each other, and a simultaneous effort was made by all their forces. D'Elbée, and Bonchamp, who had now recovered from his wound, having united thirty thousand men, and the army having received the benediction of the curate of St Laud, and heard high mass at midnight, they attacked the Republicans at daybreak on the 19th September. The Royalists were forty thousand strong; the Republicans somewhat less numerous—but they embraced the garrison of Mayence, the best soldiers in France. All the chiefs felt that this invasion must at all hazards be repelled, and that the moment had arrived when they must conquer or die. Charette, certain of the co-operation of the other generals, had arranged his forces in order of battle, blocking up the road to Torfou. His defeated and discouraged troops, however, could not long withstand the shock of the veterans of Kleber; they were broken, and falling into confusion, when M. de Lescure, seeing affairs well-nigh desperate, exclaimed, "Are there not four hundred men brave enough to die with me!" The peasants of the parish of Echaubroignies, seventeen hundred strong, answered him with shouts; and this feeble division withstood the shock of the Republican forces for two hours,

till the division of Bonchamp arrived. This reinforcement speedily changed the face of affairs: the peasants, dispersed in single file behind the hedges which enveloped the Republicans, kept up a murderous fire on every side; the cannon were carried by assault, and the whole army was thrown into confusion. Nothing but the heroic devotion of Colonel Chouardin and his regiment, who maintained the bridge of Boussey, and suffered themselves to be in great part destroyed before they abandoned it, preserved the invading army from total destruction.

58. Still the Royalists had not a moment to lose; it was indispensable to attack immediately the corps of General Bysser, which was on the point of effecting a junction with the forces of Kleber. On the day after their victory at Torfou, they surprised him at Montaignu, and routed the Republicans entirely, with the loss of all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. This was followed by the surprise and total defeat of General Mukinski at St Fulgent by Charette and Lescure; while, on the very same day, Bonchamp and d'Elbée assailed the retreating columns of General Kleber, encumbered with twelve hundred chariots, and after throwing them into confusion, captured a large portion of their baggage. But this success, though considerable, was nothing to what would have been obtained, had the whole Royalist forces been united, as they should have been, against the formidable bands of Mayence.

59. In other quarters, the Vendéans were equally successful. General Rosignol, with fifteen thousand men, indeed defeated an ill-concerted attack of the Royalist chiefs, Talmont and d'Autichamp; but having, after this success, advanced with Santerre to Coron, he was there attacked by Piron and Larochejaquelein, who had succeeded in rousing all the population in the neighbouring parishes; and with such skill were the Royalist operations conducted that the Republican army was pierced through the centre, and entirely dispersed, twenty-four pieces of cannon and all their ammunition being taken. Immediately after this

success, a detachment of the Royalist forces was despatched against General Duhoux, who had crossed the bridge of Cé, and was driving the Vendean detachments before him; but no sooner had he arrived at the heights of St Lambert, than he was assailed by the bulk of the Royalist forces;—while Bernier, a farmer's servant in the parish of St Lambert, swam across the river, and attacked his troops in rear with the armed peasants in his vicinity. The rout was soon complete; all the artillery of the invaders was taken, and their column, nine thousand strong, totally destroyed. Such was the terror produced by these defeats, that the *levée en masse*, assembled between Tours and Poitiers, dispersed without striking a blow, and the regular forces of the Republicans on all sides quitted the Vendean territory. Thus, by a series of brilliant military combinations, seconded by the most heroic exertions on the part of the peasants, was the invasion of six armies, amounting to a hundred thousand regular troops, part of whom were the best soldiers of France, besides an equal force of national guards, defeated, and losses inflicted on the Republicans incomparably greater than they had suffered from all the Allies put together since the commencement of the war.—A striking proof of the admirable skill with which the Vendean chiefs had availed themselves of their central position, and peculiar mode of fighting, to crush the invading forces; and a memorable instance of what can be effected by resolute men, even without the advantages of regular organisation, if ably conducted, against the most formidable superiority of military force.

60. But the Vendéans had to contend with a redoubtable adversary, and unfortunately the invading army, from which most was to be apprehended, was that which had suffered least from their attacks. The Convention made the most vigorous efforts to meet the danger. Barrère, in a report to the Convention, declared, "The inexplicable La Vendée still exists; twenty times since this rebellion broke out have your representatives, your generals, the committee itself, declared that

it was stifled, and yet it exists more formidable than ever. We thought we could destroy it; the tocsin sounded in all the neighbouring departments; a prodigious number of armed citizens was assembled to crush the insurrection; and a sudden panic has dissolved the whole like a cloud. You must change your system: one despotic chief must head your armies; an end must be put to the existence of the brigands. Like the giant in the fable, who was invincible only when he touched the earth, you must sever them from their native soil before you can destroy them." In pursuance of this suggestion, General Léchelle was appointed generalissimo: the Brest fleet was ordered to sail, to co-operate with the armies; and a proclamation was addressed to the troops, enjoining them to exterminate the Vendéans before the 20th of October.

61. Meanwhile the peasants, as usual, seeing the present danger over, returned to their homes; the standards of their generals were almost deserted. *Te Deum* was sung in all the parishes, amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants. M. de Lescure, at the ceremony in his own parish church, knelt behind a column, to withdraw himself from the admiring gaze of his countrymen. On learning the massacres which the Republicans were making of their countrymen who had been taken prisoners, and which were commanded by the decrees of the Convention, forbidding them to give quarter, the Royalist soldiers loudly demanded reprisals upon the numerous captives who were in their hands; but the leaders expressed such horror at the proposal, that they always succeeded in preventing it from being carried into effect. The formidable bands of Mayence, at this time, were so much disgusted with the savage proceedings of the Convention that they offered, if their pay was guaranteed, to join themselves in a body to the Royalist cause; but the large sum required for this purpose, amounting to 400,000 francs (£16,000), joined to the suspicions of the Royalists that some treachery was intended, frustrated a coalition which, if executed, would have given a decisive preponderance to the

Vendean forces. Where was England, whose government could so easily have procured this sum, which was beyond the reach of the peasants of La Vendée, and thereby secured an inestimable support to the Royalist arms in the west of France?

62. Unfortunately at this time, when their enemies were concentrating under one able hand the whole conduct of the Vendean war, the Royalist chiefs, divided about the points to which their forces should be directed, separated their troops—Charette drawing off towards the island of Noirmoutier, while Lescure and Beaurepaire took post near Châtillon to make head against Westermann, who was advancing with a powerful force, massaging without distinction all the inhabitants, and burning every edifice that his soldiers could reach. Lescure, Stofflet, and Larochejaquelein united, had only six thousand men at Moulin-aux-Chèvres, a little in front of Châtillon, where they were attacked by a column of twenty-five thousand Republicans under Westermann: the superiority of his force was such that he drove them into the town, which was speedily captured by his forces. But this success was of short duration. Bonchamp and Larochejaquelein having roused the peasantry, and reassembled the whole Grand Army, two days after, made a general attack upon the Republicans, totally defeated them, and drove them out of Châtillon, with the loss of above ten thousand men and all their artillery. After the rout, Westermann, who saw that the Royalists in Châtillon were almost all drunk, and kept no look-out, conceived the bold design of re-entering the town, and cutting to pieces its garrison. This project was completely successful. Taking a hundred intrepid hussars, with a grenadier mounted behind each man, he returned at midnight to Châtillon, where the Vendéans, as usual, had placed no sentinels, broke into the streets, cut down great numbers of the Royalists, who, between sleep and intoxication, were incapable of making any resistance, set fire to the town, and after a scene of unequalled horror and blood, withdrew before daylight in the morning.

63. Hardly was this invasion repulsed, when the Vendéans were called on to make head against a more formidable enemy in another quarter. The redoubtable bands of Mayence, reinforced by several other divisions, in all forty thousand strong, were advancing into the very heart of the country, and had already nearly reached Chollet, while the unhappy divisions of the Vendean chiefs detained in other quarters a large proportion of their forces. Notwithstanding the most urgent representations from the other leaders, Charette persisted in his system of separate operations, and wasted his force in a fruitless expedition to the isle of Noirmoutier. Lescure and Bonchamp, however, hastened to support M. de Royrand, who was retreating before the invaders. It was arranged that the former should await the enemy in front, while the latter, by a circuitous route, assailed them in flank. But the Republicans having advanced more slowly than was expected, Lescure came up with them before Bonchamp was ready to support him; and though they yielded in the first instance to the furious attack of the Vendéans, yet the inferiority of their force, and a desperate charge in flank made by Beaupuy when disordered by success, threw them into confusion, and they fell back to Beaupreau, while the Republicans bivouacked on the field of battle. The next day the victorious army entered Chollet, which the discouraged Vendéans could not be prevailed on to defend. The Royalist loss was not severe; but they sustained an irreparable misfortune in a wound of M. Lescure, who was shot through the head when leading on his men, as usual, at the commencement of the action. The wound proved mortal after several weeks of suffering, which he endured with the wonted heroism and sweetness of his character.

64. The Vendéans were cruelly discouraged by this disaster: the more so, as the enemy's columns had now penetrated the country in every direction, and the ravages they had committed gave no hope of maintaining the contest longer in their native land. It was resolved, therefore, to cross the Loire,

and carry the war into Brittany: but, previous to this, it was deemed advisable by all the chiefs to make one desperate effort to crush the invading force in the neighbourhood of Chollet. The action took place two days after, and was contested with the utmost fury on both sides. The forces were nearly equal, the Royalists having forty thousand men, and the Republicans forty-one thousand; but the latter were greatly superior in their artillery, which consisted of thirty pieces, and cavalry, which amounted to three thousand men. Moreover, the infantry included the best troops in France. The combat was felt on both sides to be, what in effect it proved, decisive of the fate of the war. At three in the morning on the 17th October, the sound of artillery awakened the army, and the soldiers hastened to hear grand masses from the curate of the village where the headquarters were placed. The ceremony was performed by torchlight: the priest, in fervid and eloquent terms, besought them to combat courageously for their God, their king, and their children; and concluded by giving absolution to the armed multitude. The darkness of the scene, and the discharges of cannon which interrupted his discourse, filled all hearts with a gloomy presentiment of the disasters which were about to follow. The Republicans were drawn up in three divisions, the garrison of Mayence, with the cavalry, forming the reserve. On the Royalist side, Stofflet commanded the left, d'Elbée and Bonchamp the centre, and Larochejaquelein the right.

65. The action commenced at ten o'clock. On this occasion the Vendéans marched for the first time in close column, like troops of the line, but they had no artillery. Henri de Larochejaquelein and Stofflet, after a short exchange of bullets, precipitated themselves on the centre of the enemy, routed it by the vehemence of their attack, and drove it back in disorder into the town of Chollet, where the great park of artillery was captured. The battle seemed to be lost, and the Republicans, panic-struck by the furious onset of their enemies, were flying

on all sides, when Léchelle, as a last resource, ordered his cavalry to charge, and the reserve, composed of the garrison of Mayence, to advance. The charge of horse took place from right to left, through the whole Royalist army, now disordered by the rapidity of their attack; and at the same time the iron bands of Mayence emerged through the fugitives, and checked the pursuit of the victors. In an instant, as in similar circumstances at Marengo, the face of the action was changed: the Vendéans, seized with a sudden panic, fled on all sides, and the exultation of victory was succeeded by the terrors of defeat. In this extremity, Henri de Larochejaquelein, d'Elbée, and Bonchamps collected two hundred of the bravest of their troops, and by their heroic resistance, not only gave time to the Royalists to escape, but drove back the victorious squadrons of the enemy. Their valour unhappily proved fatal to the two latter, who were mortally wounded in the middle of the charge. Larochejaquelein, with great difficulty, collected five thousand men, with which he carried off his gallant wounded comrades to Beaupreau, where they passed the night; while the remainder of the army fled towards the Loire, and without any orders commenced the passage of the river.

66. This defeat proved highly injurious to the Vendean cause, not only by the confusion and depression which it had occasioned among the troops, but by the irreparable loss which they sustained in two of the most distinguished of their generals. The gallant Bonchamps was carried by his weeping soldiers to St Florent, where the Vendéans, worked up to madness by the conflagration of their towns, and the massacre of their families, demanded, with loud cries, the immediate destruction of five thousand prisoners who were confined in the town. The intelligence of the wound of their beloved hero redoubled their fury, and nothing seemed capable of saving the unhappy captives. Already the cannon, loaded with grape-shot, were turned on the helpless crowd of captives, whose destruction to all appearance was inevi-

table. Meanwhile the officers of his army, on their knees, by his bedside, awaited with trembling anxiety the report of the surgeon—their downcast and weeping countenances soon told that there was no hope—when the cries of the soldiers from without announced the imminent peril of the prisoners. Instantly Bonchamps seized d'Autichamp, who knelt beside his couch, by the hand, and besought him immediately to fly and convey to the soldiers his last orders to save the captives. The latter quickly ran to fulfil the humane mission, but the soldiers were in such a state of exasperation, that not even the announcement of Bonchamps's entreaties could at first arrest the uplifted arm of destruction. At length, however, they listened to his reiterated supplications; the guns were turned aside, and the prisoners saved. Meanwhile Bonchamps gave with calmness his last orders, and especially commanded that the lives of all the captives should be spared: several times, before he expired, he anxiously inquired whether this had been done, and expressed the utmost satisfaction when he was informed that they were secure. He was fortunate enough to receive the last consolations of religion from two venerable ecclesiastics, who soothed his dying hours by the promises granted to devotion and humanity. "Yes," said he, "I dare to hope for the Divine mercy. I have not acted from pride, or the desire of a glory which perishes in eternity; I have tried only to overturn the rule of impiety and blood. I have not been able to restore the throne, but I have at least defended the cause of God, my king, and my country; and he has in mercy enabled me to pardon—" Here the voice of the hero failed, and he expired amidst the sobs of all who witnessed the scene.

67. While the last moments of the Royalist chief were ennobled by an act of mercy, the triumph of the Republicans was stained by unrelenting and uncalled-for cruelty. The towns of Beaupreau and Chollet were burned to the ground, the inhabitants of every age and sex put to the sword, and the trophies of victory reared on the blood-

soaked ruins of their murdered countrymen's dwellings. "The National Convention," said the representatives Bourbotte and Thurreau, in their report to the Convention, "have decreed that the war in La Vendée should be concluded by the end of October; and we may now say with truth that La Vendée no longer exists. A profound solitude reigns in the country recently occupied by the rebels: you may travel far in those districts without meeting either a living creature or a dwelling; for, with the exception of St Florent, and some little towns, where the number of patriots greatly exceeds that of the Royalists, we have left behind us nothing but ashes and piles of dead."

68. Meanwhile, the whole Vendean forces, with the exception of those under Charette, flocked to St Florent, with the design of hastening over the Loire. No words can do justice to the horrors of the scene which presented itself. Eighty thousand persons, of whom little more than one-half were armed, filled the semicircular valley which extends from the base of the heights of St Florent to the margin of the river. Soldiers, women, children, old men, were crowded together, flying in consternation from their burning villages, the smoke of which darkened the air behind them; while in front extended the broad surface of the Loire, with a few barks only to ferry over the helpless multitude. In the midst of the tumult, and while the air resounded with the cries of the fugitives, every one sought his children, his parents, or his defenders; and, crowding to the shore, stretched out their arms to the opposite bank, as if, when it was reached, a period would be put to all their sufferings. So terrible was the spectacle, so vehement the agitation of the multitude, that numbers compared it to the awful spectacle which awaits the world at the day of judgment. But the retributive justice of heaven, though slow to punish, did not sleep for ever. On that day nineteen years began the retreat from Moscow; on that day twenty, was completed the overthrow of Leipsic.

69. The generals were at first in despair at the sight of the crowd of fugitives who surrounded the army, and the utter confusion into which all ranks were thrown by the panic—a feeling which was much increased by the death of Bonchamp, who alone was acquainted with the opposite shore, and had always supported the passage of the river. But, finding it in vain to stem the torrent, they made the best dispositions of which the circumstances would admit, to effect the passage of the army; and with such skill were the arrangements made that, although there were only twenty-five frail barks to transport so great a multitude, the whole were ferried over, with all their baggage, without any loss, and before the advanced posts of the Republicans had yet reached St Florent. On the day following, Westermann and the foremost of the Republicans came up to St Florent in time to witness the last detachments of the Vendéans cross to the opposite shore, and vented their disappointment by devastating with fire and sword the unhappy country which they had abandoned. Opinions were divided as to the course which the army should now pursue. M. de Lescuré strongly recommended that they should advance, before they were weakened by any further losses, to Nantes, in order both to secure a depot for the army, open a communication with England, and place the unarmed crowd of women and children in a place of safety; and it would have been well for the Royalist cause if this advice had been adopted. But the Prince of Talmont strongly urged a movement towards Rennes, where an insurrection was expected to break out; and his advice was adopted.

70. No sooner were the Vendéans in Brittany than they made choice of Henri de Larochejaquelein to be their commander, in the room of d'Elbée, who was utterly disabled by wounds, and on the recommendation of M. de Lescuré, who was yet lingering on the bed of death. "Could a miracle restore me to life," said that generous warrior, with a feeble voice, when on his death-bed, "I could form no wish but to be his aide-de-camp." Much

had been gained by effecting the passage; but though the troops were still numerous, they were far from being in a condition to undertake active operations. Disheartened by defeat, exiled from their country, encumbered by a useless multitude of women and children who followed their steps, the soldiers were very different from the ardent and impetuous bands who, at Saumur and Torfou, had carried terror into the Republican ranks. They were no longer in their own parishes; their mode of fighting was ill adapted for an open country, where artillery and cavalry constituted the principal weapons of war; they had no magazines or ammunition, and they had to repair the consequences of a recent and bloody defeat. What then must have been the skill of the generals, what the valour of the soldiers, who could still, even amidst such disastrous circumstances, again chain victory to their standards, and gain such an ascendancy over their enemies, that, but for the invincible repugnance of the troops to leave the vicinity of their homes, they might, by the admission of the Republican generals, have marched to Paris itself!

71. The army advanced successively to Ingrandes and Château Gontier, the garrisons of which were easily routed. At Laval, nine thousand national guards disputed the entrance of the town, but Larochejaquelein carried it by assault, and dispersed the enemy. Meanwhile General Léchelle, and the Convention, who flattered themselves that the insurrection was crushed by the victory of Chollet, were beyond measure astonished by the discovery that the Royalists had crossed the river without loss, and were in a situation menacing alike to Angers and Nantes. After much hesitation it was resolved to divide the Republican army into two columns, the one of which was to cross at Nantes, and the other by the bridge of Cè, and unite for the pursuit of the royal army. Léchelle came up with them while still occupying the town of Laval; and, dividing his army into two columns, commenced an attack. Larochejaquelein flew through the ranks, and addressed these energetic words to

his soldiers: "To efface now the remembrance of your former defeats is the only salvation that remains to you. On your arms now depend not only your own lives, and those of your wives and children, but the throne of France, and the altars of God. Let us then advance to victory; the Bretons extend their arms to receive you—they will aid us to reconquer our hearths; but now we must conquer; a defeat would be irreparable ruin." Lescure insisted upon being carried in a litter through the ranks, and sharing in the dangers that awaited them. Animated by these examples, the Royalists advanced to the encounter in close column. By a vigorous charge at the head of a small body of horse, Stofflet made himself master of some pieces of cannon, of which his troops were entirely destitute, which he immediately turned against the enemy; Larochejaquelein and Royrand pressed them severely in front, while another column, headed by Dehargues, turned their flank, and attacked them in rear. The Vendéans had to deal with the redoubtable garrison of Mayence, but they fought with the courage of despair, and on no former occasion had exhibited more enthusiastic valour. After a desperate struggle, the Republicans began to give way; they were pursued with loud shouts by the Royalists as far as Château Gontier, where a battery of cannon for a moment arrested their progress; but Larochejaquelein threw himself on the guns, carried them, and pursued the enemy through the town with great slaughter. On reaching the open country on the opposite side, they dispersed, and with great difficulty, and in utter confusion, by diverging lines, reached the towns of Rennes and Nantes.

72. In this battle, the garrison of Mayence, which had inflicted such losses on the Vendéans, was almost entirely destroyed; the total loss of the Republicans was twelve thousand men, and nineteen pieces of cannon. Of their whole army, scarcely seven thousand could be rallied at Angers after the action. General Léchelle was so overwhelmed by the disaster that he re-

signed the command in despair, and retired to Tours, where anxiety and chagrin soon brought him to an untimely end. On the day when this astonishing victory was gained, Barrère announced the extinction of the war of La Vendée in the Convention in the following terms: "La Vendée is no more. Montaign and Chollet are in our power; the brigands are everywhere exterminated; a profound solitude reigns in the Bocage, covered with ashes and watered with tears. The death of Bonchamp alone is equivalent to a victory." Abandoning themselves to the most tumultuous joy at this intelligence, the people danced in all the public places of Paris, and everywhere the exclamation was heard, "La Vendée is no more!" It may be conceived, then, what was the public consternation when, a few days after, it was discovered that the Republican army was dispersed, and that the capital itself was open to them.

73. This glorious victory restored at once the Vendean cause. The remains of the Republican army had fled in different directions to Rennes, Angers, and Nantes, and nothing remained to prevent the Royalists from marching either to Paris, Nantes, or Alençon. General Lenoir, in his report to the Convention, declared, "The rebels may now drive us before them to Paris, if they choose." Unfortunately they were led, by the hopes of succours from England, to direct their march to the coast, and thus they lost the moment of decisive success. After remaining nine days at Laval, to restore some degree of order in the army, they advanced to Fougères, in the hope of being reinforced by recruits from Brittany, and of drawing nearer the expected aid from Great Britain. Here two emigrants arrived with despatches from the British government, which, after assuring the Vendéans of the desire of England to aid them, and recommending Granville as the point of debarkation, promised succour on their arrival at that port. This offer removed every hesitation as to their plans. The prospect of obtaining a seaport town, defended by fortifications, where they could at once deposit

in safety the crowd of helpless mouths which encumbered the army, obtain a firm footing for their stores, and open a direct communication with the powerful allies who seemed to be advancing to their assistance, dispelled every doubt. They determined, in consequence, to march to Granville, and despatched an answer by the British envoy, in which, after expressing their intentions, and explaining their wants, they entreated that a prince of the blood might be sent to assume the command, and terminate the divisions which already began to paralyse their movements. Meanwhile, the Republicans did everything in their power to repair their disasters; and while Kleber laboured assiduously at Angers to reorganise his army, the Convention issued a bloody decree, in which they ordered that "every city which should receive the rebels, give them succour, or fail to repel them by all the means in its power, should be treated as a city in revolt, razed to the ground, and the whole property of the inhabitants confiscated to the Republic." Fortunately, the weakness of their arms on the right bank of the Loire prevented this atrocious decree from being generally carried into execution.

74. At Fougères the army sustained an irreparable loss by the death of M. de Lescure, who sank at length under the consequences of the wound he had received at the battle of Chollet, and the protracted suffering and anxiety which he had since undergone. He awaited the approach of death with his usual serenity. "Open the windows," said he to his wife, who was watching by his bedside: "is it clear?" "Yes," said she, "the sun is shining."—"I have, then," replied the dying general, "a veil before my eyes. I always thought that my wound was mortal: I have no longer any doubt of it. My dearest! I am about to leave you; that is my sole regret, and that I have not been able to replace the king upon the throne. I leave you in the midst of a civil war, with a helpless infant, and another in your bosom—that is what distresses me. For myself I have no fears: I have often seen death before me, and it has no terrors: I hope to go

to heaven. It is you alone that I regret," and here his eyes filled with tears; "I hoped to have made you happy. Forgive me now, if ever I have caused you distress; and console yourself with thinking that I shall be in heaven. I carry with me the blessed presentiment that the Almighty will watch over your days." He soon after breathed his last, while a smile of benevolence still lingered on his features; and the pious care of his relations committed him to the earth, in an unknown place of sepulture, where his body was preserved from the insults which the fury of the Republicans would have inflicted on his remains.

75. The Vendéans, having at length recovered from their fatigues, advanced slowly to Granville, which they surrounded with thirty thousand combatants. Their march had been so much delayed by their encumbrances, that no hope remained of surprising the place, and the want of heavy artillery precluded the possibility of breaching its ramparts. It was therefore resolved to attempt an escalade, for the English succours had not arrived, and the circumstances of the army rendered immediate success indispensable. Soon scaling-ladders were prepared, and the Royalists, after having in vain summoned the place, advanced to the assault. Such was the ardour of the soldiers, that they not only made themselves masters of the suburbs, but rushed into the outworks, and some of the bravest even mounted the rampart, supplying the want of scaling-ladders, which proved too short, by their bayonets, which they stuck into the crevices of the walls. The garrison, panic-struck, were flying from the top, when a deserter exclaimed—"Treason! we are betrayed!" and the impetuous crowd, yielding to the impulse, precipitated themselves back into the ditch. The attack continued, but not having been preceded by any reconnoissance, and being carried on in utter ignorance of the works, it took place on the least accessible front, and where the assailants were exposed to a severe flanking fire from the armed vessels in the harbour. Notwithstanding the most heroic

exertions, the Vendéans were repulsed, and the Republican commander, seeing no other way of driving them out of the suburbs, set fire to them himself, and the conflagration, being aided by a high wind, soon reduced them to ashes. The peasants, at the earnest entreaty of their leaders, returned a second time to the assault over the smoking ruins of the suburbs; but this attack was again unsuccessful. Their priests animated their courage, by marching at their head with the crucifix in their hands; the officers led on the columns, and over the smoking ruins of the houses the ardent troops rushed forward, regardless of the storm of musketry and grape which showered down upon them from the rampart, and a severe flanking fire from the gun-boats in the harbour. The palisades were broken down, the ditch crossed, and in some places even the rampart was scaled. But the resistance of the Republicans was as brave as the assault; and after a murderous conflict of six-and-thirty hours, Henri de Larochefoucauld was reluctantly compelled to order a retreat, after sustaining a loss of eighteen hundred men.

76. After this check, Larochefoucauld and Stofflet determined to advance to Caen, where a strong Royalist party was known to exist: and they had already set out at the head of the cavalry for that purpose, when a revolt broke out among the troops. The authority of the chiefs was immediately disregarded; the Prince of Talmon, accused of a design to escape to Jersey, was seized by the mutineers, and with difficulty rescued from instant death. Larochefoucauld's voice was contemned; Stofflet alone preserved any authority over the troops. The peasants, who had never been subjected to regular discipline, and could not be made to comprehend the plan of operations which their leaders had adopted, loudly exclaimed against any further continuance of their wearisome march, and insisted upon immediately returning to their homes. The generals, after exhausting every effort of reason and eloquence, were compelled to yield to the torrent, and orders were given to the whole army to move towards the Loire,

to the infinite joy of the soldiers, who declared that they would secure a passage at Angers though its walls were made of iron.

77. The army, on its return homewards, took the road of Pontorson. Rossignol, having collected a body of eighteen thousand men, endeavoured to defend that town, and a furious conflict took place in the streets; but the attack of the Royalists, who felt that they must force their way sword in hand to La Vendée, was irresistible. The Republicans were driven at the point of the bayonet through the streets, their cannoners cut down at their guns, and the whole army defeated, with the loss of all their baggage and artillery. Rossignol fell back to Dol, where, having received considerable reinforcements, and been joined by another Republican army, which raised his force to thirty-five thousand men, he endeavoured to make head against the enemy, and bar their return to La Vendée. On the approach of the Royalists, however, he evacuated the town; and its single and spacious street was crowded by carriages, artillery, and baggage-wagons, and above sixty thousand persons who encumbered the army. At midnight, the action commenced by a vigorous attack of the Republicans on the advanced guard of the Royalists drawn up in front of the town; the alarm was immediately given, and the troops hastily sprang to their arms, amidst the prayers and tears of their wives and children, who saw no possible escape but in their valour. The rattling of the artillery, the cries of the soldiers, the gleaming of the sabres in torchlight as the horsemen shook them in the air when advancing to the charge, the fleeting illumination of the shells which burst on all sides, filled the helpless multitude with terror and agitation. The first attack of the Royalists was entirely successful, and the Republicans were driven back two leagues; but their left wing and reserve, having been suddenly assailed, when disordered by success, by Rossignol's right, was thrown into confusion, and driven back with great loss to the town.

78. The confusion there soon be-

came indescribable: the fugitives broke through the unarmed crowd, while the horsemen trampled under foot men, women, and children in their flight; and the street was covered with wounded and dying victims, imploring their countrymen not to desert them in their distress. In this extremity the chiefs were in such despair that they sought death: Henri de Larochefoucauld remained several minutes with his arms folded in front of a battery; while d'Autichamp, Marigny, and the other leaders, exerted themselves to the utmost to stop the fugitives; and Stofflet, who had at first been carried away by the torrent, made the most vigorous efforts to check it. The women even snatched their fusils from the soldiers, and discharged them at the enemy; and the priests, with the cross in their hands, exhorted them to return to the combat. The curate of Ste Marie de Ré, in particular, from an eminence harangued the men in the most energetic strains. "My children," said he, "I will march at your head with the crucifix in my hands. Let those who will follow me fall on their knees, and I will give them absolution—if they fall, they will be received into paradise; but the cowards who betray God and their families will be massacred by the Blues, and their souls consigned to hell." Above two thousand men fell on their knees, received absolution, and returned to the battle, with the curate at their head, exclaiming, "Vive le Roi! Nous allons en Paradis." Stimulated in this manner, the soldiers renewed the combat. Ere long, such was the fury of the contending parties that they seized each other, and tore their bodies with their hands when their ammunition was exhausted; so completely were the ranks intermingled, that frequently the Vendéans and Republicans were served with ammunition from the same tumbrils. At length the valour of the Royalists prevailed; the battalions of volunteers in the Republican army began to fall into confusion, and soon the rout became general; the whole army disbanded and fled, some to Rennes and others to Fougères, leaving six thousand killed

and wounded on the field of battle; while the Royalists, headed by their priests, returned to Dol, and hastened to the churches to return thanks to Heaven for their unhopèd-for escape from so desperate a situation.

79. The Republicans were repulsed, but not defeated. They retired to a position which they had strongly fortified around the town of Antrain, and there still barred the line of the Royalists' march. At noon they were attacked at all points by the Vendéans, headed by Larochejaquelein, who was fearful to allow the first moments of enthusiasm, consequent on their victory, to pass away without achieving decisive success. For long the obstinacy of the Republicans arrested the furious onset of the Vendéans, but at length their intrenchments were carried, and they fled on all sides. The victors entered Antrain pell-mell with the fugitives, and a scene of matchless horror ensued in the crowded streets of that town. In the confusion of the flight, the soldiers, the camp followers, and the wounded, were crowded amidst the artillery and baggage-waggons; the whole fell together into the hands of the Royalists, and there was great danger that an indiscriminate massacre would be perpetrated by the troops, now wrought up by the cruelties of the Republicans to the highest pitch of exasperation. But their leaders interposed, and signalled their triumph by an extraordinary act of humanity. The wounded who had been taken were not only treated and clothed with the same care as their own soldiers, but they were all sent back, without exchange, to Rennes, with a letter to the Republican authorities there, in which, after recounting the atrocious cruelty of their troops in La Vendée, they added, "but it is by acts of humanity that the Royal army avenges the massacres of its enemies."

80. These great victories again restored the Royalist affairs; for, during the first confusion following their defeat, the Republicans were in no condition to have prevented them from reaching the bridge of Cé or Saumur,

or even making themselves masters of Nantes or Granville, from which the garrisons had now been withdrawn. After long deliberation, the generals determined to march back to the latter place, which would now become an easy prey, and where they might both disencumber themselves of their followers, and open a communication with England. But no sooner was this determination known than the troops again broke out into open revolt; and so vehement was the tumult, that it could only be appeased by an immediate change of the destination of the army to Angers. "Consider," said they, "how formidable the Republic is: have we not invariably found that a bloody combat is but the prelude to another still more bloody; are we not weakened by immense losses, and totally inadequate to head an insurrection in Brittany? What can we do, on an inhospitable soil, without succour, without support, often without food? Let us return to the land which gave us birth; we shall find at least some vestiges of our altars, and some remains of our homes, where we may find shelter, or in the last extremity be allowed to repose in unmolested graves. Our corpses will not there, as here, become the food of vultures and beasts of prey. What do we expect from the Bretons? Do they not treat us like wandering brigands? Let us, therefore, hasten to regain La Vendée: Charette is still redoubtable amidst its woods; let us unite our standards to his, and he may yet lead us to victory." These discourses inflamed the minds of the people to such a degree, that all efforts to sway them became fruitless. In vain the colours were displayed on the road to Pontorson, and the chiefs made every effort to induce the soldiers to follow them; a mutiny more terrible than that at Granville arose on all sides, and the leaders were reluctantly obliged to take the road to the Loire. Thither, accordingly, they marched by Fougères, Ernée, and Laval, without being disquieted by the enemy; but the courage of the soldiers was much abated by the spectacles of horror which met them

in revisiting those towns which they had formerly occupied. Everywhere the sick, the wounded, the children who had been left behind, had been massacred by the Republicans, and their bodies still lay unburied in the streets; even the owners of the houses who had given them shelter had been put to the sword with merciless severity. Every one approached Angers with the conviction that sooner or later, in the progress of this terrible war, he would perish in the field or on the scaffold.

81. Angers, surrounded by an old wall, and encumbered by vast faubourgs, was defended only by a small garrison, and, on the approach of the Royalists, General Danican had thrown himself into it with his brigade, less in the hope of making good the place, than of securing for it terms of capitulation. If the troops had known how to conduct a *coup-de-main*, it would have fallen an easy prey, and the whole measures of the Convention would have been defeated. But the attack was not conducted with more skill than that of Granville, and the troops, worn out by fatigue and suffering, did not display their wonted bravery. For long they confined themselves to a distant cannonade; but at length, after thirty hours of murderous conflict, they had reached the rampart, and were commencing the escalade, when their rear was assailed by the Republican cavalry, who had been detached by Rossignol to harass the besiegers. The attack was quickly repulsed by M. Forestier with the Vendean horse; nevertheless, such was the confusion produced by this unforeseen alarm that a sudden panic instantly seized the army; they left the walls, and began to file off in confusion, without orders, towards Baugé. The chiefs did their utmost to bring them back to the assault, but in vain; they even went so far as to promise them the pillage of the town if they were successful: but such was the virtue of these simple people, even amidst all their sufferings, that they rejected the proposal with horror, and declared that God would abandon them if such a project was again entertained.

82. No sooner had the army reached Baugé than they perceived the ruinous

consequences of the step they had taken. There were no means of passing the Loire in that line but by Saumur or Tours, the bridges of which, defended by numerous garrisons, afforded no prospect of effecting the object. A universal consternation seized the troops; though in sight of their homes, they were utterly unable to cross the river. The sick multiplied with frightful rapidity; the cries of the wounded, who were abandoned on the march, harrowed every heart; the severity of the weather, the dreadful roads, the famine which began to prevail, the weeping crowd who surrounded the soldiers, unnerved the strongest hearts. The chiefs knew not what to do; the men were in despair. In this extremity, the firmness of M. de Larochejaquelein did not desert him, and after carefully weighing every consideration, it was resolved to alter the destination of the army, and move by La Flèche upon Mans. The retreat was protected by a strong rearguard; but no danger was apprehended in front. Great, then, was the consternation of the troops when, on arriving at La Flèche, they found the bridge broken down, and five thousand men occupying the opposite bank of the river, while their rear was vehemently assailed. But the presence of mind of the general saved them from apparent ruin. Ordering the rearguard to keep firm, he took three hundred of his boldest horsemen, and put a grenadier *en croupe* behind each; with this he crossed the stream at a ford a short distance farther up, at nightfall, and attacked the Republicans in the dark. A panic instantly seized their troops, who dispersed and fled in all directions, while Larochejaquelein re-established the bridge, and gave a day's repose to his wearied army, after which they continued their march without opposition to Mans.

83. This town was destined to witness the ruin of the Royalist cause. The troops arrived there in such a state of fatigue, depression, and suffering, that it was easy to foresee that they would be unable to withstand a vigorous attack; six months of incessant marches and combats had weakened their resolution, as well as exhausted their

strength. They were in the state of the French army on their retreat from Moscow, with this additional circumstance of aggravation, that an exhausted multitude, equal in number to the soldiers, encumbered the army, and melted every heart by the spectacle of their sufferings. The numbers of sick and wounded rendered a halt of a few days absolutely necessary; and this gave time to the Republican generals to concert measures for their destruction. Forces were accumulating on all sides; Marceau, Westermann, and Kleber, had assembled forty thousand men, with whom they assailed the exhausted Royalist army, which was in no condition to resist an attack. They made, nevertheless, a heroic defence, though only twelve thousand could be collected in a condition fit to face the enemy. Larochejaquelein posted the bravest of his troops in a fir wood, from whence they kept up so heavy a fire as long held in check the left of the Republicans; but, Kleber having driven back the division of Stofflet from its position, the whole army was borne backwards like a torrent into the town. There, however, they resisted in the most obstinate manner. Larochejaquelein pointed his cannon down all the streets leading to the great square, and filled the whole houses in the streets with musketeers; a terrible fire arose on all sides, and increased the horrors of a nocturnal combat. But after a frightful night of carnage, the Republican columns had gained ground in every quarter; Larochejaquelein had two horses killed under him; and, in spite of his utmost efforts, the mighty crowd was forced out of the town, and disbanded when they reached the plain on the other side.

84. The scene of confusion and horror which there ensued defies all description. Larochejaquelein in vain assembled fifteen hundred men to check the advance of the victorious columns; he was wounded and overturned in the tumult, his band dispersed, and the Republicans commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the shrieking fugitives. Ten thousand soldiers and an equal number of women and children, perished

under their relentless swords; while almost all the artillery, and an incalculable quantity of baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. Such as survived owed their escape chiefly to the heroism of the Chevalier Duboux, and Viscount Scépeaux, who with eight hundred brave men maintained their ground to the very last, and with their own hands discharged the guns of a battery which covered the rearguard, after all the cannoners had fallen by their side. The pitiless Republicans massacred the women and children by thousands; youth, grace, rank, and beauty, were alike disregarded; and the vast crowd which had flocked together to avoid destruction, perished under incessant discharges of grape-shot, or platoons of musketry, before the eyes of the commissioners of the Convention.

85. Such of the Royalists as had escaped the carnage reassembled at Laval two days afterwards, and it was resolved to move to Ancoenis, with the design of again attempting the passage of the Loire. A single boat alone was found in that town; but four large vessels, laden with hay, were on the opposite side, which were guarded by patrols of the enemy. Henride Larochejaquelein, finding that no one had courage to attempt their seizure, himself leaped into the boat; while another, which had been brought in a cart, bore M. de Langerie and eighteen soldiers. The river, swollen with winter rains, was flowing in an impetuous torrent, and all eyes were fixed with agonising anxiety on the frail barks on which the safety of the whole depended. At length they reached the opposite shore, and the peasants began with ardour to work at unloading the vessels of their cargoes, when a detachment of Republicans appeared on the coast, where they had landed, and attacked and dispersed the soldiers of Larochejaquelein, who was compelled to seek refuge in a neighbouring forest. At the same time a gun-boat of the enemy appeared in the river, and, by a few discharges, sunk all the rafts, which, with eager haste, the peasants had been forming to transport themselves over, while the advanced guard of Westermann assailed the rear. Thus, at the

very moment when his skill was most required, the army found itself deprived of its leader.

86. Despair now seized upon the troops, who fled in confusion, without either provisions or leaders, to Nort, and thence, through a heavy fall of snow, to Savenay. The army melted away on all sides; the sick and wounded were abandoned, the most intrepid straggled in detached parties to the banks of the Loire, and above one thousand were ferried over in the night, and formed the nucleus from whence those intrepid bands of Chouans were formed, who so long desolated the Morbihan; while some, with less resolution, surrendered themselves to the Republicans, in hopes of that amnesty which they held out as a treacherous snare to their prostrated enemies. Hardly ten thousand, of whom only six thousand were armed, could be assembled at Savenay, where, nevertheless, they made a gallant defence. Their leaders, M. de Marigny, Fleuriot, the Prince de Talmont, and other indomitable chiefs, urged the men to combat with the courage of despair; all the wounded who could sit on horseback were led out to the fight; and even young women and boys seized the muskets of their fathers and brothers, and joined the array. Long, and with heroic resolution, they held the immense columns of the Republicans in check; and when at length they were obliged to retire, they fell back in good order, with the women in front, and the few pieces of artillery they had left facing about in the rear, till the last cartridge and cannon-shot in the army was expended. Even after they could no longer discharge their pieces, the rear-guard continued to fight with unshaken bravery with their swords and bayonets, till they all fell under the fire of the Republicans. "I examined their bodies," said the Republican general in his despatch to Merlin de Thionville, "and recognised the stern expression, the invincible resolution, of Chollet and Laval. The men who could conquer such enemies, have nothing to fear from other nations. That war, so often styled in ridicule a contest with brigands and peasants, has been the severest trial of the

Republic. I now feel that we shall have child's play with our other enemies."

87. This defeat was a mortal stroke to the Vendean cause: of eighty thousand souls who had crossed the Loire six weeks before, scarcely three thousand got back in detached bodies to La Vendée. Concealed by the courageous hospitality of the peasants, numbers were saved from the savage cruelty of their pursuers, among whom were Mesdames de Larochejaquelein and Bonchamp, who escaped unparalleled dangers, and lived to fascinate the world by the splendid story of their husbands' virtues and their own misfortunes. Others, less fortunate, fell into the hands of the Republicans, who hunted them down night and day during the dreadful winter of 1794, and led to prison and the scaffold the noblest blood in France.

88. In war everything depends upon rapidity of execution, and an accurate attention to time; the moment of success, once allowed to escape, seldom returns. Hardly had the Royalist standards disappeared from the shores of Brittany, when the tardy English succours, commanded by Lord Moira, who had exerted himself to the utmost to accelerate the preparations, appeared on the coast of Cherbourg, having on board eight English battalions, four thousand Hanoverians, and two thousand emigrants—in all ten thousand men. They looked out in vain for the expected signals, and after remaining on the coast for some days, and receiving intelligence of the defeat of the Royalists at Granville, returned to Guernsey, where the expedition was broken up. Had the succour arrived on the coast a fortnight sooner—had even a few English frigates appeared off Granville during the assault, to intimidate the Republicans, and encourage the Royalists—the town would have been taken, the junction of the English troops with the Royalists effected, and the united forces might have reached the capital.

89. But slowness in preparation, and utter ignorance of the value of time in war, blasted all the English combinations at this period, and caused them repeatedly to throw away the fairest

chances of bringing the contest to a successful issue at its very outset. The rulers of England would do well to reflect on this, on the next occasion when they are involved in hostilities. Previous foresight and preparation, vigilance and punctuality in execution, are the soul of war, and generally bring early and decisive success to the party which exerts them. Never was there a fairer opportunity of co-operating with effect with the Continental Royalists than on this occasion. The expedition beyond the Loire, unaided as it was by British succour, was doubtless ruinous to the cause of La Vendée; and yet never did any army so situated achieve such triumphs as it did before its fatal termination. Before it fell, that host, without magazines or provisions, at the distance of forty leagues from its home, and surrounded by three hostile armies, marched one hundred and seventy leagues in sixty days, took twelve cities, gained seven battles, killed twenty thousand of the Republicans, and captured one hundred pieces of cannon—trophies greater than were gained by the vast allied armies in Flanders during the whole campaign. Can there be a doubt, then, that if ten thousand English soldiers had joined them at Granville, they would have borne down all opposition, and marched in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants of the west, to Paris?

90. While the great bulk of the Vendean forces was engaged in this perilous and fatal expedition, Charette, with a few thousand men who adhered to his standard, made himself master of the Isle of Noirmoutier, where the Republicans had left but a slender garrison. He immediately began fortifying it with care, with the design of making it a depot for his sick, wounded, and stores. From this place of security he made various expeditions into the adjoining province, during the winter of 1793-4, with various success, until the return of the wreck of the Grand Army from its expedition beyond the Loire. Meanwhile the atrocities of his opponents continued. Frequently the Republican general wrote to the mayor of a village, that if the inhabitants would remain

they should suffer no violence, and having prevailed on them by this deceitful pledge not to fly, surrounded it with soldiers, and put every living soul to death. General Thurreau was appointed commander-in-chief of the Army of the West, and he found himself nominally at the head of fifty thousand men, but one-half of whom alone were fit for active service, the remainder being sick, wounded, or exhausted in the hospitals. Thurreau commenced his operations by a descent on the Isle of Noirmoutier, of which he easily made himself master, in the absence of Charette. He there found d'Elbée, covered with wounds, who had been removed to that place of security after the battle of Chollet. When the soldiers entered his room, where he was unable to rise from his bed, they exclaimed, "Here then is d'Elbée at last."—"Yes," he replied, "here is your greatest enemy: if I had been able to wield a sword, you should never have taken Noirmoutier." He underwent a long interrogatory, which he answered with equal firmness and good faith; and met death with unshaken constancy sitting in his chair, from which his wounds disabled him from rising. His last words were raised to save an innocent man, who was led out for execution by his side. The officer who presided at the execution, named, after d'Elbée and two others who were placed together, "Wieland the traitor, who sold Noirmoutier to the rebels." D'Elbée, instantly summoning up all his strength, exclaimed, "No, gentlemen! Wieland is not a traitor! he never aided our party, and you are about to put to death an innocent man!" But scarcely were the generous words uttered, when the order to fire was given, and the whole four fell together. His wife was next day executed with the generous hostess who had given her shelter in her misfortunes; they both evinced in their last moments the same courage which had been displayed by the murdered general. Numbers of other Royalists were shot at the same time, among whom were the two young sons of Maignan de l'Ecorce, who had followed their father to battle with a courage beyond their years.

91. Henri de Larochejaquelein did not long survive his brave comrade. After his separation from the army at the rout of Mans, he took refuge in the forest of Vésins, near the Loire, from whence he made frequent incursions upon the Republican posts, with such success that his little party daily increased, and proved a source of unceasing disquietude to the Republicans. In one of his incursions he made prisoner an adjutant-general, bearing an order to proclaim an amnesty to the peasants, and massacre them after they submitted—a discovery which contributed in a powerful manner to perpetuate the war, by taking away all hope from the vanquished. He fell at length, the victim of his humanity. Approaching two Republican grenadiers, upon whom his party was preparing to fall, he ran forward, exclaiming, "Surrender; I give you quarter." Hardly were the words uttered when the treacherous wretches shot him dead on the spot. He was aged only twenty-one years. When his soldiers had buried him where he fell, they exclaimed, "Now the Convention may indeed say that La Vendée no longer exists!"

92. The Prince de Talmont about the same time fell a victim to Republican revenge. He was made prisoner near Laval, and after being led about in triumph from city to city, for a considerable time, was executed in the court of his own chateau. When brought before his judges, he said, "Descended from the La Trémouilles, the son of the Lord of Laval, I was in duty bound to serve the king; and I will show in my last moments that I was worthy to defend the throne. Sixty-eight combats with the Republicans have rendered me familiar with death."—"You are an aristocrat, and I am a patriot," said the judge. "Work out your trade," replied he; "I have performed my duty." His faithful servant was offered his life, but he refused to survive his master, and followed him to the scaffold. The execution of these gallant chiefs put an end to the first period of the Vendean war. It might then have been terminated, had the Republicans made a humane use of their victory, and sheathed the

sword of conquest after it had destroyed its enemies in the field. But the darkest period of the tragedy was approaching, and in the rear of their armies came those fiends in human form, who exceeded even the atrocities of Marat and Robespierre, and have left a darker stain on French history than the massacre of St Bartholomew, or the tyranny of Nero on that of Rome. Their atrocities took all hope from the vanquished; and in despair and revenge there sprang up a new set of CHOUAN bands, who, under Charette, Stofflet, and Tinténiac, long maintained the Royalist cause in the western provinces, and proved more hurtful to the Republicans than all the armies of Germany.

93. Thurreau was the first who commenced against the Vendéans a systematic war of extermination. He formed twelve corps, aptly denominated *infernal columns*, whose instructions were to traverse the country in every direction, isolate it from all communication with the rest of the world; carry off or destroy all the grain and cattle, murder all the inhabitants, and burn down all the houses. These orders were too faithfully executed: the infernal columns penetrated the country in every direction; men and women were burned alive; infants tossed from bayonet to bayonet. Their path might be traced by the conflagration of villages, their progress known by the corpses of the inhabitants. A contemporary Republican writer has left this character of their exploits: "It seemed as if the Vendéans were no longer regarded as men; the pregnant woman, the child in the cradle, even the beasts of the field; the very stones, the houses, the soil itself, appeared to the Republicans enemies worthy of a total extermination."* But from this atro-

* "It is part of my plan, and the orders of the National Convention, to carry off all food, forage, or means of subsistence—everything, in short, from this accursed country; to give the buildings to the flames and exterminate the inhabitants, for they still wish to starve the patriots, after having slain them by thousands. I transmit at once the order to you. Prevent by every means La Vendée from gaining or retaining a single granary; hand them over to the commissioners of the department of Nantes. I give you this order definitely and imperatively; you must from this mo-

cious warfare arose new difficulties to the invaders. From the consequences of their ravages, provisions failed equally to them as to their enemies; and the Chouan bands were swelled by multitudes who were driven to despair by the conflagration of their dwellings, and the massacre of their relations. Strengthened by such recruits, the unconquerable Charette maintained the contest, and often took a bloody revenge on his enemies. Acquainted with every road and point of ambuscade in the country, capable of enduring the extremities of hunger, serene in danger, cheerful in misfortune, affable with his soldiers, inexhaustible in resources, invincible in resolution, he displayed in that guerilla warfare the talents of a consummate general. In vain Thurreau sent against him General Haxo, one of the ablest of the Republican commanders: his indefatigable opponent retreated before him till he arrived at a favourable place for the attack, and then turning to his men, and ordering them to halt, "We have retired far enough," said he: "now is the time to show the Convention that La Vendée still exists. With that they precipitated themselves with such fury upon their pursuers that the column was broken, and put to flight, and General Haxo himself slain, while bravely endeavouring to restore the combat.

94. While Thurreau was pursuing with varied success the system of extermination in La Vendée, the scaffold was erected at Nantes, and those infernal

ment guarantee me its execution: in a word, leave nothing in this proscribed country; let all property, food, forage—everything, absolutely everything—be conveyed to Nantes."

—CARRIER to GENERAL HAXO, 28 *Primaire*; No. 12, *Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire*—*Procès de CARRIER*.

Nor was the execution of these orders unworthy of their conception. They are thus described by an eyewitness on the trial of Carrier: "I have seen men, women, and the aged infirm, burned alive in their dwellings; I have seen a hundred and fifty soldiers violate women—young girls of from fourteen to fifteen years of age—afterwards murder them, and lose, from bayonet point to bayonet point, tender infants torn from beside their mothers, who were stretched on the pavement. Yet no one dared to say anything."—*Déposition de THOMAS—Procès de CARRIER*. No. 12, *Nouvelle Série*.

executions were commenced, which have affixed a stain upon the French Revolution, unequalled since the beginning of the world. A Revolutionary Tribunal was formed there under the direction of Carrier, and it soon outstripped even the rapid progress in atrocity of Danton and Robespierre. "Their principle," says the Republican historian, "was, that it was necessary to destroy *en masse* all the prisoners. At their command was formed a corps called the Legion of Marat, composed of the most determined and bloodthirsty of the Revolutionists, the members of which were entitled, of their own authority, to incarcerate any person whom they chose. The number of their prisoners was soon between three and four thousand, and they divided among themselves all their property. Whenever a fresh supply of captives was wanted, the alarm was spread of a counter revolution, the *général* beat, the cannon planted; and this was immediately followed by innumerable arrests. Nor were they long in disposing of the captives. The miserable wretches were either slain with poniards in the prisons, or carried out in a vessel and drowned by wholesale in the Loire. On one occasion, a hundred 'fanatical priests,' as they were termed, were taken out together, stripped of their clothes, and precipitated into the waves. The same vessel served for many of these *noyades*; and the horror expressed by many of the citizens for that mode of execution, formed the ground for fresh arrests and increased murders. Women big with child, children eight, nine, and ten years of age, were thrown together into the stream, on the banks of which, men, armed with sabres, were placed to cut them down, if the waves should throw them undrowned on the shore. The citizens, with loud shrieks, implored the lives of the little innocents, and numbers offered to adopt them as their own; but, though a few were granted to their urgent entreaty, the greater part were doomed to destruction. Thus were consigned to the grave whole generations at once—the ornament of the present, the hope of the future." So immense were the num-

bers of those who were cut off by the guillotine, or mowed down by *fusillades*, that three hundred men were occupied for six weeks, in covering with earth the vast multitude of corpses that filled the trenches which had been cut in the Place of the Department at Nantes, to receive the dead bodies. Ten thousand died of disease, pestilence, and horror, in the prisons of that department alone.*

95. On one occasion, by orders of Carrier, twenty-three of the Royalists, on another twenty-four, were guillotined together, without any trial. The executioner remonstrated, but in vain. Among them were many children of seven or eight years of age, and seven women; the executioner died two or three days after, with horror at what he himself had done. At another time, one hundred and forty women, incarcerated as suspected, were drowned together, though actively engaged in making bandages and shirts for the Republican soldiers. So great was the multitude of captives who were brought in on all sides, that the executioners, as well as the company of Marat, declared themselves exhausted with fatigue; and a new method of disposing of them was adopted, borrowed from Nero, but an improvement on the plan of that tyrant. A hundred, or a hundred and fifty victims, for the most part women and children, were crowded together in a boat, with a concealed trap-door in the bottom, which was conducted into the middle of the Loire; at a signal given, the crew leapt into another boat, the bolts were withdrawn, and the shriek-

* "Pour en représenter les tragiques histoirs,
Je les peins dans le meurtre à l'envi triomphants,
Rome entière noyée au sang de ses enfants;
Les uns assassinés dans les places publiques,
Les autres dans le sein de leurs dieux domestiques;
Le méchant par le prix au crime encouragé,
Le mari par sa femme en son lit égorgé,
Le fils tout dégoûtant du meurtre de son père,
Et sa tête à la main demandant son salaire;
Sans pouvoir exprimer par tant d'horribles traits,
Qu'un crayon imparfait de leur sanglante paix."

Cinna, Act 1. scene 3.

ing victims sank into the waves, amidst the laughter of the company of Marat, who stood on the banks to cut down any who approached the shore. This was what Carrier called his *Republican Baptisms*. The *Republican Marriages* were, if possible, a still greater refinement in cruelty. Two persons of different sexes, generally an old man and an old woman, or a young man and young woman, bereft of every species of dress, were bound together, and after being left in torture in that situation for half an hour, thrown into the river.† On one occasion, one of these victims was a woman who had just come out of travail: hardly was she delivered of the infant when she was stripped, bound to a man, and, after an hour's exposure in that way, despatched by strokes of the sabre. It was ascertained, by authentic documents, that six hundred children had, on one occasion alone, perished by the inhuman species of death styled the republican baptisms. The *noyades* at Nantes alone amounted to twenty-five, on each of which occasions from eighty to a hundred and fifty persons perished; and such was the quantity of corpses accumulated in the Loire, that the water of that river was infected so as to render a public ordinance necessary, forbidding the use of it by the inhabitants. No less than eighteen thousand perished, in these ways, or by the guillotine, in Nantes alone, during the administration of Carrier;‡ and the mariners, when they heaved their anchors, frequently

† "What words can paint those execrable times,
The subjects' sufferings and the tyrant's crimes!
That blood, those murders, O ye gods, replace
On his own head, and on his impious race!
The living and the dead, at his command,
Were coupled face to face, and hand to hand,
Till, choked with stench, in loath'd embraces tied,
The lingering wretches pined away and died."

Æneid, viii.

‡ "18,000 hommes auraient péri par la guillotine, et 10,000 étaient incarcérés dans l'entrepôt; et c'était Carrier qui commandait toutes ces atrocités.—Déposition d'ALTAÏROCHE, Administrateur du Département du Cantal; Bulletin du Trib. Rév. No 19, p. 74.

brought up boats charged with corpses. Birds of prey flocked to the shores, and fed on human flesh; while the very fish became so poisonous as to induce an order of the municipality of Nantes, prohibiting them to be taken by the fishermen.

96. The scenes in the prisons which preceded these horrid executions exceeded all that romance has figured of the terrible. Many women died of terror the moment a man entered their cells, conceiving that they were about to be led out to the *noyades*; the floors were covered with the bodies of their infants, numbers of whom were yet quivering in the agonies of death. On one occasion, the inspector entered the prison to seek for a child, where the evening before he had left above three hundred infants; they were all gone in the morning, having been drowned the preceding night. To every representation of the citizens in favour of these innocent victims, Carrier answered, "They are all vipers; let them be stifled." Three hundred young women of Nantes were drowned by him in one night; so far from having had any share in political discussions, they were of the unfortunate class who live by the pleasures of others. Several hundred persons were thrown every night, for some months, into the river: their shrieks, at being led out of the entrepôt on board the barks, awakened all the inhabitants of the town, and froze every heart with horror. Early in the *noyades*, Lamberty, at a party at Carrier's, pointing to the Loire, said, "It has already passed two thousand eight hundred." "Yes," replied Carrier, "they are in the national bath." Fouché boasted that he had despatched nine thousand in other quarters on the same river. From Saumur to Nantes, a dis-

tance of sixty miles, the Loire was for several weeks red with human blood; the ensanguined stream, far at sea, divided the blue waves of the deep.* The multitude of corpses it bore to the ocean was so prodigious that the adjacent coast was strewn with them; and a violent west wind and high tide having brought part of them back to Nantes, followed by a train of sharks and marine animals of prey, attracted by so prodigious an accumulation of human bodies, they were thrown ashore in vast numbers. Fifteen thousand persons perished there under the hands of the executioner, or of diseases in prison, in one month: the total victims of the Reign of Terror at that place exceeded thirty thousand.

97. The spectacles of horror which ensued when the reflux of the tide and the force of the west wind brought the corpses in numbers back to Nantes, were of the most appalling description. Crowds of the peasants hastened from the adjoining country, in the pious hope of recovering the body of a dear and lost relative from the waves, and giving it a decent sepulture; but though they in some instances were successful, yet it was only with great difficulty, and often after a severe contest with the monsters of the deep. Enormous eels, twenty or thirty feet long, fierce sharks, and other marine animals of prey, followed the blood-stained waves, and contended with vultures and ospreys, which were watching for their prey on the shore, for the mangled corpses with which they were charged. Indescribable were the scenes of tenderness which these piteous remains brought to light. Children were found with their lips affixed to those of their dead mothers, locked in so close an embrace that even the struggles of drown-

* "So many fall, there scarce is room for more,
The dying nod on those who fell before;
Crowding in heaps, their murderers they
aid,
And, by the dead, the living are o'erlaid.
Meanwhile, the stern dictator, from on high,
Beholds the slaughter with a fearless eye;
Nor sighs to think his dread commands
ordain
So many thousand wretches to be slain.
Amidst the Tiber's waves the load is thrown,
The torrent rolls the guilty burden down;

Till rising mounds obstruct his watery
way,
And carcasses the gliding vessels stay.
But soon another stream to aid him rose;
Swift o'er the fields a crimson deluge
flows;
The Tuscan river swells above his shores,
And floating bodies to the land restores:
Struggling, at length, he drives his rushing
flood,
And dyes the Tyrrhene ocean round with
blood."

LUCAN, *Phar.* ii.

ing, and the long-continued action of the waves, had been unable to separate them. Mothers with their infants yet at the breast were found floating together in the deep. Often a voracious fish had eaten out the entrails of the young infant without being able to tear it from its mother's embraces; and the dead remains, yet locked in each other's arms, were disputed fiercely by a shark and a vulture, alike striving for the tender spoil.

98. The peasants, both men and women, of La Vendée, met death in general with the most heroic courage; they perished boldly avowing their opinions, and exclaiming, "Vive le Roi! Nous allons en Paradis." Innumerable instances of heroisms occurred, especially among the female sufferers. Madame de Jourdain was led out to be drowned, with her three daughters: a soldier wished to save the youngest, who was very beautiful; she threw herself into the water to share the fate of her mother, but, falling on a heap of dead, could not sink. "Push me in," she exclaimed—"the water is not deep enough!" and sunk beneath his thrust. Mademoiselle Cuissard, aged sixteen, of still greater beauty, excited the most vehement admiration in a young officer of hussars, who spent three hours at her feet entreating her to allow him to save her; but as he could not undertake to free an aged parent, the partner of her captivity, she refused life, and threw herself into the Loire along with her mother.

99. Agatha Larochejaquelein escaped in the most extraordinary manner. She had left an asylum in a cottage at Brittany, in consequence of one of the deceitful amnesties which the Republicans published to lure their victims from their places of concealment, and was seized and brought before Lamberty, one of the ferocious satellites of Carrier. Her beauty excited his admiration. "Are you afraid, brigand?" said he. "No, general," replied the worthy inheritrix of her name—"When you feel fear," said he, "send for Lamberty." When brought to the entrepôt, seeing death approaching, she recollected his words, and sent for the general.

He took her out alone at night into a little boat on the Loire, with a concealed trap, which Carrier had given him for his private murders, and wished to sacrifice her to his desires: she resisted, upon which he threatened to drown her; but she, anticipating him, flew to the side to throw herself into the river. The Republican was softened: "You are a brave girl," said he; "I will save you." In effect, he left her concealed at the bottom of the boat, among some bushes on the margin of the stream, where she lay for eight days and nights, a witness to the constant nocturnal massacres of her fellow-prisoners. At length she was taken from her place of concealment, and secreted with a man of the name of Sullivan, who resolved to save her from horror at a murder which he had committed on his own brother, whom he had denounced as a Vendean to the Republican authorities. The intelligence, however, of his humanity got wind, and Lamberty was accused some time afterwards of having saved some women from the *noyades*. To prevent the evidence of this in Agatha's case, she was seized by a friend of Lamberty of the name of Robin, who carried her into a boat, where he was proceeding to poison her, in order to extinguish any trace of the former having facilitated her escape, when her beauty again subdued the ruthless murderer. She threw herself at his feet, and prevailed on him to save her life. She was again arrested, however, in the place where he had concealed her, and would certainly have been guillotined, had not the fall of Robespierre suspended the executions, and ultimately restored her to liberty.

100. The fate of Madame de Bonchamp was not less remarkable. After the rout at Mans, she lived, like all the other wives of the officers and generals, on the charity of the peasants in Brittany, whose courage and devotion no misfortunes could diminish. They at once told their names and connections; the faithful people received them with tears of joy, and not only concealed them in their dwellings, but stunted themselves in their meals to furnish

them with provisions. For several days, when the pursuit was hottest, she was concealed, with her infant child, in the thick foliage of an oak tree, at the foot of which the Republican soldiers were frequently passing. A cough or a cry from the infant would have betrayed them both; but the little creature, though suffering under a painful malady, never uttered a groan; and both mother and child frequently slept in peace for hours, when the bayonets of their pursuers were visible through the openings of the leaves. At night, when the enemy were asleep, the young children of the cottagers brought them provisions; and occasionally some old soldiers of her husband's army hazarded their lives to render them assistance. She was at length arrested, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal at Nantes; the recollection of the five thousand captives, whose lives the dying hero had saved, could not save his widow from a unanimous condemnation. The atrocious cruelty of this proceeding, however, excited so much commiseration among the numerous survivors who had been saved by his clemency, that the vehemence of their remonstrances obtained a respite from the judges; during which the peasants who had protected her little girl sent her to the prison, and the mother had the delight of hearing her child pray every night and morning at her bedside, for her health and deliverance. At length, after a long captivity, she obtained her liberation. Her daughter was intrusted with presenting the petition to the court; and even the judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal could not withstand the touching appeal made to them by the little child in behalf of its captive parent.*

101. "The poor people," says La-

* A singular incident attended the presenting of this petition. The little girl, who was only six years old, went up to the judges, and presented the paper, saying, "Citizens, I am come to ask the pardon of mamma." Casting their eyes on the paper, they beheld the name of Bonchamp, and one of them, addressing her, said he would give her the pardon if she would sing one of her best songs, as he knew she had a voice which charmed all the inmates of the prison. Upon this she sang with a loud voice the words she had

rochejaquelein, "in Nantes, were exceedingly kind, and did their utmost to save the victims of the Revolution. All the rich merchants, also, were humane; for though they had at first supported the Revolution, yet they were soon shocked by its crimes, and, in consequence, were persecuted as well as the Royalists: one hundred and nine of them were sent up to Paris for trial, and only saved by the fall of Robespierre. The ferocious class who lent their aid to the massacres and the *noyades* was composed of the *little shopkeepers and more opulent of the artisans*, many of whom came from other towns besides Nantes."—Words of vast political importance, as designating the class in which revolutionary fervour is ever most violent, and by which its principal atrocities are committed.

102. But if humanity has cause to blush for the atrocious cruelty of the tradesmen in the towns of Brittany, it may dwell with unalloyed delight on the generous hospitality of the peasants in the country. The experience they had acquired in concealing the priests, and the young men required for the conscription, rendered them exceedingly expert at eluding the search of their enemies. Numbers were shot for giving an asylum to the Vendéans; but nothing could check their courageous humanity. Men, women, and children alike displayed unbounded goodness, and inexhaustible resources. A poor girl, deaf and dumb, had been made to comprehend the dangers of the Royalists, and incessantly warned them by signs when their enemies were approaching. Neither menaces of death, nor offers of gold, could shake the fidelity of the youngest children. The dogs even had contracted an aversion to the Republicans, who always used them

heard from sixty thousand men on the field of battle,—

"Vive, vive le Roi!
A bas la République!"

Had she been a little older, these words would have condemned both herself and her mother; but the simplicity with which they were uttered disarmed their wrath: they smiled, and after some observations on the detestable education which these fanatical Royalists gave to their children, dismissed her with the pardon she desired.

harshly; they barked invariably at their approach, and werethus the means of saving great numbers. On the other hand, they never uttered a sound when the Royalist fugitives were to be seen, taught by the peasants, or influenced by their own feelings towards those who they saw were friends, to do nothing that could betray them. There was not a cottage in the whole country where a fugitive might not present himself at any hour with perfect security; if they could not conceal them, they gave them food and guided them on their road. For none of these perilous services would they accept any reward: they were even seriously offended if any was offered.

103. On reviewing the history of this war, nothing is so remarkable as the prodigious victories gained by the peasants in so sequestered a district, and the near approach they made to the re-establishment of the monarchy, contrasted with the feeble efforts and comparatively bloodless actions of the great military powers which combated on the frontier. Without the aid of fortresses, undisciplined and inexperienced, destitute of cavalry, artillery, and military stores, without either magazines or money, they did more towards the overthrow of the Revolution than all the vast armies which Europe had assembled for its destruction. While the victories of the Allies or the Republicans were never attended with the loss of more than three or four thousand men to their opponents, and seldom led to any other result than the overrunning of a province, or the reduction of a fortress, the triumphs of the Vendéans dissipated whole armies, were signalised often by the loss of ten and fifteen thousand men to the Republicans, made them masters of vast parks of artillery, and, but for the inability of the chiefs to keep the peasants to their colours after any great success, would, by the admission of the Republicans themselves, have re-established the throne. We pass at once, in the same year, from the battles of Famars and Kayerslautern, to triumphs equal to those of Marengo and Hohenlinden. Such were the astonishing results of the enthusiastic valour

which the strong feelings of religion and loyalty produced in this gallant people; such the magnitude of the achievements, when, instead of cold calculation, vehement passion and devoted patriotism were brought into action.

104. On the other hand, the ultimate termination of this contest, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the peasantry, is the strongest proof of the inability of mere valour, unaided by discipline, experience, and military resources, to contend permanently with a regular government. No future insurrection can be expected to display greater bravery, none to be animated with a stronger spirit, none to gain more glorious successes, than that of La Vendée. Yet all was unavailing. This great example should always be kept in mind in calculating on the probable results of popular enthusiasm, when opposed to the systematic efforts of discipline and organisation. It was the want of these, joined to the culpable supineness of the English government, in so long postponing an expedition which might have given them lasting success, which proved fatal to the Vendéans. Had they possessed two or three fortified towns, they might have repaired, under the shelter of these, all their disasters; had they been masters of a regular army, they might have improved their victories into lasting conquests. The want of these two things rendered their triumphs unproductive of real advantages, and their defeats the forerunner of irreparable ruin. The war, at a subsequent period, in the Tyrol and Spain, demonstrated the same truth; while the durable successes of the Portuguese and Russian campaigns have showed the vast results which arise from engrafting the vigour of popular enthusiasm on the steady courage of regular forces. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, not that popular feeling can effect no lasting achievement, and that everything in war depends on military organisation, but that it is the combination of the two which is requisite to permanent success. In 1793, the discipline of Austria and Prussia on the Rhine could

effect nothing, because it was not animated by a vehement spirit; while the enthusiasm of La Vendée withered, because it was unsupported by regular organisation. In 1812, the Russians combined both to resist the attacks of an enemy tenfold greater, and the campaign of Moscow was the consequence.

105. But though La Vendée fell, her blood was not shed in vain. The sword of the conqueror subdues the bodies, but it is often the heroism of the vanquished which subjugates the minds of men, and achieves enduring conquests. The throne of Cæsar has passed away, but the blood of the Christian martyrs cemented a fabric of eternal duration; the tyranny of Mary for a time crushed the religious freedom of England, but Latimer and Ridley lighted a fire which will never be extinguished. From the ashes of La Vendée has sprung the spirit which hurled Napoleon from his throne, and is destined to change the face of the moral world. It first put the cause of revolution openly and irre-

vocably at war with that of religion; the friends of real freedom may thank it for permanently enlisting on their side a power which will never be subdued. From the atrocious severities of the infidel Republicans in this devoted province, has arisen the profound hatred of all the believers in the Christian faith at their rule, and the stubborn spirit which was everywhere roused to resist it. The desolation of the Bocage was avenged by the carnage of Spain; the horrors of the Loire have been forgotten in the passage of the Beresina. Periods of suffering are in the end seldom lost, either to the cause of truth or the moral discipline of nations; it is the sunshine of prosperity which spreads the fatal corruption. Christianity withered under the titled hierarchy, but she shone forth in spotless purity amid the revolutionary agonies of France; and that celestial origin which had been obscured by the splendour of a prosperous, was revealed in the virtues of a suffering age.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1793.

1. A CONTEST between France and England has, in every age, been the greatest source of excitement to the people in both countries; but at no former period were their passions so strongly roused as at the commencement of the Revolutionary war. Not only was national rivalry, the growth of centuries, revived, but new and fiercer passions arose from the civil interests which were brought into collision. The dominant party in England regarded the war with France, not merely as a contest with a rival power, in which glory or conquest was to be won, but as a struggle for existence, in which their lives, their fortunes, and their country, were at stake. The French Republi-

cans looked upon the accession of England to the league of their enemies as the signal of deadly combat with the principles of freedom; and anticipated from defeat not only national humiliation, but individual ruin. The English nobility beheld in the conquests of the Republicans the dissemination of the principles of revolution and anarchy, the spread of infidelity, the reign of the guillotine; the French Jacobins saw in the victories of the Allies the near approach of moral retribution, the revenge of injury, the empire of the sword.

2. No words can convey an adequate idea of the bitterness of party feeling which divided this country upon the breaking out of the war in 1793. "War

to the palace, and peace to the cottage," was the principle of the French Revolution. Its proclamation necessarily set the two classes of society throughout Europe at variance with each other; and, instead of the ancient rivalry of kings, introduced the fiercer strife of the people. Like the Peloponnesian war, the contest thenceforth raged not only between nation and nation, but between interest and interest; a strife of opinion superseded that for glory; and in every province and in every city, numbers were to be found who watched the contending parties with opposite feelings, and hoped in the victory of foreign enemies for the downfall of domestic foes. England, as well as France, had talent impatient of obscurity; ardour which demanded employment; ambition which sought distinction; passion which required excitation. To such men, the whole body of the aristocracy became an object of uncontrollable jealousy; and nothing short of the equality proclaimed by the French rulers seemed the fit destiny of society. Hence the division of the country into Aristocrats and Democrats; the introduction of political hatred into the bosom of families, and the dissolution of many friendships which all the misfortunes of life could never have severed. Time heals almost all other sorrows, absence softens the worst causes of irritation; but experience has proved, that the political divisions of 1793 never were forgotten by those who were of an age to feel their influence.

3. The breaking out of the war formed a new subject of discord between the contending parties. On the part of the Opposition, it was argued, that to plunge into a desperate conflict, for so inconsiderable an object as the opening of the Scheldt, was to incur a certain and heavy loss on account of a most trifling cause of complaint: that the whole trade with the United Provinces was not worth one year's expense of the contest; and that, while it was easy to see what England had to lose, it was difficult to conceive what she could possibly gain from the strife she had so unnecessarily provoked: that if the spread of revolutionary opinions was

the evil which, in reality, was dreaded, nothing could be imagined so likely to increase the danger as engaging in a war, because it is during its perils that the interchange of opinions is most rapid, and prejudice most certainly yields to the force of necessity; that thoughts are not to be confined by walls, nor freedom fenced in by bayonets: that the moral agents requisite for carrying the designs of tyranny into execution become the instruments for its own destruction; and that the despots who now sought to extinguish freedom in France would find, like the Eastern sultan, that the forces they had brought up to avert the plague were the means of spreading its contagion through all the provinces of the empire.

4. On the other hand, the Tories maintained that the war was both just and expedient; just, because the Dutch, the ancient allies of Britain, were threatened with invasion, and the destruction of rights on which the existence of their Republic depended; expedient, because experience had proved that such an aggression could not be permitted without ruin to the vital interests of Britain: that such a violation of neutral rights came with a peculiarly bad grace from France, that power having, only ten years before, successfully interfered on the footing of ancient treaties, to prevent that very act in regard to the Scheldt navigation on the part of Austria, which was now threatened by her own forces: that if Great Britain was to sit by and tamely behold the rights of her allies, and of all neutral powers, sacrificed by her ancient rival, there would soon be an end, not only to her foreign influence, but to her internal security: that it was evident that the Republicans, who had now acquired the government of France, were impelled by the thirst for universal dominion, and would never rest till, by the aid of revolution in the adjoining states, they had incorporated them all with the ruling Republic: that the recent annexation of Savoy, Nice, and Flanders, with the French territory, gave sufficient proof of this grasping disposition, and afforded due warning to the neighbouring powers to place no reliance on the professions of a state, in

which no principle was fixed but that of republican ambition : that treaties were vain with a government subject to such sudden changes as that of the French Republic, in which each successive party that rose to the head of affairs, disregarding the faith of ancient engagements, sought only to gain a short-lived popularity by new and dazzling schemes of foreign aggression : that the Convention had already given the clearest indication of its resolution to shake itself loose of all former obligations, by its remarkable declaration, that "treaties made by despots could never bind the free and enlightened inhabitants of Belgium ;" that in all ages republics had been the most ambitious and the most warlike of states, in consequence of the restless and insatiable spirit which their institutions tended to nourish among the mass of their citizens, and the necessity which their rulers felt themselves under of signalling their short-lived power by some acts calculated to dazzle the multitude ; that the French Republic had already given ample proof that it was not destined to form any exception to the general rule, and even if its leaders were inclined to such forbearance, the suffering and ambition of the people would soon drive them into action : that history proved both that France was too powerful for Europe when her territory was advanced to the Rhine, and that the moment her influence became predominant, it would all be directed with inveterate hostility against this country ; that in this way the contest would sooner or later approach our own shores, and if so, how much better to anticipate the evil, when it might be done with comparative ease, and crush the growing Republic before it wielded the forces of Europe at its will.

Such were the arguments urged in this country generally on the policy of this great undertaking : those advanced in parliament related, as is usual with debates in that assembly, less to the general policy of the measure, or the principles involved in it on both sides, than to the immediate causes which had led to a rupture.

5. On the part of the Opposition, it

was contended by Mr Fox and Mr Grey, "that the causes of war with France were in no respect different now from what they were under the government of Louis XIV. or Louis XVI. What, then, were those causes ? Not an insult or aggression, but a refusal of satisfaction when specifically demanded. What proof had ministers produced of such demand and of such refusal ? It may be admitted that the decree of 19th November entitled this country to require some satisfaction ; but even of this they could not show that any clear and specific explanation had been demanded. Security that the French would not act upon that decree was, indeed, mentioned in one of Lord Grenville's letters, but what kind of security was neither specified nor even named. The same might be said with respect to the opening of the Scheldt, and the conquest of Brabant. We complained of an attack on the rights of our ally ; we remonstrated against an accession of territory alarming to Europe ; but we proposed nothing that would be admitted as satisfaction for the injury—we pointed out nothing that would remove our alarm. The same argument applied to their conquest of Savoy from the king of Sardinia, with whom, in their opinion, they were at war as much as with the Emperor. Can it be said, that it was our business only to complain, and theirs to propose satisfaction ? Common sense would see that this was too much for one independent power to expect of another. By what clue could they discover that which would satisfy those who did not choose to tell with what they would be satisfied ? How could they judge of the too little, or the too much ? And was it not natural for them to suppose that complaints, for which nothing was stated as adequate satisfaction, there was no disposition to withdraw ? Yet on this the whole question of aggression hinged ; for that the refusal of satisfaction, and not the insult, was the justifiable cause of war, was not merely their opinion, but the opinion of all the writers on the law of nations : and how could that be said to have been refused which was never asked ? Of the death of the king, none could ever speak but with grief

and detestation. But was the expression of our sorrow all that we did? Was not the atrocious event made the subject of a message from his majesty to both houses of parliament? And now they would ask the few more candid men who owned that they thought this event alone a sufficient cause of war, what end could be gained by further negotiations with Chauvelin, with Marat, or Dumourier? Did ministers mean to barter the blood of this ill-fated monarch for any of the points in dispute? to say that the evacuation of Brabant shall atone for so much, the evacuation of Savoy for so much more? Of this they would accuse no man; but, on their principle, when the crime was committed negotiation must cease. It might be admitted, however, as had been stated on the opposite side, that this crime was no cause of war; but if it were admitted to be so, it was surely not decent that the subject of war should never be even mentioned without reverting to the death of the king. When the attack on France was called the cause of kings, it was not only a very witty, but a sufficient reply, that opposing it might be called the cause of subjects. It is fortunate that the public abhorrence of a war on such a motive was so great, that ministers felt themselves called upon to disclaim it at great length. But how had they acted? They had taken advantage of the folly of the French; they had negotiated without proposing specific terms, and then broken off the negotiation. At home they had alarmed the people that their own constitution was in danger, and they had made use of a melancholy event, which, however it might affect us as men, did not concern us as a nation, to inflame our passions and impel us to war; and now that we were at war, they durst not avow the causes of it, nor tell us on what terms peace might have been preserved."

6. On the other hand, it was contended by Mr Pitt and Mr Burke, that, "whatever temptations might have existed to this country from ancient enmity and rivalry—paltry motives indeed!—or whatever opportunity might have been afforded by the tu-

multuous and distracted state of France, or whatever sentiments might be excited by the transactions which had taken place in that nation, his majesty had uniformly abstained from all interference in its internal government, and had maintained with respect to it, on every occasion, the strictest and most inviolable neutrality. Such being his conduct towards France, he had a right to expect on their part a suitable return; more especially as this return had been expressly conditioned for by a compact, into which they entered, and by which they engaged to respect the rights of his majesty and his allies, not to interfere in the government of any neutral country, and not to pursue any system of aggrandisement, or make any additions to their dominions, but to confine themselves at the conclusion of the war within their own territories. These conditions they had all grossly violated; they had adopted a system of ambitious and destructive policy, fatal to the peace and security of every government, and which, in its consequences, had shaken Europe itself to its foundations. Their decree of the 19th of November, which had been so much talked of, offering fraternity and alliance to all people who wished to recover their liberty, was a decree not levelled against particular nations, but against every country where there was any form of government established—a decree not hostile to individuals, but to the human race—which was calculated everywhere to sow the seeds of rebellion and civil contention, and to spread war from one end of Europe to the other, from one end of the globe to the other. While they were bound to this country by these obligations, they had showed no intention to exempt it from the consequences of this decree. Not only had they evinced no inclination to fulfil their engagements, but they had even put it out of their own power, by taking the first opportunity to make additions to their territory, in contradiction to their own express stipulations. By express resolutions for the destruction of the existing government of all invaded countries, by means of Jacobin societies, by orders given to their generals, by the

whole system adopted in this respect by the National Assembly, and by the actual annexation of the whole country of Savoy, they had marked their determination to add to the dominions of France, and to provide means, through the medium of every new conquest, to diffuse their principles over Europe. Their conduct was such, that in every instance it had militated against the dearest and most valuable interests of this country. The catastrophe of the French monarch they ought all to feel deeply; and, consistently with that impression, be led more firmly to resist those principles from which an event of so black and atrocious a nature had proceeded,—principles which, if not opposed, might be expected in their progress to lead to the commission of similar crimes. But, notwithstanding all this, although government had been obliged to decline all communication which tended to acknowledge the authority of the Convention, still they had left open the means of accommodation, nor could that line of conduct which they had pursued be stated as affording any ground of hostility.”

7. The event has at length enabled the historian to decide which of these views was the most reasonable; for we know the evil we have incurred, and we can figure the peril we have escaped, by engaging in the contest. In truth, the arguments urged by government were not the only motives for commencing the war. The danger they apprehended lay nearer home than the conquests of the Republicans; it was not foreign subjugation so much as domestic revolution which was dreaded, if a pacific intercourse were any longer maintained with France. “Croyez moi,” said the Empress Catherine to Ségur, in 1789, “une guerre seule peut changer la direction des esprits en France, les réunir, donner un but plus utile aux passions, et réveiller le vrai patriotisme.”* In this observation is contained the true secret, and the best vin-

dication of the Revolutionary war. The passions were excited; democratic ambition was awakened; the desire of power, under the name of reform, was rapidly gaining ground among the middle ranks, and the institutions of the country were threatened with an overthrow as violent as that which had recently taken place in the French monarchy. In these circumstances, the only mode of checking the evil was by engaging in a foreign contest, by drawing off the ardent spirits into active service, and, in lieu of the modern desire for innovation, rousing the ancient gallantry of the British people. When passion, whether in the political body or in the individual, is once roused, it is in vain, during the paroxysm, to combat it with the weapons of reason. A man in love is proverbially inaccessible to argument, and a nation heated in the pursuit of political power is as incapable of listening either to the deductions of the understanding, or the lessons of experience. The only way in such times of averting the evil, is by presenting some new object of pursuit, which is not only attractive to the thinking few, but to the unthinking many; by counteracting one passion by the growth of another, and summoning to the support of truth not only the armour of reason, but the fire of imagination. Great as has been the burden, enormous the waste, prodigal the expenditure of the war, the evils thence arising are trifling in comparison of what would have ensued had a revolution taken place. Such an event, its advocates themselves confess, can only benefit future generations by the destruction of the present; its horrors, in a country such as England, where three-fourths of the whole population depend upon the wages of labour, and would be directly deprived of bread by the destruction of capital, would have exceeded anything yet experienced in modern times.

Another question, which strongly agitated the English people at this juncture, was that of reform in parliament, which the popular party deemed it a favourable opportunity to urge, when a considerable part of the nation was so

* “Believe me, a war alone can change the direction of men's minds in France, reunite them, give a more useful aim to the passions, and awaken true patriotism.”

vehemently excited by the triumph of revolution in France.

8. In the House of Commons, it was argued by Mr Grey and Mr Erskine, "That the state of the national representation, especially in Scotland as compared with Cornwall, was so unequal, that no rational argument could be advanced in support of it. A majority of the House of Commons is returned by less than fifteen thousand electors, which is not more than a two-hundredth part of the male adults of the kingdom: this franchise, limited as it is, legally recurs only once in seven years. The total representation for Scotland was only one greater than that for Cornwall alone: twenty members were returned by thirty-five places where the right of voting was vested in burgh or similar tenures, and the elections were notoriously a matter of mere form; ninety more are chosen by forty-six places, where the right of voting is confined to less than fifty persons each; thirty-seven by nineteen places, in which the number of voters is under one hundred; fifty-two by twenty-six places, in none of which the voters exceed two hundred; thirty in Scotland, by counties having less than two hundred and fifty votes; and fifteen by Scotch boroughs not containing one hundred and twenty-five each. In this way two hundred and ninety-four members, a majority of the House of Commons, are chosen by a nominal and fictitious system, under which the people have hardly any choice in their election.

9. "In addition to this, the elective franchise is so various, complicated, and grotesque, that endless litigation and confusion arise from its practical operation. Religious opinions create an incapacity to vote in all Papists, and in thirty boroughs Protestant dissenters are, by the Test and Corporation laws, excluded from the franchise; copyholders, how wealthy soever, are universally excluded; and from the recent returns, it appears that no less than 939,000 householders in England alone had no voice in the representation. In Scotland, matters are still worse, the great mass of the people being altogether excluded from any voice in the

legislature, and the members chosen by twenty-five hundred persons, great part of whom have only fictitious or parchment votes. In fine, one hundred and fifty-four powerful and wealthy individuals can determine the returns in no less than three hundred and seven seats, being a majority of the whole Commons of England.

"We are always told, when this question is introduced into parliament, that the present juncture is not the proper season for bringing forward the measure. Nothing, however, can be more obvious, than that this excuse is now totally unfounded. The burst of loyalty on the breaking out of the war, of which the government so loudly boast, demonstrates the groundless nature of any such apprehension at this time. If ever there was any danger to this country from the propagation of French principles, that danger unquestionably is at an end; for no set of men who have not actually lost their senses, would ever propose the French Revolution as a model for imitation. No argument from the present situation of France, therefore, can be drawn against the adoption of a rational reform in this country. The greatest statesmen whom this country has ever produced, have advocated the cause which we now bring forward. It had been supported by Mr Locke, Sir William Blackstone, Sir George Saville, and the present Chief Baron and Chief Justice. It had the countenance, in his earlier years, of Mr Pitt himself; it had been advocated by the Duke of Richmond; and by an authority greater than either, that of the king himself, in his speech, 24th May 1784, wherein his majesty says, 'that he should ever be ready to concur in supporting, in their just balance, the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature.'

"The present state of the representation is so monstrous, that it cannot, on general principles, be supported by any rational man. Who can defend a system which enables one English county to return as many members as the whole kingdom of Scotland? and allows representatives to be sent from

many places where hardly a house now remains! If there was any one principle more strongly inculcated than another at the Revolution, it was, that the election of the House of Commons should be free. One of the grounds assigned at that period for the dethronement of James was, that he had violated the freedom of election; another, that a man ought not to be governed by laws in the framing of which he had not a voice, or to pay taxes to which he had not consented in the same way. Is not the present state of things a direct departure from both these principles? At the Revolution, too, the necessity of short parliaments was asserted; and is not the theory and practice of the constitution now a direct infringement of this principle? Can there be a more complete mockery than the system of representation in Scotland, where a nobleman's steward goes down to a borough with ten or twelve pieces of parchment in his hand, and, having assembled round a table ten or twelve of his master's dependants, secures the return. Mr Pitt had brought forward a motion for an addition of one hundred to the county members; and in the commencement of every session, it is entered on the journals of the House, 'That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of England for any Lord of Parliament, or Lord-Lieutenant, to concern themselves in the election of members for parliament.' Better far at once to repeal such resolutions, and openly proclaim our servility, than allow them to remain there, when the practice was so totally at variance with them."

10. To this it was replied by Mr Pitt, Mr Burke, and Mr Jenkinson: "The liberty of a country depends on its government, and very little experience must be sufficient to demonstrate that different countries require different institutions. The real test of their practical influence is to be found in their effects. Judging by this standard, what opinion must we form of the British constitution? Is not property secure? Is not the administration of justice pure? Have we not arrived at a pitch

of prosperity under it, unparalleled in any other age or country? And what have been the fruits of the speculations of those who, disregarding the lessons of experience, have aimed at the establishment of institutions framed with a view to theoretical perfection? The turbulent faction and unsettled despotism of democracy. The spots of the sun do not diminish its splendour. In considering the merits of the constitution, its working upon the whole is to be considered. The question is not, whether certain parts of it, if they stood alone, are defensible, but whether the whole machine is not admirable; not whether defects exist, but whether experience has not proved that these defects so far counteract each other, as to render it to the last degree perilous to interfere with the venerable fabric."

"I myself," said Mr Pitt, "once brought forward a motion for reform, and I am desirous of stating the reasons which induce me now to oppose it. I did so during a period of profound peace, when no speck appeared on the political horizon, and when the opportunity appeared favourable for amending our institutions, with a view to their preservation. Now the case is totally different. The French Revolution has entirely changed, not only the expedience of such a measure, but the class of men by whom, and the objects for which, it is supported. Since that great convulsion arose, I have observed arising in this country a small, but not contemptible party, whose object is very different from moderate reform—who aspire to nothing less than to introduce the French principles, with all their horrors. In such circumstances, all the practical good to be expected from reform has disappeared, and the dangers to be apprehended from the adoption of any considerable change have augmented tenfold. Upon this ground, even had I rated as high as ever the advantages of reform, I would rather have abandoned my project than incurred such a danger. It is evident now, that the question is not, whether a moderate reform is to be conceded, but whether admission is to be afforded to the point

of the wedge, which, when driven home, will rend asunder and dissolve the empire.

"From whom do the petitions for reform now come? Is it from the friends of the British constitution; from those whose character and principles warrant the belief that their object is to renovate, not destroy, our institutions? No; they all come from the societies affiliated in this country for the purpose of spreading the Jacobin principles; from the avowed and ardent admirers of the French Republic; from the correspondents and imitators of the National Assembly; from men in whom all the horrors which that Assembly has engendered, and all the blood it has caused to flow, cannot awaken any distrust of these principles. We must be blind indeed if we do not perceive what is the real object of innovation supported by such a party. In France, at the same time, they invariably mention parliamentary reform as the medium by which all their revolutionary projects are to be forwarded in this country, and speak of a change in our representation as but a step to the formation of a British Convention, and the total destruction of all our civil and religious institutions.

"Is it, then, to a party small in number, but dangerous from character, that we are to concede the first step on the ladder of innovation? Are we to disregard entirely the immense majority of loyal citizens, who are too sensible of the blessings they enjoy to risk them by such a change? What is the question really at issue? It is not whether the constituencies of Cornwall and Scotland are really such as ideal perfection would approve: it is the same which is now at issue with the whole of Europe, who are contending for the cause of order, justice, humanity, and religion, in opposition to anarchy, injustice, cruelty, and infidelity. The undue ascendancy given to property in these districts, is the check to the otherwise perilous influence of numbers in the larger boroughs. Are we, at such a moment, in order to please a few individuals, to incur perils such as those we are now witnessing? This would, in-

deed, resemble the conduct of those who, at the moment when the citadel was besieged, should proceed to the discussion of points of difference, instead of providing the means of defence.

"I see no probability at this time of a temperate reform; I see no guarantee for it either in the temper of the times, or the character, habits, or views of those by whom it is supported. So far from satisfying them, it would only produce a craving for further concessions: they desire not the reform which they now advocate for itself, but as a stepping-stone to ulterior objects which they dare not avow, till their power of carrying them into effect is by this first acquisition secured. Knowing what these ulterior designs are—seeing the unspeakable horrors which they have introduced in that country where they have been carried into full effect, it is our duty to resist to the uttermost the first steps in the progress. The government which acts otherwise ceases to be a government; it unties the bands which knit together society; it forfeits the reverence and obedience of its subjects; it gives up those whom it ought to protect, to the daggers of the Marseillais and the assassins of Paris. The government of the multitude, to which reform is but a step, is *not the ruling of the few by the many, but of the many by the few*: with this difference, that the few at the head of affairs in such a state, are the most ambitious, reckless, and worthless of the community."*

* It is curious, on a subject of such vital importance to England as Parliamentary Reform, to contrast these arguments with those urged for and against the same measure in the memorable discussions of 1830 and 1831. A summary of these is here subjoined, taken from the speeches of Sir Robert Peel, Mr Croker, Lord Lyndhurst, Mr Stanley, and Lord Advocate Jeffrey, as an instructive illustration of the progress of the human mind during the intervening period.

On the popular side, it was urged that the British constitution had gradually departed from the principles on which it was originally established, and on which alone stability could be expected for it in future: that by the decline of the population in some boroughs, and the vast increase of inhabitants in once rural districts, a large proportion of the members of the House of Commons had come to be returned by a few great families, while the majority of the people were totally

11. Fortunately for England, and for the cause of freedom throughout the world, these arguments prevailed in the House of Commons. The motion for reform, brought forward by Mr Grey, was negatived by a majority of 282 to 41. The threats of revolution immediately subsided; the impending convulsions disappeared; and a measure, which it was confidently predicted would forever alienate the higher from the lower orders, was succeeded by a degree of

unrepresented; that such a state of things was an insupportable grievance to the bulk of the citizens, and could not fail, while it continued, to nourish perpetual discord between the holders of political influence and all the other classes of society: that an oligarchy, at all times an invidious form of government, was peculiarly so at the present time, when the public mind was inflamed by the successful result of the late Revolution in France: that, by admitting a larger number to a share of political rights, the foundations of government would be laid on a broader basis, and a phalanx secured who would at all times resist the extension of their privileges to a lower class, and be found the firmest supporters of social order: that it was altogether chimerical to suppose that there could be the slightest danger in extending the elective suffrage to a numerous body of voters, as the people were so habituated to political rights, and so enlightened by education, that they were as capable of exercising such franchise as their superiors: that unless political institutions were enlarged with the increase of those who shared their protection, they would be outgrown by the multitude, and burst from the expansive force of intelligence and numbers: that the true and legitimate influence of property could never be extinguished, and would only receive a wider sphere for its exertions by the increase of the circle to which the franchise was extended: that all revolutions had been occasioned by the obstinate adherence to old institutions, at a time when the state of society required their alteration; that timely concession was the only way to prevent convulsion, and in the present excited state of the public mind, if it was any longer delayed, the barriers of authority would be broken through, and all the horrors of the French Revolution brought upon the state.

On the other hand, it was contended by the aristocratic party, that the present was not a motion for the reform of a real grievance, which was at all times entitled to the most serious attention, but for an increase of political power to the lower orders, which was to be conceded or resisted according to its obvious tendency to preserve or subvert the balance of the constitution: that it was totally different from Mr Pitt's previous proposals of reform, which went to remove an admitted evil in a period of tranquillity; whereas the present motion was founded on

unanimity between them, in the most difficult times, such as had never before been witnessed in the British empire. And thus, at the very time that the French nobility, by yielding to the demand for concession, and surrendering all their privileges, advanced the Revolution in that country, the British aristocracy, by steadily resisting innovation, prevented it in theirs: a memorable example to succeeding ages, of the effect of firmness and decision on the part of

a concession to French principles and democratic ambition, at a time of unexampled excitement: that it was evident that the popular party was already sufficiently strong, from the tenor of the acts which had been passed since the Revolution, which went rather to enlarge than abridge the liberty of the subject; that any further concession, therefore, would necessarily have the effect of overloading the balance on the popular side, and endangering the monarchical institutions of the state: that it was in vain to refer to early times for a precedent in support of a greater extension of the elective franchise, since the state of society was then essentially different from what it now is; that the power of the sword was then vested in the feudal barons, and the country was overspread with their armed retainers; whereas now the progress of wealth, and the invention of firearms, had destroyed this formidable power, while the increase of manufactures had augmented to a very great degree that of the middle ranks, and the diffusion of knowledge had increased tenfold their practical influence: that it might be quite safe to require representatives for all the boroughs, when the commons were a humble class in the state, and began their petitions with the words, "For God's sake, and as an act of mercy;" while it would be highly dangerous to adopt a similar course, when the numbers of that class exceeded that of the agriculturists, and their wealth overbalanced that of all the other orders in the state: that the example of the Long Parliament sufficiently demonstrated that concession to popular clamours only led to fresh demands, and conducted, by an irresistible progress, to anarchy and revolution: that the fatal consequences which had formerly attended the duplication of the Tiers Etat, the parliamentary reform of France, was a signal example of the effects of that concession to democratic ambition which was now so loudly called for; that the king there yielded up all the prerogatives of his crown, and the nobles had made a voluntary surrender of their whole titles, rights, and privileges, and the consequence was, that the commons became irresistible, and the one was brought to an ignominious death, and the others were rewarded by exile, confiscation, and the scaffold: that the rotten boroughs, so much the object of invective, were, in truth, the most important part of the British coun-

parliament in stilling the violence of popular agitation, and checking the growth of democratic ambition; and a proof how different the clamour of the press, of public meetings, and popular orators, often is from the sober judgment of a really free people.

12. As the agitation of the Jacobin clubs, however, still continued, and societies, in imitation of the parent institution in Paris, were rapidly forming

stitution, and that which alone had, contrary to all former experience, so long maintained the balance of the three estates, because they gave a direct influence to property in the legislature, and enabled the increasing wealth of the aristocracy to maintain its ground against the growing influence of the commons; that an inlet was thus provided to parliament for men of talent, which had proved the means of introduction to our greatest statesmen, and which, if closed, would degrade its character, and convert the representatives of the people into the mere supporters of separate interests: that it was in vain to expect, in the present period of excitement, and with the example of successful revolt in France, that wealth could permanently influence the lower orders, or maintain its ground, if deprived of this constitutional channel in the House of Commons; that reform, therefore, would necessarily lead to revolution—and what revolution led to, need not be told to those who had witnessed the Reign of Terror: that the hope of attaching a large portion of the lower orders, by the extension of the elective franchise, however specious in theory, would prove fallacious in practice, because they would soon find that their votes, from their great multiplication, were of no value; that they had been deceived by the name of a privilege of no real service, and that the only way to obtain any practical benefit from their exertions was to league with the humblest classes for a general spoliation of the higher; that this was the natural tendency of the lower orders in all wealthy states, because union with the higher afforded no immediate advantage, whereas a league with those lower than themselves gave the prospect of a division of property, and liberation from burdens, and was, in an especial manner, to be apprehended in Britain at this time, because the public burdens were so excessive, property so unequally divided, and the example of a successful division of estates in France so recent: that a reform in parliament, unlike all other ameliorations, was to the last degree dangerous, because it was the voluntary surrender of legislative power to the lower orders, which could never be recovered, and a false step, once taken, was irretrievable: that supposing there were some defects in the constitution indefensible in theory, it could not be disputed that, in practice, it had proved the best protection to the rights and interests of

in all the great towns of the kingdom, a bill against correspondence with France was passed by parliament, notwithstanding the utmost resistance by the Opposition, and prosecutions were commenced both in Scotland and England against the most violent of the demagogues. Some of them were clearly necessary; the expedience of others, especially in Scotland, was more than doubtful, at least to the extent to which

all classes that had ever existed in the world; that least of all could the manufacturing or commercial bodies complain that their interests were not duly attended to in parliament, since the whole policy of the state, for above a century, had been directed, perhaps too exclusively, to their advantage: that the representation which the great colonial, commercial, and shipping interests now obtained, by means of the purchase of close boroughs, would be annihilated if this mode of entering parliament were closed; that thus the real effect of reform would be to vest the supreme power in the mob of England, to the exclusion of all the great and varied interests which had risen up over the whole globe in the British dependencies; that such a state of things had proved fatal to all former republics, and could not fail speedily to lead to the dismemberment of the British empire: that if corruption were the evil which was really apprehended, no mode of increasing it could be so effectual as diminishing the close boroughs, where it existed from the paucity of inhabitants on the smallest, and increasing the middling ones, where experience had proved bribery was practised on the most extensive scale; that any reform would thus diminish the private to increase the venal boroughs; that, as it was evident wealth could maintain its ground in the contest with numbers, only by means of the expenditure of money, it was incomparably better that this necessary influence should be exerted in the decent retirement of antiquated boroughs, than in the shameless prostitution of great cities: that the danger of revolution, so strongly urged on the other side, in fact only existed if the reform measure was carried, inasmuch as history demonstrated, that no convulsions had ever shaken the English monarchy but those which emanated from the House of Commons; that it was rash measures of legislation which were alone to be dreaded, and words spoken from authority that set the world on fire: that the constitution had now by accident, or more probably by the providence of God, become adapted to the curious and complicated interests of the British empire, and had enjoyed a degree of stability unknown to free institutions in any former age; and therefore nothing could be more rash or culpable than to run the risk of destroying so venerable a fabric, under which so much practical benefit had been experienced, in the pursuit of imaginary, and hitherto unattainable perfection.

punishment was carried against generous, and often well-meaning, though dangerous and deluded men.* Those vindictive measures on the part of government are seldom really beneficial, which excite the sympathy of the humane as well as the turbulent, and convert the transient ebullition of popular feeling into the lasting bitterness of political hatred. The true course in periods of public excitement, is firmness without severity; steady defiance of revolutionary intimidation, but cautious consideration of real evils; decided resistance to needless innovation, but careful abstinence from individual oppression.

13. The internal tranquillity of the British empire being thus provided for, the government took the most vigorous measures which the limited extent of their military resources would permit, to strengthen the Grand Army on the Continent. A corps, consisting of twenty thousand English, was embarked and landed in Holland, under the command of the Duke of York, and being united to ten thousand Hanoverians and Hessians, formed a total of thirty thousand men in the British pay. The French Convention, early in the year, had ordered a levy of three hundred thousand men; but these troops could not come into the field till April. The present forces of the Allies consisted of three hundred and sixty-five thousand men, acting on the whole circumference of France, from Calais to Bayonne; while those of the Republicans amounted to two hundred and

seventy thousand, for the most part of inferior quality, but possessing the advantages of unity of language, government, and public feeling, besides the important circumstance of acting in an interior and concentric circle, which enabled one corps rapidly to communicate with and support another;—while the troops of the Allies, scattered over a much larger circumference, were deprived of that advantage.†

14. No difficulty was experienced by government in getting parliament to agree to any measures which were deemed necessary to avert from the British shores the scourge of revolutionary convulsion. The execution of Louis produced a profound and universal impression in Great Britain. Nothing, since the time when the head of Charles I. fell under the axe of the Long Parliament, had ever produced so general and mournful a feeling. It was hard to say whether the sturdy old Tories, or the ardent Liberals of the new school, received the intelligence with most consternation. The former beheld in this event the clearest confirmation of their dismal forebodings, and the realisation of their worst predictions; the latter, the overthrow of long-cherished hopes, the blasting of impassioned and sanguine expectations. It was impossible any longer to represent the popular cause in France as that of justice and philanthropy, when the first sacrifice to which it had led had been that of their upright and beneficent monarch, whose only fault had been an imprudent zeal for the public good, and his only weakness an

* Some of these were transported fourteen years for conspiracy and sedition, without any overt act of high treason.—*State Trials in Scotland*, i. 351, 417.

† The relative strength of the forces on the opposite sides in July 1793, was as follows:—

ALLIES.	
Imperialists in Belgium, . . .	50,000
Austrians on the Rhine, . . .	40,000
On the Meuse, . . .	33,000
Prussians in Belgium, . . .	12,000
Prussians and Saxons on the Rhine, . . .	65,000
Dutch, . . .	20,000
English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, . . .	30,000
Austrians and Piedmontese, in } . . .	45,000
Piedmont, . . .	
Spaniards, . . .	50,000
Forces of the Empire and Emigrants, . . .	20,000
Total, . . .	365,000

FRENCH.	
In Belgium and Holland, . . .	30,000
Before Maestricht and in the Limbourg, . . .	70,000
On the Moselle, . . .	25,000
At Mayence, . . .	45,000
On the Upper Rhine, . . .	30,000
In Savoy and Nice, . . .	40,000
In the interior, . . .	30,000
Total, . . .	270,000

The French, however, had the superiority in the field till the end of April; from that time till the end of August, the Allies had the advantage: after which, from the great levies of the Republicans coming forward, they resumed the ascendancy, which went on continually increasing till the close of the campaign, and was never lost till the memorable campaign of 1799.—JOMINI, iii. 51-58.

unconquerable aversion to the shedding of blood. It was now apparent that the boasted regeneration of society had purified it of none of its vices, and that the philanthropic movement of the philosophers was to terminate in the usual atrocities of bloodshed, massacre, and confiscation. Indescribable was the effect which this impression produced on all classes in the British Isles, from the throne to the cottage. By a spontaneous feeling the House of Commons, on the night on which the melancholy intelligence was discussed in parliament, on occasion of the royal message for an augmentation of the forces, assembled in mourning. One or two alone appeared in coloured dress, who afterwards bore a conspicuous part in English history as the leaders of the great movement which terminated in the Revolution of 1832.*

15. The impression made at St Petersburg by the execution of Louis was fully as vivid as at London: already it was evident that these two capitals were the centres of the great contest which was approaching. No sooner did the melancholy intelligence reach the Empress Catherine, than she instantly took the most decisive measures: all Frenchmen were ordered to quit her territories within three weeks, if they did not renounce the principles of the Revolution, and all correspondence with their relations in that country; and it was publicly announced, that the great fleet of Cronstadt, with forty thousand men on board, should, early in spring, unite itself to the British navy, to pursue measures in common against the enemies of humanity. The efforts of the Czarine had been incessant and energetic to organise an alliance capable of restraining the progress of revolutionary principles. With that view she had restrained the uplifted arm of conquest over Gustavus III. of Sweden in 1790; and hardly were her troops disengaged from their Turkish enemies on the banks of the Danube, by the peace of Jassy in 1792, than she made arrangements for transporting the Muscovite legions to the heart of Germany.

16. Nor did these energetic resolu-

* Mr (afterwards Earl) Grey was one of these.

tions evaporate in mere empty words, on the part of the cabinet either of St Petersburg or St James's. An intimate and confidential correspondence immediately commenced between Count Woronzoff, the Russian ambassador at London, and Lord Grenville, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, which terminated in a treaty between the two powers, signed in London on the 25th March. By this convention, which laid the basis of the grand alliance which afterwards brought the war to a glorious termination, it was provided that the two powers should "employ their respective forces, as far as circumstances shall permit, in carrying on the just and necessary war in which they find themselves engaged against France; and they reciprocally engage not to lay down their arms until restitution is compelled of all the conquests which France may have made upon either of the respective powers, or upon such other states or allies to whom, by common consent, they shall extend the benefit of this treaty." They agreed, also, to shut their ports against France, and not permit the export of any naval stores to that power, "and to unite all their efforts to prevent other powers not implicated in this war from giving, on this occasion of common concern to every civilised state, any protection whatever, in consequence of their neutrality, to the commerce or property of the French, on the sea, or in the ports of France." The existing commercial treaties were at the same time, by a separate convention, ratified and confirmed between the two powers.

17. Shortly after, a similar convention was entered into between Great Britain and Sardinia, by which the latter power was to receive an annual subsidy of £200,000 during the whole continuance of the war, and to keep on foot an army of fifty thousand men; and the British government engaged to procure for it entire restitution of its dominions as they stood at the commencement of the war. By another convention with the cabinet of Madrid, signed at Aranjuez on the 25th of May, they engaged not to make peace till they had obtained full restitution for the Spaniards

"of all places, towns, and territories which belonged to them at the commencement of the war, and which the enemy may have taken during its continuance." A similar treaty was entered into with the court of the two Sicilies, and with Prussia, in which the clauses, prohibiting all exportation to France, and preventing the trade of neutrals with it, were the same as in the Russian treaty. Treaties of the same tenor were concluded in the course of the summer with the emperor of Germany and the king of Portugal. Thus was all Europe arrayed in a great league against Republican France, and thus did the regicides of that country, as the first fruits of their cruel triumph, find themselves excluded from the pale of civilised nations. It will appear in the sequel how many and what unheard-of disasters broke up this great confederacy; how courageous some were in adhering to their engagements, how weak and dastardly others were in deserting them; and how firmly and nobly Great Britain alone persevered to the end, and never laid down her arms till she had accomplished all the objects of the war, and fulfilled to the very letter all the obligations she had contracted to any, even the humblest, of the allied powers.

18. But while all Europe thus resounded with the note of military preparation against France, Russia had other and more interested designs in view. Amidst the general consternation at the triumphs of the French Republicans, Catherine conceived that she would be permitted to pursue, without molestation, her ambitious designs against Poland. She constantly represented the disturbances in that kingdom as the fruit of revolutionary propagandism, which it was indispensable to crush in the first instance; and it was easy to see that it was for the banks of the Vistula, not the Seine, that her military preparations were, in the outset at least, intended. The ambitious views of Prussia were also, as will fully appear in the sequel, strongly turned in the same direction; and thus, in the very commencement of a war which required the concentrated effort of all Europe, and might by such an

effort have been speedily brought to a successful termination, were the principal powers already distracted by separate interests, and unjustifiable projects of individual aggrandisement.

19. Nor was it only the ambitious projects of Russia and Prussia against the independence of Poland, which already gave ground for gloomy augury as to the issue of the war. Its issue was more immediately affected by the jealousy between Austria and Prussia, which now broke out in the most undisguised manner, and occasioned such a division of the allied forces as effectually prevented any cordial or effective co-operation continuing to exist between them. The Prussian cabinet, mortified at the lead which the Imperial generals took in the common operations, insisted upon the formation of two independent German armies—one composed of Prussians, the other of Austrians, to one or other of which the forces of all the minor states should be joined: those of Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse, being grouped round the standards of Prussia; those of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Suabia, the Palatinate, and Franconia, following the eagles of Austria. By this means, all unity of action between the two grand allied armies was broken up, at the very time when it was most required to meet the desperate and concentrated energy of revolutionary fervour; while the zeal of all the subordinate nations was irretrievably cooled at finding themselves thus parcelled out between the two great military powers, whose pre-eminence already gave them so much disquietude; and compelled against their will to serve under the standards of empires from whom many of them apprehended greater danger than from the common enemy.

20. But though such seeds of weakness existed among the allied powers, the immediate danger was to all appearance much greater to France. Though their armies in Flanders were, in the commencement of the campaign, superior to those of the Allies, they were in the most deplorable state of insubordination, and miserably deficient in every species of equipment. The artillery

horses had in great part perished during the severity of the winter campaign; the clothing of the soldiers was worn out—their spirit had disappeared during the license of Republican conquest. The disorganisation was complete in every department; the artillery stores, the commissariat, the cavalry horses, were deficient; discipline was wanting among the soldiers, concord among the chiefs. France then experienced the weakness arising from revolutionary license, and which is common to all really democratic states. She regained her strength under the stern despotism of the Reign of Terror, when the Committee of Public Salvation wielded a power tenfold greater than Louis XIV. had ever enjoyed, and enforced with a vigour unknown to Caligula or Nero.

21. Prince Cobourg was appointed generalissimo of the allied armies from the Rhine to the German Ocean. The great abilities displayed by Clairfait in repairing the disasters of the preceding campaign, pleaded in vain for his continuance in the command at a court not yet taught by disaster to disregard influence and promote only merit. His successor had served under the Imperial banners against the Turks, and shared in the glories of the campaigns of Suwarroff. But the Austrian commander was far from possessing the vigour or capacity of the conqueror of Ismael. Adhering with obstinate perseverance to the system of dividing his forces, and covering an immense tract of country with communications, he frittered away the vast army placed at his disposal, and permitted the fairest opportunity ever offered of striking a decisive blow against the rising Republic, to pass away without any important event. He belonged to the old methodical school of Lacey; was destitute alike of decision and character; and, from the tardiness of his operations, was the general of all others least qualified to combat the fire and energy of a revolution.

22. To support the prodigious expense of a war on all their frontiers, and on so great a scale, would greatly have exceeded the ordinary and legitimate resources of the French govern-

ment. But, contrary alike to precedent and anticipation, they derived from the miseries and convulsions of the Revolution new and unparalleled resources. The ordinary pacific expenditure of 1792, covered by taxes, the sale of ecclesiastical property, and patriotic gifts, amounted to 958,000,000 francs, or nearly £40,000,000 sterling. But so immensely had the charges of the war augmented the national expenditure, that the expense of the last period of the year was at the rate of 200,000,000 francs, or £8,000,000 a-month. On the day on which war was declared, assignats to the enormous amount of 1,000,000,000 francs (£40,000,000) were struck off at the public treasury. But the period had now arrived when all calculation in matters of finance was to cease. For all exigencies the inexhaustible mine of assignats, possessing a forced circulation, and issued on the credit of the national domains, proved sufficient. When any want was felt in the treasury, the demands were paid by a fresh issue of paper; and this fictitious currency, the source of boundless private ruin in France, singly sustained, during the first years of the revolutionary wars, the public credit. In the Finance Report for 1793, Cambon declared that the expenses of that year could admit of no exact calculation, but that the nation must rise superior to its financial, as it had already risen above its military difficulties; and therefore he proposed the immediate issue of 800,000,000 of francs, or upwards of £33,000,000, in assignats, on the security of the national domains, which was immediately agreed to. These domains he valued at eight milliards, or about £320,000,000 sterling; of which three milliards, or £120,000,000, had been consumed or impledged by previous issues—an extraordinary proof of the length to which the confiscation of private property had already been carried under the revolutionary government.

23. To meet the exigencies of the year in the British parliament, Mr Pitt proposed a loan of £4,500,000, besides the ordinary supplies of the year, the interest of which was provided for by ad-

ditional taxes; and from these resources the subsidy already mentioned was granted to the king of Sardinia, and others to several of the smaller German powers. At the same time an issue of £5,000,000 was voted to relieve the commercial embarrassment which had been very severely felt on the breaking out of the war; and such was the effect of this well-timed supply, that credit was speedily restored, and little, if any, of this large sum was ultimately lost to the state—a striking example of the beneficial effect of liberal support by government, even in the darkest periods of public suffering.

24. In January 1793, Dumourier came to Paris, in order to endeavour to rouse the Girondist party to save the life of Louis. This movement, while it failed in its object of preserving the king, for ever alienated the Jacobins from the general. The consequences of this misunderstanding were important upon the fate of the campaign. Dumourier's plan, which he had been meditating during the whole winter, was to commence operations by an invasion of Holland; to revolutionise that country, unite it with the provinces of Flanders—as has since been done in 1814—raise an army of eighty thousand men, with this force move upon Paris, and, without the aid of any other power, dictate laws to the Convention, and restore tranquillity to France. It is one of the most extraordinary signs of those days of revolution and confusion, that so wild a project should have been seriously undertaken by a man of his acute understanding. On the other hand, the plan of the Allies was to drive the Republicans beyond the Meuse, and disengage the important fortress of Maastricht; next to invest and regain the city of Mayence, the key of the Rhine, and then unite their victorious forces for the deliverance of Flanders. The design, in general, was well conceived; but the details prescribed for the recovery of the Low Countries were vitiated by that division of force, and mutual jealousy of the commanders, which so long proved ruinous to the allied armies. To carry into execution his project, Dumourier, early in the season, collected a body of about

twenty thousand men at Antwerp, with a view to an attack on Rotterdam. Shortly after his troops entered the Dutch territory, and established themselves between Breda and Bergen-op-zoom. At first his efforts were attended with unexpected success. After a siege of three days, and when the French were on the point of retiring for want of ammunition, Breda, with a garrison of twenty-five hundred men, capitulated. This advantage was speedily followed by the reduction of Gertruydenberg, after a trifling resistance; and siege was immediately laid to Williamstadt. The French forces, encamped in straw huts on the shores of the branch of the sea called the Brisboes, were only waiting for the collection of boats sufficient to convey across the troops, in order to undertake the siege of Dort, when information was received by the general, on the night of the 8th March, of events in other quarters of Flanders, which immediately led to the abandonment of this enterprise.

25. While Dumourier was absent with part of his forces in Holland, Miranda was prosecuting the siege of Maastricht, though with forces totally inadequate to so great an undertaking. But while the French were still reposing in fancied security in their cantonments, the Imperialists were taking active measures to raise the siege. Fifty-two thousand men had been assembled under Prince Cobourg, with whom was the young ARCHDUKE CHARLES, brother of the Emperor Francis,* at the head of

* Charles Louis de Lorraine, Archduke Charles, second brother of the Emperor Francis, was born on the 15th September 1771, so that when he first entered on the career of arms under Prince Cobourg, in May 1793, he was not yet twenty-two years of age. His great abilities, not less than his exalted rank, rapidly procured his elevation in command. After the battle of Nerwinde, which restored that rich province to the Imperial power, he was appointed governor of the Low Countries, and was soon after created a field-marshal. In April 1796, he was promoted, on the retirement of Clairfaut, to the command of the Imperial armies in Germany, where his military abilities, as will appear in the sequel, shone forth with the highest lustre, and which laid the foundation of his great military reputation. His character will come more fully to be drawn in a subsequent volume, when his great exploits have been re-

the grenadiers. On the 1st and 2d March, the Austrians along the whole line attacked the French cantonments, and, after an inconsiderable resistance, succeeded in driving them back, and in many points throwing them into utter confusion. The discouragement which has so often been observed to seize the French troops on the first considerable reverse, got possession of the soldiers; whole battalions fled in confusion into France; officers quitted their troops, soldiers disbanded from their officers; the siege of Maestricht was raised, the heavy artillery sent back in haste towards Brussels, and the army driven in disorder beyond the Meuse, with the loss of seven thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the 4th March, the Republicans were again routed near Liege, and a large portion of the heavy artillery abandoned under that city: a few days after, Tongres was carried by the Archduke Charles, at the head of twelve thousand men; and the whole army fell back upon Tirlemont, and thence to Louvain, where Dumourier arrived from the Dutch frontier, and resumed the command. The Imperialists then desisted from the pursuit, satisfied with their first success, and not deeming themselves sufficiently strong to force the united corps of the French army in that city.

26. The intelligence of these repeated disasters produced the utmost sensation in the whole of Flanders. The Republican party, already disgusted with the exactions and plunder of the French commissioners, now found themselves threatened with the immediate vengeance of their sovereign, and chastisement from the allied forces. The decree of the Convention, uniting the Flemish provinces to the French Republic, had excited the utmost discontent in the whole country; the spoliation of the churches, forced requisitions, imprisonments, and abuses of every kind, which had gone on during the

counted, as well as advantage taken of the luminous and impartial narrative he has left of his campaigns, and the profound views with which he has enriched the science of strategy.—*Infra*, ch. xxviii. § 92, 93; *Biographie des Contemporains*, ii. 134.

winter, had roused such a universal spirit of resistance, that a general insurrection was hourly expected, and a body of ten thousand peasants had already assembled in the neighbourhood of Ghent, and defeated the detachments of the garrison of that city which had been sent against them. To endeavour to remedy these disorders, and restore the shaken attachment of the Flemings, was the first care of Dumourier. For this purpose he had a conference at Louvain, shortly after his arrival, with Camus, and the other commissioners of the Convention; but it ended in nothing but mutual recriminations. Dumourier reproached them with having authorised and permitted the exactions and disorders which had roused such a ferment in the conquered provinces; and they retaliated by accusing him of entertaining designs subversive of the liberty of the people. It concluded thus: "General," said Camus, "you are accused of wishing to become Cæsar: could I feel assured of it, I would act the part of Brutus, and stab you to the heart."—"My dear Camus," replied he, "I am neither Cæsar, nor are you Brutus; and the menace you have uttered is, to me, a passport to immortality." Dumourier found the army—which, notwithstanding the detachment of twenty thousand men in Holland, twelve thousand at Namur, and five thousand in another direction, was still forty-five thousand strong, including four thousand five hundred cavalry—in the utmost state of disorder; the confusion of defeat having been superadded to that of Republican license. He immediately reorganised it in a different manner, and, in order to restore the confidence of the soldiers, resolved to commence offensive operations. In a few days the French advanced guard defeated the Austrians near Tirlemont, with the loss of twelve hundred men; an event which immediately restored confidence to the whole army, and confirmed the general in his resolution to risk a general action.

27. The Imperialists had thirty-nine thousand men, of whom nine thousand were horse, posted near Tirlemont. Resolved not to decline a combat, they

concentrated their forces along a position, about two leagues in length, near the village of NERWINDE or NEERWINDEN. The right, commanded by the Archduke Charles, was posted across the *chaussée* leading to Tirlemont; the left, under the orders of Clairfait, extended towards Oberwinden; the centre, in two lines, was under the command of General Colloredo and the Prince of Würtemberg. On the other hand, the French army was divided into eight columns; three of which, under Miranda, were destined to attack the right; two, under the Duke of Chartres, to force the centre; and three, under Valence, to overwhelm the left. The action began by an attack on the Austrian left, by the troops under the command of Valence, which advanced in dense columns, and at first succeeded in carrying the villages immediately in front of their position; but the Austrians having directed a severe and concentric fire of artillery on that point, the advance of the masses was checked, and disorder and irresolution introduced into their ranks. Meanwhile, the village of Nerwinde was carried by the Republicans in the centre, but was shortly after regained by the Austrians; and after being frequently taken and retaken, it was finally evacuated by the French, who were unable to sustain the severe and incessant fire of the Imperial artillery.

28. Dumourier, upon this, formed his line a hundred yards in rear of the village, when the Austrians immediately pushed on and assailed the infantry by two columns of cuirassiers: but the first was repulsed by the murderous fire of grape from the French artillery; and the second checked, after a severe engagement, by the Republican cavalry. The combat now ceased on the right and centre; but on the left affairs had taken a very different turn. The French, under Miranda, there endeavoured in vain to debouch from the village of Orsmael, which they had occupied; the heads of their columns, as fast as they presented themselves, were swept off by the fire of the Austrian artillery, placed on the heights immediately behind; and shortly after the Archduke

Charles, at the head of two battalions, stormed the villages; and Prince Cobourg, perceiving this to be the important point, attacked the French columns with a small body of cavalry and infantry, under the Duke of Würtemberg, in flank, while the Archduke pressed their front. The result was, that the French left wing was routed, and would have been totally destroyed, had the Duke of Würtemberg charged with the whole forces under his command, instead of the inconsiderable part which achieved this important success. The Republicans, however, alarmed at this disaster, retired from the field of battle, and regained, with some difficulty, the ground they had occupied before the engagement. In this battle the Austrians lost two thousand men, and the French two thousand five hundred killed and wounded, and fifteen hundred prisoners; but it decided the fate of the campaign. Dumourier, aided by the young Duke of Chartres, conducted the retreat in the evening with much ability, and in good order, without being seriously disquieted by the enemy. A few days after the Austrians advanced, and on the 22d, under cover of a thick mist, made an unexpected attack on the French rearguard; but they were repulsed, after a trifling success, with loss.

29. The position of the French commander, however, was now extremely critical. To conduct a long retreat with discouraged troops, in the face of a victorious enemy, is at all times dangerous; but it was in an especial manner so at that juncture, in consequence of the undisciplined state of a large part of his forces, and the undisguised manner in which the volunteers left their colours upon the first serious reverse. The national guards openly declared that they had taken up arms to save their country, not to get themselves massacred in Flanders; and whole companies and battalions, with their arms and baggage, went off towards the French frontier. To such a height did the discouragement attain, that within a few days after the battle six thousand men had left their colours, and disbanded, spreading dismay over

all the roads leading to France. Naturally brave and active, the French troops are the best in the world to advance and gain conquests; but they have not, till inured by discipline and experience, the steadiness requisite to preserve them. By the threatened defection of the volunteer corps, Dumourier was exposed to the loss of more than half his army; while the open plains of Flanders, now destitute of fortified places, offered no points of defence capable of arresting the progress of a victorious enemy. Influenced by these considerations, the French general everywhere prepared for a retreat.

Orders were despatched to General Harville to throw a garrison of two thousand men into the citadel of Namur, and move with the remainder of his corps, consisting of twelve thousand men, towards Brussels; while the troops advanced, by the imprudent invasion of Holland, as far as Gertruydenberg and Breda, were directed to retire upon Antwerp and Mechlin. Prince Cobourg in vain urged the Dutch and Prussian troops to disquiet their retreat; contenting themselves with investing Breda and Gertruydenberg, they remained, with a force of thirty thousand men, in a state of perfect inaction.

80. Shortly after conferences were opened between Dumourier and the Austrian generals, in virtue of which it was agreed that the French should retire behind Brussels, without being disquieted in their retreat. It soon appeared how essential such an arrangement was to the Republican arms. On the following day, Clairfait, who was ignorant of the convention, attacked General Lamarche, who fell back in confusion behind Louvain, and left an opening in the retreating columns, which, with a more enterprising enemy, might have been attended with ruinous results. The troops then gave themselves up to despair, and openly threatened to disband—a striking proof of the little reliance that can be placed on any but regular and disciplined soldiers, during the vicissitudes of fortune unavoidable in war, and, in an especial manner, of the danger of trusting to levies got together during the fervour

of a revolution. Dumourier himself has confessed, that his troops were in such a state of disorder, that, if vigorously pressed, they must have been totally annihilated in the long retreat which lay before them, before they regained the French frontiers. Yet so ignorant was the Austrian commander of the condition of his adversary, that he was unaware of a state of debility, confusion, and weakness, which was notorious to every peasant who beheld the retreating columns. In virtue of the convention, the French army, without further delay, evacuated Brussels and Mechlin, and retired in good order, by Hall, Mons, and Ath, towards the French frontier. At the same time the Republicans retired along the whole line from Gertruydenberg to Namur, and withdrew the garrison from the citadel of the latter place.

81. But it soon appeared that in these movements Dumourier had more than mere military objects in view. It was at Ath, on the 27th March, that the first conference of a political nature took place, and it was verbally agreed between the French commander, and Colonel Mack on the part of the Imperialists, "that the French army should repose a little at Mons and Tournay without being disquieted, and that Dumourier, who was to judge of the proper time for marching to Paris, should regulate the movements of the Austrians, who were to act only as auxiliaries; that if he could not, by his single forces, effect the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, he should fix upon the amount of the allied forces which he would require; and that the fortress of Condé should be placed in the hands of the Imperialists as a guarantee, to be restored to France after a general peace." Having thus embarked in the perilous undertaking of overturning the republican and re-establishing monarchical government, Dumourier's first care was to secure the fortresses, upon which the success of his enterprise depended. But here his ill fortune began. The officer whom he despatched to take possession of Lille, suffered himself to be made the dupe of the commander of that place, and led

a prisoner into the fortress; the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes successfully resisted all attempts to bring them over to the constitutional party; and the Convention, taking the alarm, despatched Camus, and three other commissioners, with the minister-at-war, Beurnonville, with orders to the general to appear at the bar of the Convention, and answer for his conduct. After an angry discussion, the particulars of which have been already given [Ch. XI. § 23, 24], Dumourier arrested the deputies, and delivered them over to the Austrians; but he was speedily deserted by his own soldiers, narrowly escaped being made prisoner by a detachment of grenadiers faithful to the Convention, commanded by Davoust, and obliged to fly from his camp at St Amand, and take refuge, with fifteen hundred followers, in the Austrian lines. Restrained either by a sense of honour arising from the recent convention, or by the inherent slowness of their disposition, the Austrians made no attempt to improve the opportunity afforded by the defection of the French commander. The Republicans were permitted quietly to retire to Valenciennes, Lille, and Condé; a considerable number formed an intrenched camp at Famars, where, by orders of the Convention, General Dampierre assumed the command, and sedulously endeavoured to restore the discipline and revive the spirit which so many disasters had greatly weakened among the soldiers.

32. A congress was assembled at Antwerp of the ministers of the allied powers, which was attended by Counts Metternich* and Stahrenberg on the part of Austria, Lord Auckland on that of England, and Count Keller on that of Prussia. Such was the confidence inspired by recent events, that these ministers all imagined that the last days of the Convention were at hand: and in truth they were so, if the allied cabinets had communicated a little more vigour and unanimity into the military operations. Inspired by these ideas, and irritated at the total failure of Du-

mourier's attempt to subvert the anarchical rule in that country, the plenipotentiaries came to the resolution of totally altering the object of the war, and the necessity was now openly announced of providing *indemnities and securities* for the allied powers; in other words, partitioning the frontier territories of France among the invading states. The effect of this resolution was immediately conspicuous in a proclamation which Prince Cobourg issued to the French people, in which he openly disavowed, on the part of his government, those resolutions to abstain from all aggrandisement which he had announced only a few days before, and declared that he was ordered to prosecute the contest by might of arms with all the forces at his disposal.† The ef-

† In his first proclamation, on 5th April, issued during the conferences with Dumourier, Cobourg declared: "Desirous only of securing the prosperity and glory of a country torn by so many convulsions, I declare that I shall support, with all the forces at my disposal, the generous and beneficent intentions of General Dumourier and his brave army. I declare that our only object is to restore to France its constitutional monarch, with the means of rectifying such experienced abuses as may exist, and to give to France, as to Europe, peace, confidence, tranquillity, and happiness. In conformity with these principles, I declare on my word of honour, that I enter the French territory without any intention of making conquests, but solely and entirely for these purposes. I declare, also, on my word of honour, that if military operations should lead to any place of strength being placed in my hands, I shall regard it in no other light than as a *sacred deposit*; and I bind myself in the most solemn manner to restore it to the government which may be established in France, or as soon as the brave general with whom I make common cause shall demand it." These are the principles of the true anti-revolutionary war; but they were strangely departed from in the proclamation issued a few days later by the same general, after the determination of the Congress at Antwerp had been taken. Prince Cobourg there said: "The proclamation of the 5th instant was the expression only of my *personal* sentiments; and I there announced my *individual* views for the safety and tranquillity of France. But now that the results of that declaration have proved so different from what I anticipated, the same candour obliges me to declare that the state of hostility between the Emperor and the French nation is unhappily re-established in its full extent. It remains for me, therefore, only to *revoke my said declaration*, and to announce that I shall prosecute the war with the ut-

* Father of the great statesman of the same name, who rose to great eminence during the Revolutionary war.

fects of this unhappy resolution were soon apparent. When Valenciennes and Condé were taken, the standard, not of Louis XVII., but of Austria, was hoisted on the walls, and the allied ministers already talked openly of indemnities for the past, and securities for the future.

33. No step in the early stages of the war was ever attended with more unfortunate consequences. It at once changed the character of the contest—converted it from one of liberation into one of aggrandisement, and gave the Jacobins of Paris too good reason for their assertion, that the dismemberment of the country was intended, and that all true citizens must join heart and hand in resisting the common enemy. The true principle to have adopted would have been that so strongly recommended by Mr Burke, and which afterwards proved so successful in the hands of Alexander and Wellington, viz., to have separated distinctly and emphatically the cause of France from that of the Jacobin faction which had enthralled it; to have guaranteed the integrity of the former, and denounced implacable hostility only against the latter;—and thus afforded the means to the great body of patriotic citizens who were adverse to the sanguinary rule of the Convention, of extricating themselves at once from domestic tyranny and foreign subjugation.

34. The British contingent, twenty thousand strong, having landed at Rotterdam, the allied army in Flanders, under Cobourg, was raised to above ninety thousand men, besides a detached corps of thirty thousand Austrians, stationed at Namur, Luxembourg, and Treves, to keep open the communication with the Prussian army destined to act against Mayence. Alarmed at the great peril they had sustained by the defection of Dumourier, and by this vast accumulation of force, the

most vigour. Nothing remains binding of my first proclamation, but the declaration, which I renew with pleasure, that the strictest discipline shall be observed by my troops in all parts of the French territory which they may occupy." Stronger evidence of the unhappy change of system cannot be imagined.

—HARDENBERG, II. 231-233, 241-245.

Convention took the most vigorous measures to provide for the public safety. A camp of forty thousand men was decreed, to form a reserve for the army; the levy of three hundred thousand men, ordered by the decree of 24th February, was directed to be hastened, and sixty representatives of the Convention were named, to serve as viceroys over the generals in all the armies. No less than twelve of these haughty Republicans were commanded to proceed to the Army of the North. No limit existed to their authority. Armed with the despotic powers of the Committee of Public Salvation, supported by a Republican and mutinous soldiery, they, with equal facility, placed the generals on a triumphal car, or despatched them to the scaffold. Disposing with absolute sway of the lives and arms of several millions of Frenchmen, they were staggered by no losses, intimidated by no difficulties. To press on, and bear down opposition by the force of numbers, was the system on which they invariably acted, and, disposing with an unsparing hand of the blood of a bankrupt, but enthusiastic nation in arms, they found resources for the maintenance of such a murderous system of warfare, which never could have been commanded by any regular government.

35. While these disastrous events were occurring on the northern, fortune was not more propitious to the arms of the Republic on its eastern frontier. The forces of the French in that quarter, at the opening of the campaign, were greatly overmatched by those of the Allies. Between the Prussians and Austrians, there were not less than seventy-five thousand men on the Rhine in February, besides twenty thousand between Treves and the Meuse; while Custine had only forty-five thousand in the field, twenty-two thousand of these being under his immediate command, the remainder stationed on the Meuse; and the whole forces on the Upper Rhine, including the garrisons, did not exceed forty thousand, of whom not more than a half were available for service in the field. The campaign was opened, after some

inconsiderable actions, on the 24th March, by the king of Prussia crossing the Rhine in great force at Rheinfels. An ineffectual resistance was attempted by the army of Custine, but the superiority of the allied forces compelled him to fall back; and after some days' retreat, and several partial actions, he retired first to Landau, and thence behind the river Lauter, and took post in the famous lines of Weissenburg. Mayence was now left to its own resources, with a great train of heavy artillery, and a garrison of twenty thousand men; while Custine, whose force was augmented by the garrisons in Alsace to thirty-five thousand men, remained strictly on the defensive in the Vosges mountains and his fortified position.

36. The Allies immediately made preparations for the reduction of this great fortress; but, by an inconceivable fatuity, the superb siege equipage, which was on the road from Austria, was sent on to Valenciennes, while the supplies requisite for the attack on Mayence were brought from Holland—an exchange which occasioned great delays in both undertakings, and proved extremely injurious to the future progress of the allied arms. The garrison, though so numerous, was not furnished with the whole artillery requisite for arming the extensive works; but its spirit was excellent, and the most vigorous resistance was to be anticipated. Little progress took place in the operations during the first two months, and on the 17th May, a general attack was made on the covering force by Custine's army, supported by fourteen thousand men from the corps of the Moselle, under General Houchard. But the movements of the troops were ill combined; part of them were seized with a disgraceful panic, and the attack proved entirely abortive. After this failure, Custine was removed to the command of the Army of the North, now severely pressed by the allied forces near Valenciennes; and the forces in the lines of Weissenburg remained under the orders of Beauharnais, without attempting anything of importance till

a later period of the campaign. The inactivity and irresolution of the Allies in these operations, and the little advantage which they derived from their superiority of force, and the wretched condition of their opponents, proves how grievously they stood in need of a leader capable of conducting such a contest.

37. At length the operations of the siege, long delayed from the tardiness in the approach of the heavy train, were pushed with activity. Trenches having been regularly constructed, fifteen batteries were armed on the 1st July, and a heavy fire from above two hundred pieces of cannon was opened upon the body of the place, the garrison of which, after a blockade of two months, began to be severely straitened for provisions. On the 16th a great magazine of forage took fire, and was consumed; and the destruction of several mills augmented the difficulties of the besieged, who now found their great numbers the principal difficulty with which they had to contend. A capitulation, therefore, by which the garrison should be withdrawn to some quarter where their services might be of more value to the Republic, was agreed to, and the 22d July fixed on as the day for its accomplishment. While this was going on within the city, the army of Beauharnais, urged by repeated orders from the Convention, was at length taking measures for its deliverance. Early in July, the Republicans broke up from the lines of Weissenburg, and, after a variety of slow movements, a general attack took place on the 19th, on the whole allied position, over an extent of nearly thirty leagues. But the efforts of the French, feeble and ill conducted, led to no result, and, in the midst of their complicated movements, Mayence surrendered on the 22d. The Duke of Brunswick, rejoiced at finding himself extricated, by this event, from a situation which, with more daring adversaries, would have been full of peril, accorded favourable terms to the garrison; they were permitted to march out with their arms and baggage, on

condition of not serving against the Allies for a year: a stipulation of ruinous consequences to the Royalist party, as it disengaged seventeen thousand veteran soldiers, who were forthwith sent against the insurgents in La Vendée. The Republicans, finding the city taken, fell back in disorder, and regained the lines of Weissenburg in such confusion as indicated rather a total rout than an indecisive offensive movement.*

38. While these events were taking place on the Rhine, the war was gradually assuming a more decisive character on the Flemish frontier. The congress which had been held at Antwerp, for arranging the plan of the campaign, having at length resolved upon the operations which were to be pursued, and the British contingent having joined the line at the end of April, the Archduke Charles entered in triumph into Brussels, the people of which, with the usual inconstancy of the multitude, gave him as flattering a reception as had attended the entrance of the Republicans a few months before. The allied generals, however, were far from improving the advantages afforded by the defection of Dumourier, and the extreme dejection of the French army; their forces were not put in motion till the beginning of May, before which the French had so far recovered from their consternation as to have actually resumed the offensive. Disposing of a splendid army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, Cobourg did nothing to disquiet the retreat of thirty thousand Republicans, disordered and dejected, to their own frontiers, and allowed them, by his extreme tardiness, to be reinforced by numerous levies from the interior, before he attempted to follow up his successes. On the 1st May, a general at-

tack was made by General Dampierre on the allied position; but the Republicans were driven back to their camp at Famars, with the loss of two thousand men and a large quantity of artillery. On the 8th, a more serious action took place. The French attacked the Allies along their whole line, extending to nine leagues, with forces greatly inferior; but they were everywhere unsuccessful except at the wood of Vicoigne, where the Prussians were forced back, until the arrival of the English guards changed the face of affairs. These gallant corps drove back the French with the loss of four thousand men, and re-established the Allies in their position. In this action the brave General Dampierre was killed. This was the first time that the English and French soldiers were brought into collision in the war: little did either party contemplate the terrible contest which awaited them, before it was terminated, within a few miles of the same place, on the plain of Waterloo.

39. These repeated disasters convinced the Republicans of the necessity of remaining on the defensive, and striving only to prevent the siege of those great towns which had been fortified for the protection of the frontier. But the Allies, having now accumulated eighty thousand men in front of Valenciennes, resolved to make a general attack on the intrenched camp which covered that important city. The assault was fixed for the 23d, and was conducted by two grand columns, seconded by several partial demonstrations. The first column consisted of sixteen thousand men, under the Duke of York; the second, of eleven thousand men, was placed under the orders of General Ferrari. A thick fog at first concealed the hostile armies from each other, but soon after daybreak it rose like a curtain, and discovered the Republican lines posted in front of their intrenchments, and defended by a numerous artillery. The English troops under Abercromby, forming part of Ferrari's corps, advanced along with the Germans under Walmoden, crossed the Ronelle, and carried some of the redoubts of the camp, notwithstanding

* Already it had become evident that the Prussians were secretly inclined towards the French, and that, after the capture of Mayence, they would withdraw as soon as they could from the contest. During the siege, a negotiation for the exchange of prisoners was carried on between "the French Republic and the king of Prussia;" and such was the temper of the officers that, when the fortress was taken, they caused the Marseillaise hymn to be sung in the hotels where they lodged.—HARDENBERG, II. 808-819.

a vehement fire from the French artillery. The attack of the Duke of York having also been followed by the capture of three redoubts, and the whole allied army being advanced close to the intrenchments, the French resolved not to wait the issue of an assault on the following day, but evacuated their position during the night, and fell back to the famous camp of Cæsar, leaving Valenciennes to its fate. The Allies on this occasion lost a very favourable opportunity of bringing the war to a termination. Cobourg had eighty thousand men in the field; the French had not fifty thousand: had he acted with vigour, and followed up his advantage, he might have destroyed the Republican army, and marched at the head of an irresistible force to Paris. But at that period neither the allied cabinets nor generals were capable of such a resolution. The former looked only to a war of conquest and acquisition against France, in which the great object was to secure their advantages; the latter to a slow methodical campaign, similar to that pursued in ordinary times against a regular government.

40. It was immediately determined by the Allies to form the sieges of Valenciennes and Condé. The army of observation, thirty thousand strong, encamped near Herinnes, fronting Bouchain; while a corps of equal strength, under the Duke of York, was intrusted with the conduct of the siege. The garrison of the former, consisting of nine thousand men, made a gallant defence; but the operations of the besiegers were conducted with the greatest activity, and ere long crowned with success. On the 14th June the trenches were opened, and above two hundred and fifty pieces of heavy cannon, with ninety mortars, kept up a vigorous and incessant fire upon the works and the city. Upon the unfortunate inhabitants the tempest fell with unmitigated severity, and several parts of the town were speedily in flames; but they bore their sufferings with great resignation, till the pangs of hunger began to be added to the terrors of the bombardment. Ultimately the approaches of

the besiegers were chiefly carried on by their subterraneous operations. During the whole of July, the mines were pushed with the greatest activity, and on the 25th, three great globes of compression were ready to be fired under the covered way; while two columns, the first composed of English, the second of Germans, were prepared to take advantage of the confusion, and assault the ruins. At nine at night the globes were sprung with a prodigious explosion, and the assaulting columns immediately rushed forward with loud shouts, cleared the palisades of the covered way, pursued the Republicans into the interior works, where they spiked the cannon, and dislodged the garrison, but were unable to maintain their ground from the fire of the place. The outworks, however, being now in great part carried, and the consternation of the citizens having risen to the highest pitch, from the prospect of an approaching assault, the governor, on the 28th, was obliged to capitulate. The garrison, by this time reduced to seven thousand men, marched out with the honours of war, laid down its arms, and was permitted to retire to France, on condition of not again serving against the Allies. It was employed, like that of Mayence, in the war against the Royalists in La Vendée and Toulon, and there rendered essential service to the Republican arms.

41. In this siege, the operations on both sides were conducted with great vigour and ability; and the French artillery even surpassed its ancient renown. The Allies threw eighty-four thousand cannon-balls, twenty thousand shells, and forty-eight thousand bombs, into the town. The governor, General Ferrand, was arrested, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and, but for the intervention of a commissioner of the Convention, would have forfeited his life for a defence highly honourable in itself, and which in the end aided the salvation of France, by the time which it afforded for the completion of the armaments in the interior. The siege, or rather blockade, of Condé, was less distinguished by remarkable events. After an obstinate

resistance, it capitulated a short time before Valenciennes, the garrison having exhausted all their means of subsistence. By this event, three thousand men were made prisoners, and an important fortress gained to the allied forces.

42. The capitulation of these two fortresses brought to light the fatal change in the object and policy of the war which had been agreed upon at the Congress of Antwerp. All Europe was in anxious suspense, awaiting the official announcement of the intentions of the Allies, by the use which they made of their first considerable conquests; when the hoisting of the Austrian colours on their walls too plainly avowed that they were to be retained as permanent acquisitions by the Emperor. This was soon placed beyond a doubt by the proclamation issued by Prince Cobourg on 13th July 1793, on entering the town, in which he declared, "I announce, by the present proclamation, that I take possession in name of his *Imperial and Royal Majesty*, and that I will accord to all the inhabitants of the *conquered* countries security and protection, hereby declaring that I will only exercise the power conferred upon me by the *Right of Conquest* for the preservation of the public peace, and the protection of individuals." This was immediately followed by the establishment of an Imperial and Royal Junta at Condé, for the administration of the conquered provinces, in the name of the Emperor, which commenced its operations by dispossessing all the revolutionary authorities, restoring the religious bodies, checking the circulation of assignats, and removing the sequestration from the emigrant estates.

43. The public revelation of this unhappy change in the objects of the coalition was the first rude shock which its fortunes received. It sowed divisions among the Allies, as much as it united its enemies. Prussia now perceived clearly that the war had become one of aggression on the part of Austria; and, conceiving the utmost disquietude at such an augmentation of the power of her dreaded rival, secretly resolved to paralyse all the operations of her armies. Now that Mayence, the bul-

wark of the north of Germany, was regained, the cabinet of Berlin resolved to withdraw, as soon as decency would permit, from a contest in which success appeared more to be dreaded than defeat. The French emigrants were struck with consternation at so decisive a proof of the intended spoliation of their country; Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII., solemnly protested, as guardian for his nephew, Louis XVII., against any dismemberment of his dominions; placards, to which it was suspected, not without reason, Dumourier was no stranger, appeared on all the walls of Brussels, calling on all Frenchmen to unite, to save their country from the fate of Poland; while the Convention, turning to the best account this announcement of intended conquest, succeeded in inspiring a degree of unanimity in defence of their country, which they never could have effected had the Allies confined themselves to the original objects of the war.

44. Custine, removed from the army of the Rhine, was placed in command of the army in Flanders in the end of May. On his arrival at the camp of César, he found the soldiers in the most deplorable state, both of disorganisation and military spirit: a large portion of the older troops had been withdrawn to sustain the war in La Vendée, and their places supplied by young conscripts, almost totally undisciplined, who were shaken by the first appearance of the enemy's squadrons. "He trembled," to use his own words, "at the thought of what might occur, if he followed the example of his predecessors, and made a forward movement before confidence and discipline were re-established among the soldiers." His first care was to issue a severe proclamation, calculated to restore discipline; his next, to use the utmost efforts to revive the spirit of the troops; but, as he was still inferior in number to his opponents, he did not venture, notwithstanding the reiterated orders of the Convention, to make any movement for the relief of the besieged places. Incessantly engaged in teaching the conscripts the rudiments of the military art, he chose to brave the resentment

of government, rather than lead them to certain butchery and probable defeat. His firmness in discharging this important but perilous duty proved fatal to himself, but the salvation of France. It habituated an undisciplined crowd to the use of arms, and preserved, in a period of extreme peril, the nucleus of a regular force, on which the preservation of the Republic depended. But the Convention, impatient for more splendid achievements, and prompt to ascribe every disaster to the fault of the generals, deprived him of the command, and ordered him to Paris to answer for his conduct. There he was soon after delivered over to the Revolutionary Tribunal, condemned and executed, along with Beauharnais, accused of misconduct in the attempt to raise the siege of Mayence, whose name the extraordinary fortunes of his widow have rescued from oblivion.—Cruel and unjust examples, which added to the numerous sins of the Republican government; but which, by placing its generals in the alternative of victory or death, contributed to augment the fearless energy which led to the subsequent triumphs of the French arms.

45. Reinforced by the besieging armies, the forces under Prince Cobourg now amounted to above eighty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, all ready for action; a force greatly superior to the dispirited and inexperienced troops to which it was opposed. Shut up within the camp of César, the French army was avowedly unable to keep the field in presence of the Allies. Even this last stronghold they were not long permitted to retain. In the beginning of August they were attacked and driven from its trenches, with so much ease that the rout could hardly be called a battle. The Republicans fled in confusion the moment the Allies appeared in sight. So precipitate was their flight, that, as at the battle of the Spurs, three centuries before, hardly a shot was fired or a stroke given, before the whole army was dissolved. After this disaster, the Republicans retreated behind the Scarpe, the last defensible ground in front of Arras; beyond which there remained neither

position to take, nor fortified place to defend, on the road to Paris. The Allies, in great force, were grouped within one hundred and sixty miles of that capital; fifteen days' march would have brought them to its gates. Already Cambray was invested; Cateau Cambresis occupied; a camp formed between Péronne and St Quentin, and the light troops pushed on to Péronne and Bapaume. Irresolution prevailed in the French army, dismay in the capital, everywhere the Republican authorities were taking to flight. The Austrian generals, encouraged by such extraordinary successes, were at length urgent to advance and improve them, before the enemy recovered from their consternation; and if they had been permitted to do so, what incalculable disasters might Europe have been spared! We shall see hereafter the deplorable division of interests which prevented this early termination of the war; and how deeply Great Britain has cause to regret the narrow and selfish views which prompted the part she took in the transaction.

46. But how desperate soever the fortunes of the Republic now appeared, and in reality were, had the Allies acted with vigour and unanimity, no weakness or faltering appeared in the conduct of the French government. When the invasion had, on every side, pierced the territory of France, and civil war tore its bosom, its rulers took the most energetic steps to meet the danger. The Convention had armed the Committee of Public Salvation with a power more absolute than ever had been wielded by an Eastern conqueror; and the decrees of the legislature corresponded to the energy of their measures. They felt, in the language of Danton, "The coalesced kings of Europe are leagued against us: we hurl at them, for gage of battle, the head of a king;" and that life or death was in the struggle. The whole power of France was called forth; ten thousand committees, spread over every part of the country, carried into execution the despotic mandates of the Committee of Public Salvation, and its resistless powers wrung not less out of the sufferings than the patriotism of

the country the means of successful resistance. It was well for France that it was so; for no situation could be more perilous than that in which the Revolutionary government was now placed. No less than two hundred and eighty thousand men were in the field on the side of the Allies, from Bâle to Dunkirk; the ancient barrier of France was broken through by the capture of Valenciennes and Condé; Mayence gave the invaders a secure passage into the heart of the country; while Toulon and Lyons had raised the standard of revolt, and a devouring fire consumed the western provinces. Sixty thousand insurgents in La Vendée threatened Paris in the rear, while one hundred and eighty thousand Allies in front seemed prepared to encamp under its walls. The forces of the Republic were not only inferior in number, but their spirit, discipline, and equipment were in the most wretched state.

47. But all these deficiencies in numbers and organisation were speedily supplied, by the extraordinary energy and ability which rose to the head of military affairs after the insurrection of 31st May, and the establishment of the Committee of Public Salvation. Barère, on the part of that able body, declared in the Assembly, "Liberty has become the creditor of every citizen; some owe it their industry; others their fortune: some their counsels; others their arms; all their lives. Every native of France, of whatever age or sex, is called to the defence of his country. All moral and physical powers,—all political and industrial resources, are at its command. Let every one, then, occupy his post in the grand national and military movement which is in preparation. The young men will march to the frontiers; the more advanced forge the arms, transport the baggage and artillery, or provide the subsistence requisite for their defence. The women will make the tents, the dresses of the soldiers, and carry their beneficent labours into the interior of the hospitals; even the hands of infancy may be usefully employed; and the aged, imitating the example of ancient virtue, will cause themselves to be transported into the

public places, to animate the youth by their exhortations and their example. Let the national edifices be converted into barracks, the public squares into workshops, the cellars into manufactories of saltpetre; let the saddle-horses be furnished for the cavalry, the draught-horses for the artillery; the fowling-pieces, the swords, and pikes, will suffice for the service of the interior. The Republic is a besieged city; all its territory must become a vast camp."

48. These energetic measures were not only adopted by the Assembly, but immediately carried into execution. A new levy of twelve hundred thousand men was ordered by the Convention; and, what is still more extraordinary, the greater part of this immense body was soon under arms. France became an immense workshop, resounding with the note of military preparation; the roads were covered with conscripts hastening to the different points of assembly; fourteen armies, numbering twelve hundred thousand soldiers, were soon assembled round the standards of the Republic. The whole property of the state, by means of confiscations, and the forced circulation of assignats, was put at the disposal of the government; the insurgent population everywhere threw the better classes into captivity, while bands of revolutionary ruffians, paid by the state, perambulated every village in its territory, and wrung from the terrified inhabitants unqualified submission to the despotic Republic. At the same time, the means of raising supplies were provided with equal energy. All the old claims on the state were converted into a great revolutionary debt, in which the new could not be distinguished from the ancient creditors. A forced tax of a milliard, or £40,000,000 sterling, was ordered to be instantly levied from the rich, which was realised in paper, secured at once on the national domains. As the prices of every article, even those of the first necessity, were altogether deranged by these measures, and the prospect of famine was everywhere immediate, the municipalities throughout France were invested with the power of seizing subsistence and merchandise of every kind

in the hands of the owners, and compelling their sale for a fixed price in assignats; in other words, taking them for an elusory payment. The great object of all these measures was at once to repel the foreign invasion, and render the national domains an immediate source of income, at a time when purchasers could not be found; and it must be confessed, that never did a government adopt such vast and energetic measures to attain these objects. Fear became the great engine for filling the ranks: the bayonets of the Allies appeared less formidable than the guillotine of the Convention; and safety, despaired of everywhere else, was found alone in the armies on the frontier. The destruction of property, the ruin of industry, the agonies of millions, appeared as nothing to men who wielded the engines of the Revolution; fortune or wealth have no weight with those who are engaged in a struggle of life and death.

49. By a strange combination of circumstances, the ruin of commercial credit, the loss of the colonies, the stagnation of industry, the drying up of the

sources of opulence, augmented the present resources of the revolutionary government. Ruling an impoverished and bankrupt state, the Convention was for the time the richest power in Europe. Despotism, it is true, extinguishes the sources of future wealth, but it gives a command of present resources which no regular government can obtain. The immense debts of government were paid in paper money, issued at no expense, and bearing a forced circulation; the numerous confiscations gave a shadow of security to its engagements; the terrible right of requisition put every remnant of private wealth at its disposal; the conscription filled the army with all the youth of the state. Terror and famine impelled multitudes voluntarily into its ranks. Before them was the garden of hope—behind them a howling wilderness.

50. At the head of the military department was placed Carnot,* a man whose extraordinary talents and resolute character contributed more than any other circumstance to the early success of the revolutionary wars. Austere in character, unbending in dispo-

* Lazare Nicolas Marguerite Carnot was born at Nolay in Burgundy, on 15th May 1753, of a respectable and highly esteemed burgher family. His father was an advocate; and as he had eighteen children, and no fortune, he esteemed himself fortunate in getting an entrance for Lazare to the college of Autun, with a view to his entering the ecclesiastical profession. No sooner, however, had young Carnot commenced his studies, than he showed so decided a predilection for mathematical and mechanical pursuits, that his father, wisely yielding to an impulse which he could not control, removed him from his ecclesiastical labours, and sent him to one of the military schools of the capital. There, at the expiration of two years, he went through a brilliant examination, and was admitted to the corps of engineers, the only branch of the service which was then open to young men who had not the advantage of aristocratic birth. From thence he was removed to the military school of Mézières, where he studied for two years under the celebrated Professor Monge. His first employment in active life was in the year 1773, when he was engaged in aiding in the superintendence of considerable additions to the fortifications of Calais. After this occupation ceased, as the continuance of peace left him much leisure time upon his hands, he applied himself to the study of literature and poetry; and the "Almanach des Muses," for some years after, contains several poetical pieces of his composition. In 1783

he was the successful competitor for a prize offered by the Academy of Dijon, for an Eloge on Vauban; and on this occasion he was publicly crowned by the Prince of Condé, who happened to be there at the time, and who took him in so effectual a manner under his protection, that at the age of thirty-two he was captain of engineers and chevalier of the order of St Louis. Though highly estimating the genius of Vauban, however, Carnot was not a mere follower of his principles, and constantly maintained in private, as he did at a subsequent period in his writings on the subject, that the well-known assertion of that great man, that the means of defence in sieges were inferior to those of attack, and that the hour of the fall of every fortress might be calculated with mathematical certainty, was erroneous. Invincible tenacity of his opinions, and great vigour in their conception, were, in every period of life, his leading characteristics.

During the peace which followed the conclusion of the American War, he followed out with ardour his mechanical researches, and in 1786 published an essay on machines, which so much added to his reputation that he was offered by Prince Henry of Prussia, who had witnessed his crowning at Dijon, advancement in the Prussian service, which he had patriotic spirit enough to decline. He had too much penetration not to see that the time was rapidly approaching when the barriers of rank would be thrown down in his own

sition, republican in principle, he more nearly resembled the stern patriots of antiquity than any other statesmen in modern times. It was his misfortune to be associated with Robespierre in the Committee of Public Salvation, during the whole of the Reign of Terror, and his name, in consequence, stands affixed to many of the worst acts of that sanguinary tyrant; but he has solemnly asserted, and his character entitles the allegation to attention, that in the pressure of business he signed these documents without knowing what they contained, or at all events on the responsibility of his colleagues, to whom the interior department more immediately belonged; that such was the pressure on him that he would have signed a warrant for his own execution; and that he saved more lives by his entreaties, than his colleagues destroyed by their severity. Still, giving full

country, and the career of talent be open to all. Soon after, he married the daughter of a rich merchant at St Omer, and this procured for him an entrance into the Legislative Assembly, as deputy for the department of the Pas de Calais, in 1791.

An ardent admirer of the institutions of antiquity, enamoured of the heroes of Plutarch, living much with the mighty dead, hardly at all with the living little, he dreamt of the Sabine farm and the virtues of Fabricius amidst the corruptions of Paris, and soon gave decisive proof that he was resolved to follow out his principles in the government and regeneration of France. His first step in the Assembly was a motion for a decree against Calonne, the Viscount Mirabeau, and the German princes, who were preparing, under the Prince of Condé, to make war upon France—a circumstance which not unnaturally led to the remark, that the first use he had made of power was to assail the benefactor whose crowning of him at Dijon had first opened to him the path of distinction. His subsequent career demonstrated at once the violence, austerity, and rigidity of his principles. He was soon made a member of the military committee in the Assembly, the chief object of which was to censure and depreciate the war measures of government—a duty which he executed with equal zeal and ability. Soon after, he brought forward a motion for destroying all citadels of fortified towns, upon the ground that it gave government the means of bombarding the streets, and overawing the inhabitants. He declaimed afterwards, with force and eloquence, against the murderers of General Dillon, who had fallen the victim of a military mutiny; but he warmly supported the disbanding of the constitutional guard of Louis XVI., which

weight to this defence, and admitting that a patriot contending for the independence of his country against foreign enemies, and a minister jointly intrusted with others with the duties of government, is often obliged to concur in many measures of which he individually disapproves—still, when we advert to the dreadful career of the Committee of Public Salvation, of which he was an active member, it is impossible to consider this apology as altogether satisfactory; and most certainly Carnot's memory will never be rescued from the bloody stain which remains affixed to all the members of that relentless government.

51. He was the creator of the new military art in France, which Dumourier was only permitted to sketch, and Napoleon brought to perfection. Simple in his manners, unostentatious in his habits, incorruptible in his inclinations,

necessarily led to the surrender of that monarch to civil assassins. Subsequently he strongly enforced, on the 10th August, the decree for the dethronement of Louis, and took such a lead on that occasion, that he was appointed a member of the committee which, on the overthrow of the crown, assumed the supreme direction of affairs.

The duty assigned to Carnot on that occasion was to organise and reduce to obedience the army of the Rhine; and, by the vigour and severity of his proceedings, he brought that important body to range itself under the banners of the revolutionary government at Paris. Next he set off to the Pyrenees, and accomplished the same result with the troops there, as well as put them in a situation to open the campaign against the Spanish forces. In the Convention, he was again elected deputy for the Pas de Calais. In the trial of Louis he voted for his death, observing, "In my opinion, justice and policy demand his death, but never did duty so weigh upon my heart." Subsequently he prepared several reports, which were eagerly adopted by the legislature, on the necessity of incorporating Flanders and other conquests with the Republic, and was one of the first who, disregarding the declarations against foreign conquest so often made by the Constituent Assembly, openly declared that nature had assigned the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, as the natural limits of the French territory, and that no peace should be concluded which did not secure them to the Great Nation. His appointment as a member of the Committee of Public Salvation in August 1793, gave him too fair an opportunity of putting his principles into practice; and thenceforward his biography forms part of the history of France.

though stern and relentless in his principles, he was alike superior to the love of wealth, the weakness of inferior, and the voice of ambition, the infirmity of noble minds. When called to the post of danger by the voice of his country, he never declined the peril; disdaining to court Napoleon in the plenitude of his power, and alone voting against his assumption of the Imperial crown, he fled to his assistance in the hour of distress, and tendered the aid to a falling, which he had refused to a conquering monarch. Intrusted with the dictatorship of the armies, he justified his country's choice by victory; superior even to the triumphs he had won, he resigned with pleasure the possession of power, to exercise his understanding in the abstract sciences, or renovate his heart by the impressions of country life. Almost alone of the illustrious men of his age, his character—if his

fatal connection with the Committee of Public Salvation could be forgotten—has emerged comparatively untainted from the revolutionary ordeal; and history has to record, with the pride due to real greatness, that, after having wielded irresistible force, and withstood unfettered power, he died poor and unbefriended in a foreign land.

52. "Carnot," said Napoleon, "has organised victory." It was the maxim of this great man, "That nothing was so easy as to find excellent officers in all ranks, if they were only chosen according to their capacity and their courage. For this reason, he took the utmost pains to make himself acquainted with their names and character; and such was the extent of his information, that it was rare for a soldier of merit to escape him, even though only a simple private. He deemed it impossible that an army, commanded by officers chosen

Carnot published several able works on scientific subjects; but his literary reputation rests chiefly on his celebrated theory for the defence of strong places, in which, in opposition to Vauban, he strenuously maintains that the means of defence in fortified towns may be made equal or superior to those of attack, so that they could never be taken. His plan for attaining this object rests on three bases—1st, That the duty of defending the stronghold to the *last extremity* should, by military law, be held to attach to the governor and whole garrison. 2d, That the scarps and counterscarps should not, as heretofore, be perpendicular, or nearly so, and built of masonry, but of turf, inclined, that of the scarp at an angle of 45 degrees, that of the counterscarp at a much greater one, so as to admit of sorties being made over it from any part of the ditch, and that the wall on which reliance was to be placed should be built at the bottom of the ditch, and in its middle, which was to be dry, and loopholed for musketry. 3d, That a large number of howitzers and thirteen-inch mortars in casemates, charged with four-ounce balls, should be constantly in readiness to open a concentric fire upon any enemy who should attempt to run the sap up to the top of the counterscarp, thus making a vertical fire the basis rather than an accessory to the defence. And he demonstrated, by the calculation of chances, that such a number of these would take effect as to prove fatal to any attacking force, and the larger the more certainly. There was, unquestionably, great originality and merit in these conceptions; but Sir Howard Douglas, to whose genius and science British gunnery owes so much, has proved, both on theoretical principles and from actual experiments—1st, That ricochet shot,

levelled over the summit of the counterscarp, will, by the rebound, in three or four hours, beat down the strongest wall of that description which can be constructed in the bottom of the ditch. 2d, That the wall, when so battered, will first nod, and at last fall *outwards*, so as to uncover the defending force, and afford rough solid footing for the assailants to rush over. 3d, That though the balls thrown into the air, at an angle of 45 degrees, will ascend with great velocity, yet, from the effect of the *resistance of the air*, they will descend with little more momentum than that resulting from their own weight, and could not be relied on as adequate to destroy or retard an enterprising enemy. Still there can be no doubt that Carnot's was a much greater step in the science of defence than had been made since the days of Vauban, and possibly may one day make the means of resistance equal to those of attack. In particular, it deserves consideration, whether, by making the balls heavier, as six or eight ounces, they might not be rendered as destructive to the besiegers as Carnot supposes. It is said that, in an experiment lately made in India with balls of eight ounces, it was fully demonstrated that this is the case. It is not a little remarkable that Carnot's scientific calculations, perfectly accurate if there was no atmosphere, proved erroneous from not taking into account the *resistance of the air*; just as his political speculations proved so destructive from not taking into account the resistance or impulse of human wickedness.—*Mémoires sur Carnot*, i. 124; *Biographie Universelle, Supplément*, ix. 181, 188; *CARNOT, Sur la Défense des Places Fortifiées*, Paris, 1812; *SIR HOWARD DOUGLAS'S Reply*, London, 1815; and *JONES'S Sieges*, ii. 164, 167.

exclusively from a limited class of society, could long maintain a contest with one led by those chosen with discernment from the inferior ranks. Such commanders as Turenne and Condé seemed too rare to be calculated upon with any degree of certainty from a privileged class; while the mine of talent which lay hid in the lower stages of society, presented inexhaustible resources." This principle, being founded on the eternal laws of nature, is of universal application. It gives rise to the great superiority of republican over monarchical forces; and when once armies have been organised, and thoroughly disciplined on this footing, they never can be successfully resisted but by troops in whom the same military virtues have been developed, and popular passions equally general called forth. Supposing the abilities of the higher orders to be equal to those of an equal number in the inferior, it is impossible that they can ever produce as great a mass of talent as will emerge on a free competition from the numerous ranks of their humble competitors. A hundred thousand men can never produce as many energetic characters as ten millions.

53. But this system, powerful as it is in developing talent, would have failed in enabling France to combat the forces of the coalition, had it not been for the extraordinary combination of causes which at this period brought the whole forces, physical and intellectual, of France into the ranks of the army. The Revolution had at once closed all other careers, and opened unbounded prospects to talent in that path, to all ranks indiscriminately; and as it afforded the means of elevation in a peculiar manner, to the most energetic and audacious characters, that dreadful convulsion was eminently favourable to the growth of military prowess. The distress consequent on the ruin of so many branches of industry, the agitation arising from the dissolution of all the bonds of society, the restless habits acquired by successful revolt, all conspired to spread a taste for military exploit, and fill the ranks of the army with needy but ardent adventurers. Such dispositions are always prevalent during civil dis-

sensions, because it is the nature of such conflicts to awaken the vehement passions, and disqualify for the habits of ordinary life. But they were in an especial manner excited by the campaign of 1793, first by the call which resounded through France to defend the state, and next by the thirst for military glory which was aroused by the defeat of the invasion.

54. It was in the extraordinary energy and ability of the Committee of Public Salvation,* joined to the ferment excited by the total subversion of society, the despotic power wielded by the Convention, and the extraordinary want of capacity in the allied cabinets and generals, that the real secret is to be found of the successful resistance by France to the formidable invasion of 1793. The inability of Napoleon to resist a similar attack in 1815, demonstrates this important truth, and should be a warning to future ages not to incur the same risk, in the hope of obtaining a similar triumph. Superior in military talent, heading a band of veterans, supported by a terrible name, he sought in vain to communicate to the Empire the energy which, under the iron grasp of the Convention, had been brought into action in the Republic. A rational being will never succeed in equalling the strength which, in a transport of frenzy, a madman can for a brief period exert.

55. While such extraordinary and unheard-of efforts were making in France to resist the invasion with which they were menaced, a change, fraught in its ultimate results with important consequences, took place in the Imperial government. Kaunitz, so long at the head of the Austrian cabinet, had survived the age to which he belonged; his cautious habits, long experience, and great abilities, were inadequate to supply the want of that practical acquaintance with affairs which arises from having grown up under their influence. The French Revolution had opened up a new era in human affairs: the old actors, how

* Their names were at first Barère, Delmas, Bréard, Cambon, Debry, Danton, Guyton Morveau, Treillard, and Lacroix.—HARD. ii. 772.

distinguished soever, were unacquainted with the novel machinery, and unfit to play their parts in the mighty drama which was approaching. The veteran Austrian diplomatist retired from the helm, full of years and loaded with honours, from a prudent disinclination to risk his great reputation in the stormy scenes which had already arisen, and the still more difficult ones which his sagacity foresaw. He was succeeded in the direction of foreign affairs by THUGUT,* who long kept possession of the situation of prime minister during the revolutionary war. The son of a poor boatman at Lintz, he had, by the industry of his parents, been early placed at the school of Oriental languages at Vienna, where his diligence and abilities attracted the notice of the Empress Maria Theresa. She recommended him to the director of the college, and at the age of fifteen he was attached, by her desire, as interpreter to the Austrian embassy at Constantinople, from whence he gradually rose in the diplo-

matic line to the portfolio of foreign affairs.

56. Though he had long resided at Paris, and was intimately connected with Mirabeau, whose conversion to the interests of the court was partly owing to his exertions, he maintained throughout his career an inflexible hostility to Republican principles. His combinations were not always crowned with success—often they terminated in disaster; yet his bitterest enemies cannot deny him the credit of a truly patriotic spirit, an energetic character, profound skill in diplomacy, and a fidelity to his engagements, as unusual as it was honourable in those days of weakness and tergiversation. His accession to office was soon followed by an evident increase of vigour in diplomatic measures. Pressing notes to the inferior German powers brought about the equipment of that tardy and inefficient force, the Germanic contingents; while a menacing proclamation from the Diet of Ratisbon prohibited

* Thugut's history was very remarkable, and affords a striking instance of the manner in which, in seeking for the diplomatic or military ability of which they stand in need to sustain the fortunes of the state, even the most aristocratic governments on the Continent descend to the very humblest ranks of society. He was born at Lintz in 1739, and was the son of a poor boatman at that place, who, by great exertions, had succeeded in getting him placed at the Oriental School of Vienna, where the ability with which he underwent an examination in the Eastern languages attracted the notice of Maria Theresa, who was present on the occasion, and who directed that, on leaving the academy, he should be attached to the Austrian embassy at Constantinople. In 1754 he commenced his career at the Turkish capital in that capacity at the early age of fifteen; and such was the extraordinary progress he made in Eastern languages, that in three years he was appointed interpreter to the embassy. He continued in that important situation till 1770, and in 1772 was sent as envoy to the Congress of Torkchany, where he executed the delicate duties intrusted to him with such ability, that in 1774 he was made by Maria Theresa a baron, with the dignity of Commander of the Order of St Stephen. In 1774 he performed, by order of the Empress, several journeys in the suite of her daughters, the future Queens of France and Naples. In 1778, when the death of the Elector of Bavaria had rekindled the flames of war between Prussia and Austria, he was sent on a secret mission to endeavour to accommodate mat-

ters with the Great Frederick, who at once divined his astute character. Subsequently he was sent in 1780, as minister of Austria, to the court of Warsaw; and in 1788, when Moldavia and Wallachia were conquered by the united arms of Russia and Austria, he was intrusted jointly by the two powers with the government of those provinces; which important situation he held till the peace of Teschen in 1790. After this he went to Paris, ostensibly to enjoy his fortune, but really as joint ambassador in secret with Count de Mery, who held that situation, and who was desirous of his aid to observe the progress and mitigate the disasters of the Revolution. He there had several interviews with Mirabeau, and powerfully contributed to fix that redoubtable orator in the interests of the court, and the prosecution of those designs in which he was unhappily interrupted by his death. In 1792, the advanced age and increasing infirmities of Kaunitz caused him to be recalled to Vienna, where he soon came to acquire a preponderating influence; and, though the former still held the situation of chancellor of state, or prime minister, yet Thugut really had the entire direction of affairs; and on his death, in June 1794, he was appointed in his stead, and entirely directed the Imperial diplomacy till June 1801, when Napoleon, after the battle of Marengo, made his retirement a *stipulatio non* of any accommodation—deeming any peace insecure as long as so decided an opponent of the Revolution directed the Austrian councils.—See *Biographie Universelle*, xlv. 573, 578 (THUGUT).

all circulation of French assignats or revolutionary writings, and ordered the immediate departure from their territory of all subjects of that country who could not give a sufficient reason for their residence. But though these measures might be well calculated to prevent the inundation of the Empire with democratic principles, it was with very different weapons that the formidable army which had grown up out of the agonies of the Republic required to be combated.

57. At the time, however, that the zeal of Austria was thus warming in the common cause, that of Prussia was rapidly cooling; and to the lukewarmness and indifference of that power in the contest with France, more than to any other cause, the extraordinary success which for some years attended the Republican arms is to be ascribed. The selfish ambition of the cabinets of Vienna, St Petersburg, and Berlin, was the cause of this unhappy disunion. Hardly was the ink of the treaty of the 14th July with Great Britain dry, when the hoisting of the Austrian flag on the walls of Valenciennes and Condé opened the eyes of the Prussian ministry to the projects of aggrandisement which were entertained by the Imperial cabinet, and which Thugut supported with his whole talents and influence. Irritated and chagrined at this prospect of material accession of power to their dreaded rival, the cabinet of Berlin derived some consolation from the completion of their arrangements with the Empress Catherine for the partition of Poland, in virtue of which the Prussian force had recently taken possession of Dantzic, with its noble harbour and fortifications, besides Thorn, and a large circumjacent territory, to the no small annoyance of Austria, which saw itself excluded from all share in the projected spoliation. Nor was Russia likely to be a more disinterested combatant in the common cause; for she, too, was intent on the work of partition, and had already inundated the duchy of Warsaw with troops, with the fixed design of rendering it the frontier of the Muscovite dominions. Thus, at the moment when the evident approach

of peril to the national independence was closing those frightful divisions which had hitherto paralysed the strength of France, the allied powers, intent on separate projects of aggrandisement, were rapidly relaxing the bonds of the confederacy, and engaging in the most iniquitous partition recorded in modern times, at the very time when that vast power was arising, which was so soon destined to make them all tremble for their own possessions.

58. This stage of the contest was marked by an important step in the maritime relations of Europe, which afterwards became of the utmost moment in the important discussions on neutral rights which took place at the close of the century. The Empress Catherine publicly announced the departure of Russia from the principles of the Armed Neutrality, and her resolution to act on those usages which Great Britain had uniformly maintained to be in conformity with the practice of all belligerent states, forming the common naval code of Europe. She equipped a fleet of twenty-five ships of the line, which was destined to cruise in the Baltic and North Seas, and whose instructions were "to seize all vessels, without distinction, navigating under the flag of the French Republic, or that of any other state which they might assume; and also to *arrest every neutral vessel* destined and loaded for a French harbour—oblige them to retrace their steps, or make for the nearest neutral harbour which might suit their convenience." These instructions were publicly announced to the Prussian, Swedish, and Danish courts;* and al-

* M. Bernstorff declared to the Danish cabinet, after announcing these instructions: Her Imperial Majesty, in issuing such orders, cannot be supposed to have in the slightest degree deviated from the beneficent system which is calculated to secure the interest of neutrals in war, seeing that it is noways applicable to the present circumstances. The French Revolutionists, after having overturned everything in their own country, and bathed their impious hands in the blood of their sovereign, have, by a public decree, declared themselves the allies of every people who shall commit similar atrocities, and have followed this up by attacking with an armed force all their neighbours. Neutrality cannot

though the cabinet of Copenhagen, which early perceived the advantages of the lucrative neutral commerce which the general hostility was likely to throw into the hands of its subjects, at first made some difficulties, yet it yielded at length, and all the maritime powers agreed to revert to the usages of war in regard to the neutrals, which had existed prior to the Armed Neutrality in 1780.

59. By a declaration issued on June 8, the British government enjoined its naval commanders to search all neutral vessels bound for France for articles contraband of war; and Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, successively adopted the same principles. The latter power, in particular, declared, in a note to Count Bernstorff, intended to obviate the objections of the cabinet of Denmark, "His Majesty the King of Prussia, who has no interest but what is common with the King of Great Britain, can make no objection to the principles which circumstances have caused the court of London to adopt relative to the commerce of neutrals during the present war with France. The undersigned, in acceding absolutely and without limitation to all the demands of the British ambassador, obeys the express injunctions of his court in the most solemn manner, in order to prove to the world the perfect concert which in that, as in all other respects, prevails between the King of Prussia and the King of Great Britain."—Thus, how loudly soever the maritime powers may have demanded a new maritime

exist with such a power, except in so far as it may be assumed from prudential considerations. Should there be any states whose situation does not permit them to make such efficacious efforts as the greater powers in the common cause, the least that can be required of them is, that they shall make use of such means as are evidently at their disposal, by abstaining from all intercourse with these disturbers of the public peace. Her Imperial Majesty feels herself the more entitled to exact these sacrifices, as she has cheerfully submitted to them herself; being well aware of the disastrous effects which would ensue to the common interest, if, by reason of a free transport of provisions and naval stores, the enemy were put in possession of the means of nourishing and prolonging the contest.—*Ann. Reg.* xxxiii.; *State Papers*, No. 41; and *HARD.* ii. 337, 341.

code as a restraint on the hostility of others when they were neutral, they were willing enough to revert to the old usages when they in their turn became the belligerent parties.

60. If the conduct of the Allies had been purposely intended to develop the formidable military strength which had grown up in the French Republic, they could not have adopted measures better calculated to effect their object than were actually pursued. Four months of success, which might have been rendered decisive, had been followed by the most blamable inactivity. After having broken the frontier line of fortresses, and defeated the covering army of France in a pitched battle, when within fifteen marches of Paris, and at the head of a splendid army of a hundred and thirty thousand effective men, after fully providing for their communications, they thought fit to separate their forces, and, instead of pushing on to the centre of the Republican power, pursue independent plans of aggrandisement. The British, with their allies, amounting to above thirty-five thousand men, moved towards Dunkirk, so long the object of their maritime jealousy; while forty-five thousand of the Imperialists sat down before Quesnoy, and the remainder of their vast army was broken into detachments to preserve the communications.

61. From this ruinous division may be dated all the subsequent disasters of the campaign. Had they held together, and pushed on vigorously against the masses of the enemy's forces, now severely weakened and depressed by defeat, there cannot be a doubt that the object of the war would have been gained. The decrees for levying the population *en masse* were not passed by the Convention for some weeks afterwards, and the forces they produced were not organised for three months. The mighty genius of Carnot had not as yet assumed the helm of affairs; the Committee of Public Salvation had not hitherto acquired its terrible energy; everything promised great results to vigorous and simultaneous operations. It was a resolution of the British cabi-

net, in opposition to the declared and earnest wish of Cobourg and all the allied generals, which occasioned this fatal division. The impartial historian must confess with a sigh, that it was British interests which here interfered with the great objects of the war, and that, by compelling her contingent to separate for the siege of Dunkirk, Great Britain largely contributed to postpone, for a very long period, its glorious termination. Posterity has had ample room to lament the error: a war of twenty years deeply checkered with disaster, the addition of six hundred millions to the public debt, the sacrifice of millions of brave men, may be in a great degree traced to this unhappy resolution. For its adoption, on selfish grounds, Britain is still suffering a just punishment.

62. The Austrians were successful in their enterprise. After fifteen days of open trenches, Quesnoy capitulated, and the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, were made prisoners of war. The efforts of the Republicans to raise the siege terminated in nothing but disaster. Two columns of ten thousand men each, destined to disquiet the besiegers, were routed, and in one of them a square of three thousand men was broken, and totally destroyed by the Imperial cavalry. But a very different fate awaited the British besieging army. The corps under the command of the Duke of York, consisting of twenty thousand British and Hanoverians, was raised, by the junction of a body of Austrians under Alvinzi, to thirty-seven thousand men. This force was inadequate to the enterprise, exposed as it was to attack from the main body of the French army. On the 18th August, the Duke of York arrived in the neighbourhood of Lincelles, where, after an obstinate engagement, a strong redoubt was carried by the English Guards, and twelve pieces of cannon were taken. At the same time, the Dutch troops advanced under Marshal Freytag, and, driving the enemy from his position near Dunkirk, the Allies advanced to within a league of the place, and encamped at Furnes, stretching from that place to the sand-hills on the sea-shore. The fortress

was immediately summoned, but the governor returned a determined refusal.

63. Sensible of the importance of this stronghold, which, if gained by the British, would have given them an easy inlet into the heart of France, the Republicans made the most vigorous efforts to raise the siege. "It is not," said Carnot, in a despatch to Houchard, "merely in a military point of view that Dunkirk is so important: it is far more so, because the national honour is involved in its relief. Pitt cannot prevent the revolution which is approaching in England, but by gaining that town to indemnify his country for the expenses of the war. Accumulate, therefore, immense forces in Flanders, and drive the enemy from its plains; the decisive point of the contest lies there." This was the more necessary, because the works of the place were in the most deplorable state when the Allies appeared before it; and the garrison, consisting only of three thousand men, was totally insufficient to defend the town. If the bombarding flotilla had arrived from England at the same time with the besieging army, there can be no doubt that it must immediately have fallen. Immense preparations were making at Woolwich for the siege, and eleven new battalions had been embarked in the Thames for the besieging army. But such was the tardiness of their movements, that not a vessel appeared in sight at the harbour of Dunkirk, and the mistress of the seas had the mortification to find her land forces severely harassaed by discharges from the contemptible gun-boats of the enemy. The delays of the British in these operations proved what novices they were in the art of war, and how little they were aware of the importance of time in military movements. Above three weeks were employed in preparations by the besieging force—a delay which enabled the French to bring up from the distant frontier of the Moselle the forces which ultimately raised the siege, and decided the fate of the campaign.

64. The French rulers did not display the same inactivity. Following the wise course of accumulating over-

whelming forces upon the decisive point, they brought thirty-five thousand men, by forced marches, and in great part by post, from the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, and placed the army destined to raise the siege, consisting by this addition of nearly fifty thousand men, under the command of General Houchard. The investment not having been completed, he succeeded in throwing ten thousand additional troops, on whose fidelity reliance could be placed, into the garrison. At the same time, the covering army, consisting of twenty thousand Dutch and Austrians, under the command of Marshal Freytag, was threatened by an attacking force of nearly double its amount. While the Republicans were thus adopting the system of concentrating their forces, the Allies, by the expansion of theirs, gave it every possible chance of success. A hundred thousand men, dispersed round Quesnoy, and extending from the sea to the Moselle, guarded all the entrances into the Netherlands, and covered a line two hundred miles in length. Thus a hundred and twenty thousand men were charged at once with the covering of two sieges, the maintenance of that immense line, and the protection of all Flanders, from an enterprising enemy, possessing an interior line of communication, and already acting upon the principle of sacrificing all lesser objects to the weight to be given to the decisive blow.

65. The situation of the allied covering army was such as to give a vigorous attack, by an imposing mass of assailants, every chance of success. Freytag's corps of observation was, in the end, not posted at Furnes, so as to protect the rear of the besiegers, but a considerable way in front of it, in order to prevent any communication between the besieged and the interior of France; while the Dutch, under the Prince of Orange, were at the distance of three days' march at Menin, and incapable of rendering any assistance; and the Duke of York's besieging force lay exposed to an attack between these dispersed bodies. The Committee of Public Salvation had enjoined Houchard to throw himself, with forty thousand men, be-

tween the three corps, thus detached as if to invite his separate attacks, and fall successively on Freytag, the Prince of Orange, and the Duke of York. Napoleon would unquestionably have done so if he had been at the head of the army of Italy, and signalled Dunkirk, in all probability, by as decisive success as Rivoli or Arcola. But that audacious mode of proceeding could hardly be expected from a second in command; the principles on which it was founded were not yet understood, nor were his troops adequate to so bold an enterprise. He contented himself, therefore, with marching against the front of Freytag, with a view to throw him back on the besieging force, and raise the siege, instead of interposing between them, and destroying both. The object to be thus attained was important, and its achievement proved the salvation of France. But it fell very far short of the great success expected by the French government; and the failure of the Republican general to enter into the spirit of their orders, at length brought him to the scaffold.

66. The attack was commenced on Marshal Freytag in the beginning of September. A series of engagements took place, from the 5th to the 7th September, between the French and the covering army, which terminated unfavourably to the Allies; and at length, on the morning of the 8th, a decisive attack was made by General Houchard on the main body of the Austrians, consisting of nearly eighteen thousand men, near Hondscote, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of fifteen hundred men. Meanwhile, the garrison of Dunkirk, acting in concert with the external army, made a vigorous sally on the besiegers, with forces superior to their own, and exposed them to the most imminent peril. The Duke of York, finding his flank harassed by the attacks of Houchard, in consequence of the defeat of the covering force, justly deemed his situation too precarious to risk a further stay in the lines, and on the night of the 8th, withdrew his besieging force, leaving fifty-two pieces of heavy artillery, and a large quantity of ammunition and baggage, to the conquerors.

The consequences of this defeat proved ruinous to the whole campaign. It excited the most extravagant joy at Paris, and elevated the public spirit to a degree great in proportion to their former depression. The dislodging of a few thousand men at the extremity of the line, changed the face of the war from the German Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea. The Convention, relieved from the dread of immediate danger, and the peril of invasion, got time to mature its plans of foreign conquest, and organise the immense military preparations in the interior; while Fortune, weary of a party which threw away the opportunities of receiving her favours, passed over to the other side.

67. Houchard, however, did not improve his advantages as might have been expected. Instead of following up the plan of concentrating his forces upon a few points, he renewed the system of division, which had been so imprudently adopted by his adversaries. The forces of the Duke of York, in the camp to which he retired, being deemed too powerful for an immediate attack, he resolved to assail a corps of Dutch who were posted at Menin. A series of actions, with various success, in consequence ensued between the detached corps of the Allies, which kept up the communication between the Duke of York's army and the main body of the Imperialists under Prince Cobourg. On the one hand, the Dutch, overwhelmed by superior masses of the enemy, were defeated with the loss of two thousand men, and forty pieces of cannon; while, on the other, General Beaulieu totally routed the army of Houchard at Courtray, and drove him behind the Lys. Nor did the disaster rest there. The panic communicated itself to all the camps, all the divisions; and the army which had lately raised the siege of Dunkirk, sought shelter in a promiscuous crowd under the cannon of Lisle—a striking proof of the unfitness of the Republican levies as yet for field movements, and of the ease with which, by energetic operations in large masses at that period, the greatest successes might have been obtained by the numerous and disciplined armies of the Allies, if

acting together or in concert, and led by an able commander.

68. This last disaster proved fatal to General Houchard, already charged with culpable inactivity, in not following up the advantages at Hondscote by an immediate attack upon the British force. Accused by his own officers, he was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris, condemned and executed. The English had sacrificed Admiral Byng for having suffered a defeat; the Romans had condemned Manlius for having fought in disobedience to the orders of the Senate; but this was the first instance in history of a victorious general having been put to death for gaining a success which proved the salvation of his country. The proceedings of the Convention against this unfortunate general are chiefly interesting from the evidence they afford of the clear perception which those at the head of affairs had obtained, of the principles in the military art to which the subsequent successes of the Republican forces were chiefly owing. "For long," said Barrère, "the principle established by the Great Frederick has been recognised, that the best way to take advantage of the courage of the soldier is to accumulate the troops in particular points in large masses. Instead of doing this, you have divided them into separate detachments, and the generals intrusted with their command have generally had to combat superior forces. The Committee of Public Salvation, fully aware of the danger, had sent the most positive instructions to the generals to fight in large masses; you have disregarded their orders, and, in consequence, reverses have followed." From these expressions, it is not difficult to recognise the influence which the master-mind of Carnot had already acquired in the direction of military affairs.

69. To compensate so many reverses, the Allies at length sat down before Maubeuge, an important fortress, the possession of which would have opened the plains of St Quentin and the capital to invasion, and the siege of which, undertaken at an earlier period, and by the main strength of their forces, would have determined, in all probability, the

success of the war. Landrecies was already blockaded, and the French troops, avowedly inferior in the field, were all concentrated in intrenched camps within their own frontier. A vigorous effort was indispensable to prevent the Allies from carrying these strongholds, and taking up their winter-quarters without opposition in the French territory. In these alarming circumstances, the Committee of Public Salvation alone did not despair of the fortunes of the Republic. Trusting with confidence to their own energy, and the immense multitude of the levies ordered, they took the most vigorous measures for the public defence, and, by incessantly urging on the new conscripts, soon raised the forces in the different intrenched camps, on the Flemish frontier, to one hundred and thirty thousand men.* Great part, it is true, formed but a motley group; peasants, without arms or uniforms, fiercely debating every question of politics, forming themselves into battalions, and choosing their own officers, presented a force little competent to face, in the open field, the regular forces of Austria and the Confederation. But the possession of so many fortified towns and intrenched camps gave them the means of organising and disciplining these tumultuary masses, and enabled the regular troops, amounting to a hundred thousand men, to keep the field. At the head of the whole was placed

* Jean Baptiste Jourdan, one of the first generals of the Revolution who rose to great distinction, and who afterwards became marshal of France, was born at Limoges on the 2d April 1762. His father was an obscure surgeon; and he enlisted at the age of sixteen as a simple private in the regiment of Auxois. He served in that capacity in the American War, and, having returned to France on the termination of that contest, he obtained his discharge. Soon after he married a *marchande de modes*, and set up a haberdashery shop, but on so humble a scale that the future marshal of France carried his pack on his back from fair to fair. In autumn 1791, when recruits for the army were enlisted in every part of France, he entered as a volunteer in one of the new battalions; and, as his experience gave him a great advantage over his pacific comrades, he was at once named by acclamation chief of the second battalion of Haute Vienne. At its head he served during the campaign of 1792 under Lafayette; in the whole of which the admir-

General JOURDAN,* a young officer, hitherto untried in separate command, though distinguished in subordinate situations, but who, placed between victory and the scaffold, had sufficient confidence in his own talents to accept the perilous alternative.

70. At the same time, the most energetic measures were taken by the Committee of Public Salvation. All France was declared in a state of siege, and the authorities were authorised to take all the steps necessary to provide for the public defence in such an emergency. "The revolutionary laws," said Robespierre, "must be executed with rapidity; delay and inactivity have been the cause of our reverses. Henceforward the time allowed for the execution of the laws must be fixed, and delay punished with death." St Just drew a sombre picture of the state of the Republic, and the necessity of striving vigorously against the manifold dangers which surrounded them. Having excited the highest degree of terror in the Assembly, he obtained their consent to the following resolutions: That the subsistence requisites for each department should be accurately estimated, and all the superfluity placed at the disposal of the state, and subjected to forced requisitions, either for the armies, the cities, or departments, that stood in need of it; that these requisitions should be exclusively regulated by a commisable condition of the battalion, as well as his own courage and skill, attracted general attention. In consequence he was, on 27th May 1793, appointed general of brigade, and, two months after, general of division, in which last capacity he commanded the advanced guard of Houchard, which defeated the English and raised the siege of Dunkirk. By a singular combination of chances, characteristic of those days of revolution, the same victory which brought Houchard, the commander-in-chief, to the guillotine, raised Jourdan, who led the advanced guard, to the highest destinies; for he was shortly after appointed by Carnot to the command of the great army destined to raise the siege of Maubeuge. He gained the battle of Fleurus in 1794; but was entirely defeated by the Archduke Charles in Germany in 1796, and by Wellington in Spain in 1813. He was rather a methodical, calm, and intrepid general, than endowed with any great genius for war.—*Biographie Universelle*, lxxviii. 294, 296.

sion appointed for that purpose by the Convention; that Paris should be provisioned for a year; a tribunal instituted for the trial of all those who should commit any offence against these measures, destined to provide for the public subsistence: the government of France declared revolutionary till the conclusion of a general peace, and, until that arrived, a dictatorial power be vested in the Committee of Public Salvation and the Convention; and that a revolutionary army, consisting of six thousand men, and twelve hundred cannoners, be established at Paris, and cantoned there at the expense of the more opulent among the citizens. It was proposed in the Cordeliers, that to this should be added a provision for the establishment of an ambulatory guillotine, to be attached to every army; but this was not adopted by the Convention. The revolutionary army was instantly raised, and composed of the most ardent Jacobins; and the Commission of Subsistence installed in its important and all-powerful sovereignty.

71. The force of the Allies was still above a hundred and twenty thousand strong, and displayed a numerous and splendid array of cavalry, to which there was nothing comparable on the side of the Republicans. But, after taking into account the blockading and besieging forces, and those stationed at a distance, they could not bring above sixty thousand into the field. This army was, early in October, concentrated between Maubeuge and Avesnes, where they awaited the approach of the force destined to raise the siege. This measure had now become indispensably necessary, as the condition of the garrison of Maubeuge was daily growing more desperate, and the near approach of the besiegers' batteries had spread terror in the city, and discouragement among the soldiers. Imitating the firmness of the Roman Senate, the Convention had sold the estates of the emigrants on which the Allies were encamped, and sent the most peremptory orders to Jourdan to attack, without delay, the enemy's force, and drive him out of the French territory. The Duke of York, too, hearing of the concentration of the Republican

force, was rapidly advancing with above twenty-five thousand men, and, unless the attack was speedily made, it was certain that his force would be joined to the allied army.

72. Impelled by so many motives, Jourdan approached the Austrian position, the key of which was the village of Wattignies. After some skirmishing on the 14th, a general battle took place on the 15th October, in which, after varying success, the Republicans were worsted with the loss of twelve hundred men. Instructed by this failure, that a change of the method of attack was indispensable, Jourdan, in the night, accumulated his forces against the decisive point, and at break of day, on the 16th, assailed Wattignies with three columns, while a concentric fire of artillery shattered the troops who defended it. In the midst of the roar of cannon, which were discharged with uncommon vigour, the Republican airs which rose from the French lines could be distinctly heard by the Austrians. The village was speedily carried by this skillful combination of force, while, at the same time, the appearance of the reserve of Jourdan on the left flank of the Allies completed the discouragement of Cobourg, and induced a general retreat, after sustaining a loss of six thousand men. This resolution was unfortunate and unnecessary, for on other points his army had been eminently successful; and the arrival of the Duke of York, who was within a day's march, would have enabled him to maintain his position, and convert his partial into a total success. It is related by Plutarch, that on one occasion, in Roman story, after a doubtful battle, some god called out in the night that they had lost one man less than their enemies, and in consequence they kept their ground, and gained all the advantages of a victory. How often does such tenacious firmness convert an incipient disaster into an important advantage!

73. The raising of the siege, and retreat of the Allies beyond the Sambre, exposed to view the gigantic works which they had constructed for the reduction of the city, and which, with a little more vigour on their part in

concentrating their forces, would undoubtedly have proved successful. As it was, the success of the Republicans on this point counterbalanced the alarming intelligence received from other quarters, and allayed a dangerous ferment which was commencing in the capital. The advantage gained by them in this action proved how incompetent the old and methodical tactics of the Imperialists were to contend with the new and able system which Carnot had introduced into the Republican armies, and which their immense levies enabled them to execute with reckless audacity, and never-failing success. Jourdan had nearly sixty thousand men to raise the siege. By leaving only fifteen thousand to man the works, Cobourg might have opposed to him a nearly equal force; and an action, under such circumstances, from the great inferiority of the French in discipline, would infallibly have led to a defeat, which would speedily have brought about the reduction of the town: instead of which, by leaving thirty-five thousand round the fortress, he exposed himself, with only thirty thousand men, to the shock of sixty thousand Republicans, and ultimately was compelled to raise the siege.

74. Nothing more of importance

* Charles Pichegru was born at Arbois, in 1761, of obscure parents. He received the rudiments of education in his native town at the college of the Minimes, where he early evinced an extraordinary talent for the exact sciences. So much were the worthy monks who presided over that establishment struck with his abilities in this respect, that they sent him to the military college of Brienne, where he was at the time Napoleon entered it, to whom he was for some years a sort of preceptor, like the monitors in the Lancasterian schools. At the age of twenty he enlisted as a private in the 1st regiment of artillery, with which he served in the last campaigns of the American War, and studied, alike in his own regiment and in the ranks of his enemies, the theory and practice of artillery. From the English marine service, in particular, to which he was often opposed, he adopted several important improvements; the knowledge of which gave him such an advantage over his other comrades, that, on his return, he was made adjutant of his regiment, which rank he held when the Revolution broke out. Conscious of talents which had not yet attained their proper sphere of action, he immediately and vehemently adopted its principles; but from the very

was undertaken in Flanders before the close of the campaign; a movement of the French, threatening the right of the Allies towards the sea, was not persisted in, and, after various unimportant changes, both parties went into winter-quarters. The headquarters of Cobourg were established at Bavay; those of the Republicans at Guicé, where a vast intrenched camp was formed for the protection and disciplining of the Revolutionary masses which were daily arriving for the army, but for the most part in a miserable state of equipment and efficiency. Insatiable in their expectations of success, the Committee of Public Salvation removed Jourdan from the supreme command, and conferred it on PICHEGRU,* formerly a school-fellow of Napoleon, an officer distinguished in the campaign of the Rhine, a favourite of Robespierre and St Just, and possessed of the talent, activity, and enterprise suited to those perilous times, when the risk was greater to a commander from domestic tyranny than foreign warfare.

75. After the capture of Mayence, the Imperialists, reinforced by forty thousand excellent troops, who had been employed in the siege of that city, could have assembled one hun-

dred first abstained from the innumerable crimes which were committed in its name. He frequented the Jacobin clubs which, in imitation of the great one at Paris, had arisen in all the departments, and was president of that at Besançon, when, on the formation of a battalion of volunteers in that town in April 1792, he was by acclamation chosen its chief. Pichegru found his men a motley crowd of ardent politicians, who were discussing all subjects, civil and military, with the same license as in the Jacobin club; and it was with no small difficulty, and only by the combined influence of a great character and superior acquaintance with military affairs, that he succeeded in reducing them to some degree of subordination. His first campaign was on the Upper Rhine, at the head of his battalion, in 1792; but at the close of that year he was appointed, from his great abilities, to a situation on the staff, and he was rapidly promoted to the rank of general of brigade and of division. In October 1793, he received the command of the army on the Upper Rhine from St Just and Lebas, the Commissioners of the Convention, and from thenceforward his name became blended with the stream of European history.—*Biographie Universelle*, xxxiv. 274 275.

dred thousand men for offensive operations in the plains of the Palatinate, while those of the enemy did not exceed eighty thousand. Everything promised success to vigorous operations; but the Allies, paralysed by intestine divisions, remained in an inextinguishable state of inactivity, and separated their fine army into four corps, which were placed opposite to the lengthened lines of their adversaries. The Prussians were chiefly to blame for this torpor. They had secretly adopted the resolution, now that Mayence, the barrier of Northern Germany, was secure, to contribute no further efficient aid to the prosecution of the war. For two months they remained there in perfect inactivity, the jealousy of the sovereigns concerning the affairs of Poland being equalled by the rivalry of the generals for the command of the armies. Both monarchies had bitter cause afterwards to lament this policy; for never again were their own armies on the Rhine so formidable, or those of the Republicans in such a state of disorganisation. Wearied at length with the torpor of their opponents, and pressed by the reiterated orders of the Convention to undertake something decisive, the French general, Moreau, who commanded the army of the Moselle, commenced an attack on the Prussian corps posted at Firmasens. The Republican columns advanced with intrepidity to the attack, but when they approached the Prussian redoubts, a terrible storm of grape arrested their advance. At the same time their flanks were turned by the Duke of Brunswick, and a heavy fire of artillery carried disorder into their masses, which soon fell back, and precipitated themselves in confusion into the neighbouring ravines. In this affair the Republicans lost four thousand men and twenty-two pieces of cannon: a disaster which might have proved fatal to the campaign, had it been as much improved as it was neglected by the allied commanders.

76. The king of Prussia, a few days after, left the army to repair to Poland, in order to pursue, in concert with Russia, his plans of aggrandisement at the

expense of that unhappy country; and the Allies, having at length agreed on a plan of joint operations, resumed the offensive. The French occupied the ancient and celebrated lines of Weissenburg, constructed in former times for the protection of the Rhenish frontier from German invasion. They stretched from the town of Lauterburg on the Rhine, through the village of Weissenburg to the Vosges mountains, and thus closed all access from that side into Alsace. For four months that they had been occupied by the Republicans, all the resources of art had been employed in strengthening them. The recent successes of the Allies had brought them to the extreme left of this position, and they formed the design of attacking it from left to right, and forcing an abandonment of the whole intrenchments. A simultaneous assault was made by the Prussians, under the Duke of Brunswick, on the left of the lines, by the defiles in the Vosges mountains; while the Austrians, under Prince Waldeck, crossed the Rhine, and turned the right, and Wurmser himself, with the main body, endeavoured to force the centre. The attack on the right by Lauterburg obtained only a momentary success. But Wurmser carried several redoubts in the centre, and soon got possession of Weissenburg; and the left having been turned and forced back, the whole army retired in confusion, and some of the fugitives fled as far as Strassburg. Such was the tardiness of the Allies, that the French lost only one thousand men in this general rout, which, if duly improved, might have occasioned the loss of their whole army.

77. But this important success, which once more opened the territory of the Republic to a victorious enemy, and spread the utmost consternation through the towns of Alsace, led to no results, and, by developing the designs of Austria upon this province, contributed to widen the breach between that power and her wavering ally. Although, therefore, a powerful reaction commenced among the nobles in Alsace, and a formidable party was

formed in Strassburg, to favour the Imperial projects, nothing material was undertaken by their armies. Wurmsers wasted in festivity and rejoicings the precious moments of incipient terror; the Convention got time to recover from its alarm, and the Committee of Public Salvation took the most energetic measures to restore the democratic fervour in the shaken districts. A Revolutionary force, under the command of a ferocious leader named Bandet, traversed the province, confiscating without mercy the property of the suspected individuals, and spreading, by the multitude of their arrests, the fear of death among all. "Marat," said Bandet, "has demanded only two hundred thousand heads; were they a million we would furnish them." To take advantage of the excitement occasioned by these menaces, Wurmsers advanced to the neighbourhood of Strassburg, where the whole constituted authorities offered to surrender it to the Imperialists, in the name of Louis XVII. The Austrian commander, however, fettered by orders from Vienna, which prohibited him from doing anything that might prejudice their system of methodical conquest, declined to take possession of the city on these terms, and moved the Prussians to Saverne, in order to force back the Republicans who were accumulating on that point. This project proved entirely unsuccessful; the Prussians were driven back; and Wurmsers, unable to undertake the siege of Strassburg, was obliged to withdraw, and confine his operations to the blockade of Landau and the siege of Fort Vauban, which capitulated with its garrison of three thousand men on the 14th November. The inhabitants of Strassburg, thus abandoned to their fate, experienced the whole weight of Republican vengeance. Seventy persons of the most distinguished families were put to death, while terror and confiscation reinstated the sway of the Convention over the unhappy province. No sooner was the extent of the conspiracy ascertained, than St Just and Lebas were despatched by the Convention, and speedily put in force the ter-

rific energy of the Revolution. The blood of the Royalists immediately flowed in torrents; it was a sufficient ground for condemnation, that any inhabitant had remained in the villages occupied by the Allies; and a fourth of the families of the province, decimated by the guillotine, fled into the neighbouring districts of Switzerland, and were speedily enrolled in the lists of proscription.*

78. The secession of Prussia from the confederacy now became daily more and more evident. Wurmsers in vain endeavoured to engage its army in any combined movements; orders from the cabinet constrained the Duke of Brunswick to a line of conduct as prejudicial to his fame as a commander, as it was injurious to the character of his country. On his return to Berlin, Frederick William was assailed by so many representations from his ministers as to the deplorable state of the finances, and the exhaustion of the national strength, in a contest foreign to the real interests of the nation, at the very time when the affairs of Poland required their undivided attention, and the greatest possible display of force in that quarter, that he at first adopted the resolution to recall all his troops from the Rhine, except the small contingent which he was bound to furnish as a prince of the Empire. Orders to that effect were actually transmitted to the Prussian general. The cabinet of Vienna, informed

* "It was full time for St Just to join this unhappy army, and to strike vigorously at the fanaticism of the Alsacians, at their indolence, their German stupidity, at the greed and perfidy of the rich among them. He has vivified, reanimated, and regenerated everything; and to consummate this good work, we have arriving from every quarter columns of revolutionary apostles, unmistakable sans-culottes. *St Guillotine* is in the most dashing activity, and beneficent terror produces here, in a miraculous manner, what one could only expect in a century from reason and philosophy. What a masterly b—— is this lad! The collection of his decrees will be undoubtedly one of the finest historical monuments of the Revolution. The hour of terrible justice is arrived, and every guilty head must be submitted to the national leveller."—GATTEAU to Citizen DAUBIGNY; Strassburg, 27 Brumaire, An. 2.—*Papiers trouvés chez ROUSSEPIERRE*, II. 247.

of the danger, made the most pressing remonstrances against such an untimely and ruinous defection, in which they were so well seconded by those of London and St Petersburg that this resolution was rescinded, and, in consideration of a large Austrian subsidy, Prussia engaged, in appearance with sincerity, to continue the contest. But orders were at the same time secretly given by the cabinet of Berlin to the Duke of Brunswick to temporise as much as possible, and engage the Prussian troops in no serious enterprise, or any conquest which might turn to the advantage of the Austrians. The effect of this soon appeared in the removal of the Prussian mortars and cannon from the lines before Landau, at the moment when the bombardment was going on with the greatest prospect of success. Shortly after they withdrew so large a part of the blockading force, that the garrison was enabled to communicate freely with the adjacent country.

79. Meanwhile the Committee of Public Salvation, very different from their tardy and divided opponents, did not confine their views to the subjugation of the Royalists in Alsace. They aspired to the complete deliverance of the Republican territory from the enemy's forces. To raise the blockade of Landau, thirty thousand men from the armies of the Moselle and the Rhine were placed under the orders of Pichegru, who were designed to penetrate the allied lines between the cantonments of the Austrian and Prussian forces; and these were supported by thirty-five thousand under General Hoche, who advanced from the side of La Saare. After some preparatory movements, various success, and many partial actions, the Republicans attacked the covering army of the Duke of Brunswick, in great force, on the morning of the 26th December, who were in position near the castle of Geisberg, a little in front of Weissenburg. Such was the dissension between the two commanders, in consequence of the evident reluctance of the Prussians to engage, that a warm altercation took place between them in presence of their respective officers, on the field of battle. The result, as might

have been expected, was, that the Allies, vigorously attacked in their centre, were driven from their position. After some ineffectual attempts to make a stand on the left bank of the Rhine, their whole army, in great confusion, crossed to the right bank, at Philippsburg, raising the blockade of Landau, leaving their recent conquest of Fort Vauban to its fate, and completely evacuating in that quarter the French territory. Spire and Worms were speedily reconquered, and Fort Vauban soon after evacuated. The Republican armies, rapidly advancing, appeared before the gates of Mannheim; and Germany, so recently victorious, began to tremble for its own frontier. These important results demonstrated the superiormilitary combination which was now exerted on the part of the French to that of the Allies. Forty thousand Prussians and Saxons were in a state of inactivity on the other side of the Vosges mountains, while the Austrians, overmatched by superior and concentrated forces, were driven across the Rhine. The French accumulated forces from different armies, to break through one weakly defended point; while the Allies were in such a state of discord, that they could not, even in the utmost peril, render any effectual assistance to each other.* It was not difficult to foresee what would be the result of such a contest.†

* Such was the dissension between the Austrians and Prussians, that their officers published mutual recriminations against each other, and fought duels in support of their respective sides of the question.—HARD. ii. 442.

† So manifestly were the divisions of the Allies, and the defection of the Prussians, the cause of all the disasters of the campaign on the German frontier, that the Duke of Brunswick himself did not hesitate to ascribe them to that cause. On 24th January 1794, he wrote to Prince Louis of Prussia in these terms: "I have been enveloped in circumstances as distressing as they were extraordinary, which have imposed upon me the painful necessity of acting as I have done. What a misfortune that external and internal dissensions should so frequently have paralysed the movements of the armies, at the very time when the greatest activity was necessary! If, after the fall of Mayence, they had fallen on Houchard, whom they would have beaten, they would have prevented the march of troops to the north; and, by consequence, the checks of Dunkirk

80. The campaign on the Pyrenean frontier, during this year, was not characterised by any event of importance. At the first breaking out of the war, in February, the Spanish government made vigorous exertions to increase its forces; the zeal and patriotism of the inhabitants soon supplied the deficiencies of the military establishment, and they were enabled to put two considerable armies on foot. One was of thirty thousand men, destined to invade Roussillon; the other, of twenty-five thousand, to penetrate by the Bidasoa, on the side of Bayonne. The Republicans on the western entrance of the Pyrenees occupied a line from St Jean Pied-de-Port to the mouth of the Bidasoa, strengthened by three intrenched camps; while the Spaniards were stationed on the heights of San Marcial, the destined theatre of honourable achievement to their arms in a more glorious war. On the 14th April, the Spaniards from their position opened a vigorous fire on the French line, and, during the confusion occasioned by it among their opponents, crossed the Bidasoa, and carried a fort which was soon after abandoned. This attack was only the prelude of a more decisive one, which took place on the 1st May, when the French were driven from one of their camps with the loss of fifteen pieces of

cannon; and on the 6th June they were expelled from another stronghold, and forced into St Jean Pied-de-Port, after being deprived of all the cannon and ammunition which it contained. After these disasters, the Republican commander was indefatigable in his endeavours to restore the courage and discipline of his troops; and, deeming them at length sufficiently experienced for offensive operations, he made a general attack, on the 29th August, on the posts which the Spaniards had fortified on the French territory. He was, however, repulsed with considerable loss, and disabled from undertaking any movement of consequence for the remainder of the campaign.

81. Operations of more importance took place during the same campaign on the eastern side. The Spaniards under Don Ricardo, in the middle of April, invaded Roussillon; and on the 21st a small body gained an advantage over an equal number of French. This was followed soon after by a general attack on the French camp, which ended in the defeat of the Republicans. Ere long, the forts of Bellegarde and Villa Franca were taken; and Ricardo, pursuing his advantages, on the 29th August attacked a large body of French at Millas, who were totally defeated, with the loss of fifteen pieces of cannon. The result of this was, that the invaders passed Perpignan, and interrupted the communication between Languedoc and Roussillon. But the Convention, alarmed at the rapid progress of the Spaniards, at length took the most vigorous measures to reinforce their armies; and the energetic government of the Committee of Public Salvation succeeded in arresting the invasion. Two divisions of the French, about fifteen thousand strong, were directed to move against the Spaniards under Don Juan Courten, who had not above six thousand men at Peyrestortes; and their attack was combined with so much skill that the enemy was assailed in front, both flanks, and rear, at the same time. After a gallant defence, the Spaniards were forced to commence a retreat, which, though conducted for some time in good order, at length was converted into a flight, dur-

and Maubeuge: Saarlsruhe, ill provisioned, and destitute at that period of any shelter from a bombardment, would have fallen in fifteen days. Alsace thus would have been turned by the Saare; the capture of the lines of Lauter would have been attended with more substantial benefits; and, if the Republican army of the Rhine had been by that means separated from that of the Moselle, Landau would infallibly have fallen. I implore you to use your efforts to prevent the undue separation of the army into detachments; when this is the case, weak at every point, it is liable to be cut up in detail. At Mayence the fruits of the whole war were lost; and there is no hope that a third campaign will repair the disasters of the two preceding. The same causes will divide the allied powers which have hitherto divided them; the movements of the armies will suffer from them as they have suffered; their march will be embarrassed, retarded, prevented; and the delay in the re-establishment of the Prussian army, unavoidable, perhaps, from political causes, will become the cause in the succeeding campaign of incalculable disasters."—HARD. II. 444, 448.

ing which they lost one thousand men killed, and fifteen hundred prisoners, besides all their artillery and camp equipage. Elated by this success, the Republicans proposed a general attack upon the Spanish army, which took place at Truellas. Twenty thousand chosen troops, divided into three columns, advanced against the Spanish camp. After an obstinate resistance, that which attacked the centre, under the command of Dagobert, carried the intrenchments, and was on the point of gaining a glorious victory, when Courten, coming up with the Spanish reserve, prolonged the combat, and gave time for Don Ricardos, who had defeated the attack on his left, to advance at the head of four regiments of cavalry, which decided the day. Three French battalions laid down their arms, and the remainder formed into squares, retreated in spite of the utmost efforts of the Spanish cavalry; not, however, till they had sustained a loss of four thousand men and ten pieces of artillery.

82. Dagobert was immediately displaced from the supreme command for this disaster; and the Republicans, under Davoust,* being shortly after reinforced by fifteen thousand men, levied under the decree of the 23d August, Ricardos was constrained, notwithstanding his success, to remain upon the defensive. He retired, therefore, to a strong intrenched camp near Boulon, where he was attacked on the 3d October by the French forces. From that time to the beginning of December, a variety of actions took place, unattended by any decisive advantage on either side, but without the Spanish troops ever being dislodged from their position. At that period Ricardos, having been strongly reinforced, resolved to resume the offensive. Early on the 7th December, he disposed his troops in four columns, and, having surprised their advanced posts, commenced an unexpected attack upon the French lines. The Republicans, many of whom were inexperienced levies, instantly took to flight, and the whole army was routed, with the loss of forty-six pieces of can-

non, and two thousand five hundred men. The Spaniards followed up this success by another expedition against the town of Port Vendre, which they carried, with all the artillery mounted on its defences; and soon after, Collioure surrendered to their forces, with above eighty pieces of cannon; while the Marquis Amarillas overthrew the right, and carried such terror into the ranks of the inexperienced Republicans, that many battalions disbanded themselves and fled into the interior. In the end, the whole fell back in confusion under the cannon of Perpignan. By these repeated disasters the French army was so much discouraged that almost all the national guards left their colours, and the general-in-chief announced to the Convention that he was only at the head of eight thousand men. Had the Spanish commander been aware of the state of his opponents, he might, by a vigorous attack, have completed their ruin before the reinforcements arrived from Toulon, which, in the beginning of the following month, restored the balance of the contending forces.

83. Important events also took place on the side of the Maritime Alps. In that quarter, at the conclusion of the preceding campaign, the French remained masters of the territory and city of Nice. An expedition, projected by the Republicans against Sardinia, totally failed. When the season was so far advanced as to permit operations in the Maritime Alps, the Piedmontese army, consisting of thirty thousand natives and ten thousand Austrians, was posted along their summits, with the centre at Saorgio, strongly fortified. In the beginning of June, the Republicans, twenty-five thousand strong, commenced an attack in five columns; but, after some partial success, they resumed their position, and, being soon after weakened by detachments for the siege of Toulon, remained on the defensive till the end of July, when they made themselves masters of the Col d'Argentière and the Col de Sauteron, which excited the utmost alarm in the court of Turin, and prevented them from sending those succours to the army in Savoy, which the powerful diversion occasioned by

* See a biography of Davoust—*ibid.*, chap. xxiii. § 50.

the siege of Lyons so evidently recommended.

84. The insurrection in Lyons, to be immediately noticed, offered an opportunity for establishing themselves in the south of France, which could hardly have been hoped for by the allied powers. Had sixty thousand regular troops descended from the Alps in Italy, and taken advantage of the effervescence which prevailed in Toulon, Marseilles, and Lyons, the consequences might have been incalculable. But such were the divisions among the Allies that this golden opportunity, never destined to recur, was neglected, and the Court of Turin contented themselves, during that unhoped-for diversion, with merely aiming at the expulsion of the French from the valleys of the Arc and the Isère. This was no difficult matter, as the Piedmontese troops were already masters of the summits of Mont Cenis and the Little St Bernard, and the French in the valleys beneath were severely weakened by detachments for the siege of Lyons. In the middle of August, the Sardinian columns descended the ravines of St Jean de Maurienne and Moutiers, under the command of General Gordon, and, after some trifling engagements, drove the Republicans from these narrow and winding valleys, and compelled them to take refuge under the cannon of Montmelian. But there terminated the success of this feeble invasion. Kellermann, hearing of the advance of the Sardinians, left the siege of Lyons to General Durney, and hastily returning to Chambery, roused the national guard to resist the enemy. At the moment that they were preparing to follow up their advantages, the French commander anticipated them by a brisk attack, and, after a slight resistance, drove them from the whole ground they had gained, as far as the foot of Mont Cenis. Thus a campaign, from which, if boldly conducted, the liberation of all the south-east of France might have been expected, terminated, after an ephemeral success, in ultimate disgrace.

85. But while the operations of the Allies in their vicinity were thus inefficient, the efforts of the French them-

selves were of a more decided and glorious character. The insurrection of 31st May, which subjected the legislature to the mob of Paris, and established the Reign of Terror through all France, excited the utmost indignation in the southern provinces. Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons, openly espoused the Girondist cause; they were warmly attached to freedom, but it was that regulated freedom which provides for the protection of all, not that which subjects the more opulent classes to the despotism of the lower. The discontents went on increasing till the middle of July, when Chaliar and Riard, the leaders of the Jacobin club at Lyons, were arrested by the national guard—which was nearly all on the Royalist side—and condemned to death. Chaliar, who, during the period he was in power at Lyons, had showed himself equally sanguinary and fanatical, evinced remarkable sensibility in prison, and even shed tears as he caressed a favourite turtle-dove, which his mistress had brought to be the companion and solace of his captivity. His death, which took place by the guillotine, was attended with circumstances peculiarly shocking. Four times the axe descended without severing the head from the body, and at the intervals he was seen to cast a look of reproach on the unskilful executioner. He behaved with great firmness in his last moments. From that time these cities were declared in a state of insurrection: the Girondist leaders, perceiving that the Royalist party had gained the ascendancy in Lyons, withdrew, and the citizens openly espoused the Royalist cause. They immediately began to cast cannon, raise intrenchments, and make every preparation for a vigorous defence.

86. The general discontent first broke out into open violence in Marseilles. At the first intelligence, Kellermann despatched General Carteaux to prevent a corps of ten thousand men, from that city, from effecting a junction with the volunteers from Lyons. Had this junction been effected, there can be no doubt that the whole of the South of France would have thrown off the yoke of the Convention. But Carteaux, after over-

awing Avignon and Pont St Esprit, encountered the Marseilles corps, first at Salon, and afterwards at Septèmes, where he totally defeated it, and the following day entered Marseilles. Terror instantly resumed its sway; the prisons were emptied, all the leaders of the Girondists thrown into confinement; and the guillotine, ever in the rear of the Republican armies, was installed in bloody and irresistible sovereignty.

87. A large proportion of the citizens of Marseilles fled to Toulon, where they spread the most dismal accounts of the sufferings of their fellow-citizens, and the fate which awaited that important town if it fell into the hands of the Republicans. It already possessed a population of twenty-five thousand souls, and was warmly opposed to the Revolution, from the suffering which had involved its population ever since its commencement, and the number of officers connected with the aristocracy who had enjoyed situations in the marine under the ancient government. In the extremity to which they were reduced, threatened by the near approach of the Republican forces, and destitute of any adequate means of defence, the inhabitants saw no alternative but to open their harbour to the English fleet, which was cruising in the vicinity, and proclaim Louis XVII. as king. The primary sections were accordingly convoked, and the proposal was unanimously agreed to. The Dauphin was proclaimed; the English squadrons entered the harbour, and the crews of seven ships of the line, who proved refractory, were allowed to retire, while those of the remainder joined the inhabitants. Shortly afterwards a Spanish squadron arrived, bringing with it a considerable reinforcement of land troops, and the allied forces, eight thousand strong, took possession of all the forts in the city. The conduct of the British on this occasion showed that their government was actuated by very different principles from those which had been agreed to at the conference of Antwerp, and exemplified in the case of Valenciennes. Admiral Hood engaged in the most solemn manner, in

two different proclamations, to take possession of Toulon solely and exclusively in the name, and for the behoof, of Louis XVII., and to restore the fleet to the monarchical government of France on a general peace.*

88. Carteaux immediately ordered a detachment of his forces to advance against the insurgents; but the garrison, supported by a body of the national guards of Toulon, marched to meet them, and the Republicans, surprised, were obliged to fall back in confusion. This check proved the necessity of more energetic measures: a large portion of the army of Italy was recalled from the Alps, the national guards of the neighbouring departments were called out, new levies ordered; and the directions of Robespierre immediately began to be acted upon, that Lyons must be burned and razed to the ground, and then the siege of Toulon formed. At the first intelligence of the revolt of Lyons, Kellermann assembled eight thousand men and a small train of artillery to observe

* In the first proclamation, Admiral Hood said, "If the people declare openly in favour of a monarchical government, and they resolve to put me in possession of the harbour, they shall receive all the succours which the squadron under my command can afford. I declare that property and persons shall be held sacred; we wish only to establish peace. When it is concluded, we shall restore the fleet to France, agreeably to the inventory which shall be made out." In the second he was equally explicit:—"Considering that the sections of Toulon, by the commissioners whom they have sent to me, have made a solemn declaration in favour of Louis XVII. and a monarchical government, and that they will use their utmost efforts to break the chains which fetter their country, and re-establish the constitution, as it was accepted by their defunct sovereign in 1789; I repeat, by this present declaration, that I take possession of Toulon, and shall keep it solely as a deposit for Louis XVII., and that only till peace is re-established in France, which I trust is not far distant."—*Proclamation, 28th August 1793*; HARD. II. 357, 359. These were the true principles of the Anti-revolutionary war; very different from those proclaimed by the Austrians on the taking of Valenciennes and Condé. Nor was the subsequent destruction of the fleet, when Toulon was retaken by the Republicans, any departure from good faith in this transaction. England was bound to restore the fleet to a monarchical government and Louis XVII., but not to hand it over to the Revolutionary government, the most bitter enemy of both.

the place. But this force was totally insufficient even to maintain its ground before the armed population of the city, which soon amounted to thirty thousand men. A military chest was formed; a paper currency, guaranteed by the principal merchants, issued; cannon in great numbers were cast at a foundry within the walls; and fortifications, under the direction of an able engineer, erected upon the beautiful heights which encircle the city. The command was by common consent conferred on M. DE PRÉCY, a Royalist gentleman of moderate principles, who, in their extremity, had the courage to accept the command of the besieged Lyonnese.* The deputation which was sent to offer him the command found him in his garden, engaged, with a spade in his hand, in the cultivation of his flowers. He at first hesitated to accept it, alleging his advanced years, and the magnitude of the efforts which the Convention would make for their subjugation. "We know them all," replied the deputation; "but we have deliberately weighed the scaffold against the oppression of the Convention, and preferred the scaffold." "And I," said Précy, "accept it with such men." He forthwith took down his coat, which was hanging from the branches of a fruit-tree, re-entered his house, embraced his young wife, girded on his arms, disused since the 10th August,

* M. de Précy was a gentleman of moderate fortune, of the district of Charolais, and had formerly been colonel of the regiment of the Vosges mountains. He belonged to that portion of the old noblesse, unhappily so small, who, throughout the convulsion, adhered to Royalist principles without disgracing themselves, or endangering it by emigration. He had served in Corsica, in Germany, and in the Constitutional Guard of Louis XVI. On the 10th of August, being without a command, after the dissolution of that force by the Girondists, he hastened with the faithful noblesse to offer to the monarch the aid of his single arm. After the overthrow of the throne, he retired to his property of Semur in the Brionnais, alike disdaining to join the ranks of the victorious Jacobins, or follow the general desertion of their country by the Royalist nobles. His air was martial, but his voice and expression of countenance mild and gentle. He had the gift alike of winning the heart and commanding the respect of all who knew him.—*LAMARTINE, Hist. des Girondins*, vii. 139.

and set out. Such enthusiasm was for long invincible. The troops of the Republicans, though daily increasing, were for six weeks unable to make head against forces so considerable, supported by the ardour of a numerous and enthusiastic population. During the whole of August, accordingly, and the beginning of September, the siege made little progress, and the batteries of the besiegers were scarcely armed. The besieged, meanwhile, made proposals for an accommodation; but the commissaries for the Convention returned for answer, "Rebels, first show yourselves worthy of pardon, by acknowledging your crime; lay down your arms; deliver up the keys of your city, and deserve the clemency of the Convention, by a sincere repentance." But the inhabitants, well aware of the consequence of such submission, returned for answer, "Conduct so atrocious as yours proves what we have to expect from your clemency; we shall firmly await your arrival; and you will never capture the city but by marching over ruins and piles of dead."

89. No sooner were the Convention informed of the entrance of the English into Toulon, than they redoubled their efforts for the subjugation of Lyons. They indignantly rejected the advice of several of their members, in whose bosoms the feelings of humanity were not utterly extinct, for an accommodation with the inhabitants, and took the most energetic measures for the prosecution of the siege. A hundred pieces of cannon, drawn from the arsenals of Besançon and Grenoble, were immediately mounted on the batteries; veteran troops were selected from the army on the frontiers of Piedmont, and four corps formed, which on different sides pressed the outworks of the city. In a succession of contests in the outer intrenchments, the Lyonnese evinced the most heroic valour; but although success was frequently balanced, the besiegers upon the whole had the advantage, and the horrors of war, which they had so strenuously endeavoured to keep at a distance, at length fell on the devoted city. On the 24th September, a terrible bombardment and cannonade,

with red-hot shot, was commenced, which was continued without intermission for a whole week. Night and day the flaming tempest fell on the quarter of St Clair, and speedily involved in conflagration the magnificent hotels of that opulent district, the splendid public buildings which had so long adorned the Place Bellecour, and the beautiful quays of the river. Soon after, the arsenal blew up with a terrific explosion. At length the flames reached the great Hospital, one of the noblest monuments of the charity of the past age, now filled with the wounded and dying, from every quarter of the town. A black flag was hoisted on its summit to avert the fury of the besiegers from that last asylum of humanity, but this only served to redouble their activity, and guide their shot, which were directed with such unerring aim that, after the flames had been two-and-forty times extinguished, it was burned to the ground.

90. The ravages of the bombardment, however, increased the sufferings of the inhabitants, without diminishing their means of defence. The whole people without exception were engaged in the contest. Old men and children, women, and infirm, alike contributed to the support of the cause. Heroism became almost a habit. No sooner was a bomb seen traversing the air, than numbers hastened to the quarter where it was likely to fall, to extinguish the fuse before the explosion took place; and if they were fortunate enough to do so, the projectile was put into one of their own mortars, and sent back upon the enemy. If a conflagration broke out, a chain of hands was speedily formed, which conveyed water to the menaced spot. The whole male population was divided into two sections, of which one combated on the ramparts, and the other watched the fires which broke out, and bore provisions and ammunition to the batteries. The whole women were engaged in the arduous duties of tending the hospitals, and preparing bandages for the wounded. But, notwithstanding these heroic efforts, the immense numbers of the enemy enabled them to make alarming progress. The incessant

assaults of the Republicans made them masters of the heights of St Croix, which commanded the city from a nearer position; and about the same time the reinforcements which arrived from the southern departments, now thoroughly roused by the efforts of the Convention, enabled the besiegers to cut off all communication between the inhabitants and the country, on which they had hitherto depended for provisions. Before the end of September fifty thousand men were assembled before the walls; and, notwithstanding the most rigid economy in the distribution of food, the pangs of want began to be severely felt. Shortly after, the garrison of Valenciennes arrived, and, by their skill in the management of artillery, gave a fatal preponderance to the besieging force; while Couthon came up with twenty-five thousand rude mountaineers from the quarter of Auvergne. The hopes of the inhabitants had been chiefly rested on a diversion from the side of Savoy, where the Piedmontese troops were slowly assembling for offensive operations. But these expectations were cruelly disappointed. After a feeble irruption into the valley of St Jean de Maurienne, and some ephemeral success, the Sardinian army, as already noticed, was driven back in disgrace to the foot of Mont Cenis. This disaster, coupled with the pressure of famine, now severely weakened the spirits of the besieged. Yet, though deserted by all the world, and assailed by a force which at length amounted to above sixty thousand men, the inhabitants nobly and resolutely maintained their defence. In vain the bombardment was continued with unexampled severity, and twenty-seven thousand bombs, five thousand shells, and eleven thousand red-hot shot, thrown into the city. Regardless of the iron storm, one half of the citizens manned the works, while the other half watched the flight of the burning projectiles, and carried water to the quarters where the conflagration broke forth.

91. But these efforts, however glorious, could not finally avert the stroke of fate. The Convention, irritated at

the slow progress of the siege, deprived Kellermann of the command, and ordered him to the bar of the Convention to give an account of his conduct, although his talent and energy in repelling the Piedmontese invasion had been the salvation of the Republic. The command of the besieging army was given to General Doppet, who received orders instantly to reduce Lyons by fire and sword. To quicken his operations, the savage Couthon, as commissioner of the Convention, was invested with a despotic authority over the generals, and he instantly resolved to carry Lyons by main force, and employ in the storm the whole sixty thousand men who were engaged in the siege. On the 29th September, a general attack was made by the new commander on the intrenchments of the besieged, the object of which was to force the fortified posts at the point of Perrache, near the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone. After an obstinate resistance, the batteries of St Foix, which commanded that important point, were carried by the Republicans; and the bridge of La Malatière, which connected it with the opposite bank, was forced. No further intrenchments remained between the assailants and the city; the last moment of Lyons seemed at hand. But Précy hastened to the scene of danger at the head of a chosen band of citizens, and a conflict of the most violent kind ensued. In vain the Republican batteries enfiladed on three sides the column of the assailants; nothing could withstand their heroic valour. Torn on either flank by grape-shot, discharged at fifty yards' distance, the Royalists, headed by Précy, rushed forward, regained the intrenchments which had been lost, and drove back the Republicans from them into the plain of Perrache, as far as the bridge of La Malatière, with the loss of two thousand men. But notwithstanding all his efforts, he could not prevent them from maintaining their ground on the bridge and heights of St Foix. A more fatal enemy, however, was steadily assailing them within the walls. Famine was consuming the strength of the besieged. All the approaches to the city were vi-

gilantly guarded, and the means of subsistence were all but exhausted. For long the women had renounced the use of bread, in order to reserve it for the combatants, but they were soon reduced to half a pound a-day of this humble fare. The remainder of the inhabitants lived on a scanty supply of oats, which was daily served out with the most rigid economy from the public magazine. But even these resources were at length exhausted; in the beginning of October, provisions of every kind had failed; and the thirty sections of Lyons, subdued by stern necessity, were compelled to nominate deputies to proceed to the hostile camp.

92. The brave Précy, however, even in this extremity, disdained to submit. With generous devotion, he resolved to force his way, at the head of a chosen band, through the enemy's lines, and seek in foreign climes that freedom of which France had become unworthy. On the night of the 9th October, the heroic column, consisting of two thousand men, the flower of Lyons, set forth with their wives and children, and what little property they could save from the ruin of their fortunes. They began in two columns their perilous march, guided by the light of their burning habitations, amid the tears and blessings of those friends who remained behind. Scarcely had they set out, however, when a bomb fell into an ammunition-waggon, by the explosion of which great numbers were killed. Notwithstanding this disaster, the head of the column broke the division opposed to it, and forced its way through the lines of the besiegers. But an overwhelming force soon assailed the centre and rear. As they proceeded, they found themselves enveloped on every side; all the heights were lined with cannon, and the houses filled with soldiers; an indiscriminate massacre took place, in which men, women, and infants alike perished; and of the whole who left Lyons, scarcely fifty forced their way with Précy into the Swiss territories. Précy himself remained in exile till 1814, when he re-entered France with Louis XVIII. He received no recompense or mark of distinction from the Bourbons for his gle-

rious deeds, and not even a stone marks his humble sepulchre in the country which his heroism had adorned. In this, as in other particulars, that ill-fated family too closely resembled their predecessors in misfortune, the Stuarts, of whom it was said with equal truth and justice, that their "restoration was truly accompanied by an act of oblivion and indemnity; but the oblivion was of their friends, the indemnity to their enemies."

93. On the following day the Republicans took possession of Lyons. The troops observed strict discipline; they were lodged in barracks, or bivouacked on the Place Bellecour and the Terreaux: the inhabitants indulged a fleeting hope that a feeling of humanity had at length touched the bosoms of their conquerors. They little knew the bitterness of Republican hatred. Lyons was not spared; it was only reserved for cold-blooded vengeance. No sooner was the town subdued than Couthon entered, at the head of the authorities of the Convention. He instantly reinstated the Jacobin municipality in full sovereignty, and commissioned them to seek out and denounce the guilty. He wrote to Paris that the inhabitants consisted of three classes: 1. The guilty rich. 2. The selfish rich. 3. The ignorant workmen, incapable of any wickedness. "The first," he said, "should be guillotined, and their houses destroyed; the fortunes of the second confiscated; and the third removed elsewhere, and their place supplied by a Republican colony." "On the ruins of this infamous city," said Barère, in the name of the Committee of Public Salvation, when he announced that

Lyons was subdued, "shall be raised a monument to the eternal glory of the Convention; and on it shall be engraved the inscription: '*Lyons made war on freedom: Lyons is no more.*' The name of the unfortunate city was suppressed by a decree of the Convention; it was ordered to be termed the '*Commune Affranchie*.'"* All the inhabitants were appointed to be disarmed, and the whole city destroyed, with the exception only of the poor's house, the manufactories, the great workshops, the hospitals, and public monuments. A commission of five members was appointed to inflict vengeance on the inhabitants; at their head were Couthon and Collot d'Herbois. The former presided over the destruction of the edifices; the latter, over the extermination of the inhabitants.

94. The means taken by these worthy proconsuls of the Convention to carry their measures into effect, and work the people up to that pitch of sanguinary enthusiasm when they might be the ready instruments of their utmost atrocities, were founded on a perfect knowledge of human nature, and were those which, in every age, have been resorted to by the democratic tyrants of mankind. The first thing they did was to re-establish the Jacobin club, formerly presided over by Chalier. The most violent speeches were there immediately made, especially by Javoinnes, a popular demagogue, who had succeeded to his influence. Chalier and Riard were represented as the martyrs of liberty, the heroes of the Republic, the only friends of the people. The workmen were told of the shameful slavery in which they had so long been kept by

* The following is the tenor of this decree:—

"I.—All the inhabitants of Lyons shall be disarmed: their arms will be distributed immediately to the defenders of the Republic—a part will be handed over to the patriots of Lyons, who have been oppressed by the rich and counter-revolutionists.

"II.—The city of Lyons shall be destroyed. The part inhabited by the rich shall be utterly demolished. There shall only remain the houses of the poor, the habitations of murdered or proscribed patriots, the buildings especially devoted to industry, and the edifices consecrated to humanity and public instruction.

"III.—The name of Lyons shall be effaced from the roll of the cities of the Republic. The assemblage of houses still preserved shall henceforth bear the name of *Ville Affranchie* (freed city).

"IV.—There shall be erected on the ruins of Lyons a column, which will declare to posterity the crimes and the punishment of the Royalists of this city, with this inscription:—

'Lyons made war on Liberty—

Lyons is no more.

The 18th day of the first month.

The second year of the French Republic."

—*Moniteur*, 18th Oct. 1793.

the rich; of the fortunes which had been wrung from the sweat of their brows, and the penury which they themselves had received as the reward of their toil. Javoignes invited them to resume their rights, by rending from the rich their ill-gotten gains; and, when the decrees of the Convention confiscating the property of all the proprietors was promulgated, he had no difficulty in persuading them that the demolition of the houses was the first step in the division of their effects, and essential to the establishment of that sacred equality which was the only secure basis of real freedom.

95. Having worked the people up, by these prospects of plunder, to a sufficient degree of revolutionary energy, the Commissioners of the Convention proceeded in a regular and systematic manner to carry its infernal decrees into execution. Attended by a crowd of satellites, all in the most vehement state of excitement, Couthon traversed the finest quarters of the city with a silver hammer; he struck at the door of the devoted houses, exclaiming at the same time, "Rebellious house, I strike you in the name of the law!" Instantly the agents of destruction, of whom twenty thousand were in the pay of the Convention, surrounded the dwelling, and levelled it with the ground. The expense of these demolitions, which continued, without interruption, for six months, was greater than it cost to raise the princely Hotel of the Invalides: it amounted to the enormous sum of £700,000. The workmen employed in the demolition received 400,000 francs (£16,000) every ten days.* The palaces thus destroyed were the finest private buildings in France, three stories in height, adorned with noble columns, and erected in the richest style of the structures of Louis XIV. Their construction had cost £12,000,000 sterling. To the honour of Couthon, however, it

must be added, his hostility was chiefly directed against the buildings, that no great effusion of blood attended his government, and that he gave great numbers of suspected persons the means of making their escape into the country.

96. But this vengeance on inanimate stones was but a prelude to more bloody executions. Collet d'Herbois, the next proconsul, who along with Fouché succeeded to the government of Lyons after Couthon had been recalled, was animated with an envenomed feeling towards the inhabitants. Ten years before he had been hissed off their stage, and the vicissitudes of the Revolution had now placed resistless power in the hands of an indifferent provincial comedian: an emblem of the too frequent tendency of civil convulsions to elevate whatever is base, and sink whatever is noble among mankind.† The discarded actor resolved at leisure to gratify a re-

† J. M. Collet d'Herbois had a sallow countenance, a profusion of dark hair and eyebrows; his whole aspect was that of a sanguinary conspirator. He had been a comic actor before the Revolution, and often appeared on the boards of Geneva and Lyons, in the latter of which towns he had been hissed off the stage. When the Revolution commenced, he quitted that humble vocation and entered the Jacobin Club at Paris, where his savage gestures, thundering voice, and impetuous declamation, almost always excited by the fumes of wine, soon brought him into notice. He was first brought into celebrity, however, by gaining the prize proposed by the Jacobin Club for an essay, in 1790, "On the advantages which the people would derive from the new order of things." It was won by his pamphlet entitled—"Almanach du Père Gérard." Subsequently he distinguished himself by the lead which he took in supporting, before the Assembly, the pardon of the mutineers of the regiment of Châteauneuf, who had been subdued at Nancy by Bouillé, which that body, as might have been supposed, readily granted; and they were immediately received with civic honours, and presented to the Assembly, who decreed to them "les honneurs de la séance." Collet d'Herbois, in consequence of the lead which he took on this occasion, was made a member of the new municipality installed in power in Paris on the 10th August, which so rapidly consummated the crimes of the Revolution. He was one of the first who moved in the Assembly for the abolition of royalty, and was made a member of the Committee of Public Salvation. In the deliberations of that body, and subsequently in the Convention, he advocated the total and entire destruction of all suspected persons. "There must be no transportation," said he; "we

* "Four hundred thousand francs (£16,000) are expended every ten days in the demolitions and some other objects; but the indolence of those employed in demolishing, shows that they are not fited to build up a Republic."—ACHARD to GRAVIER; Lyons, 28 Nivose, Ann. 2. *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*, ii. 232.

venge which had been cherished for so long a period. Innumerable benefits since conferred on him by the people of Lyons, and no small share of their favour, had not been able to extinguish this ancient grudge. This atrocious wretch had not a single good quality in his character. At once cowardly and cruel, spiteful and relentless, selfish and tyrannical, he united the whole vices of democratic fervour and despotic jealousy, without any of the virtues of either. His character would pass for incredible, if not clearly portrayed by his public acts and private correspondence.* Fouché (of Nantes†), afterwards so well known as minister of police under Napoleon, the worthy asso-

must destroy all the conspirators; let the places where they are confined be mined; let the torches be fired to blow them into the air: it is thus alone we can get quit of the suspected." He gave such good proof of his disposition to put in practice these maxims on a mission to the Loiret and Oise, where he speedily filled the prisons with victims, that he was immediately fixed on by the Committee of Public Salvation, in November 1793, to wreak its vengeance on the unhappy inhabitants of Lyons.—*Biographie Universelle*, ix. 277, 279.

* "We are accused," said Collet d'Herbois, "of being cannibals, men of blood; but it is in counter-revolutionary petitions, drawn by aristocrats, that the charge is made. A drop of blood poured from generous veins goes to my heart, but I have no pity for conspirators. We caused two hundred to be shot at once, and it is charged upon us as a crime! When twenty persons are guillotined at once, the last dies twenty deaths. They speak of sensibility! The Jacobins are full of sensibility—they have all the virtues! They are compassionate, humane, and generous: but they reserve these sentiments for the patriots."—*Débats des Jacobins*, 20th Dec. 1793.

† Joseph Fouché, afterwards Duke of Otranto, was born at Nantes on the 29th May 1763, and proved one of the most remarkable men whom the Revolution brought forward. He was the son of a captain in the merchant service at Nantes, and received the rudiments of education at the college of that town. His talents, however, were slow in developing themselves, and he passed at school for a boy of no capacity. He never could be got to comprehend the rules of grammar, and rebelled constantly against the attention to words, which unhappily form almost the sole objects, in all countries, of elementary education. While he was deemed by all an incorrigible simpleton, he was secretly devouring works of thought and reflection: and what first attracted the notice of his preceptors was the discovery that he was studying the *Pensées de Pascal*. He was originally

destined to the merchant service; but the delicacy of his constitution caused that design to be abandoned, and he went to Paris to complete his education, with a view to a learned profession. The theological works first put into his hands excited no attention in his mind; but he fastened with avidity on the Elements of Euclid, the Essays of Nicole, and the Petit Carême of Massillon. He underwent a distinguished mathematical examination at Arras, and afterwards at Vendôme; and his contemporaries at that period are unanimous in attesting to the regularity of his manners, and the kindness of his disposition. At the college of Arras he formed an intimacy with Robespierre, who was indebted to his friendship for the loan of some hundred francs to enable him to travel to Paris, when he was first appointed deputy to the Constituent Assembly. At the age of twenty-five, his talents were so well known that he was appointed *Préfet des Etudes* at the college of Nantes; and he held that situation when the Revolution broke out in 1789.

Instantly he fastened with his whole heart and soul on the Revolutionary doctrines, and, as he had not yet received orders, he married, went to the bar, and soon became a leading member of the popular society at Nantes. Without eloquence, he signalled himself from the first by the unsparing use of that violence and exaggeration, in thought and language, which with the multitude is the surest passport to success. In September 1792 he was elected member of the Convention for the department of Loire Inférieure, and at first he took no decided part in that Assembly; he lay by and watched the course of events. His intimacy with Robespierre was revived, but their characters were too dissimilar to enable them to act long together. Robespierre was a sincere and exalted fanatic, who deemed the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands the necessary prelude to general felicity. Fouché, cool and selfish, was led away by none of these delusions, but from the first set deliberately to work to make his fortune, *per fas aut nefas*, by the Revolution. He attached himself in

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destroyed.* A circular addressed by Fouché and Collot d'Herbois to the clubs of Lyons the day after their arrival explains their principles: "Everything is permitted to those who support the Revolution. The thirst for a legitimate vengeance becomes an imperious necessity. Citizens, it is indispensable that all those who have directly or indirectly contributed to the rebellion should be sent to the scaffold. If you are patriots, you will know your friends: imprison all the others. Let no consideration arrest you—neither age, nor sex, nor relationship. Take by a forced tax all that any citizen has of superfluity; every man who possesses what is beyond his necessities is sure to abuse it. There are many who have stores of clothes, linen, dresses, and shoes, seize them all—what right has a man to keep in his possession superfluous goods or clothing? Let all the gold and silver that is found be poured into the national treasury. Extirpate every species of worship: the Republican has no other God than his country. All the communes of the Republic will soon follow the example of that of Paris, which on the ruins of Gothic superstition has just raised the altar of Reason. Aid us to strike great blows, or we shall strike yourselves."

97. Proceeding on these atrocious

preference to the party of Danton, the profound and selfish immorality of which was much more in accordance with his views and objects. From the moment of his arrival at Paris, he was a constant attendant at the Jacobin club, and closely connected with Marat. At first he acted with Vergniaud and the Girondists; but no sooner did the strife begin between them and the Jacobins, than with his usual prophetic acuteness he attached himself to the latter, as the party most likely to prevail in the contest. Still he shunned the extreme violence of their leaders, as likely to injure themselves; and on one occasion, when Robespierre had vehemently assailed Vergniaud in the Convention, he said to him, "Such violence will assuredly move the passions, but it will neither induce confidence nor insure esteem." He warmly supported all the extreme revolutionary measures, as the death of Louis, the sale of the emigrants' estates, and the seizure of the property of hospitals and incorporations. His first public mission of importance was as commissioner of the Convention to Lyons in September 1793, where he signalled himself equally by

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principles, the first step of Collot d'Herbois and Fouché was to institute a fête in honour of Châlier, the Republican governor of Lyons, a man of the most execrable character, who had been put to death for innumerable crimes on the first insurrection against the rule of the Convention. The churches were accordingly closed, divine worship abolished, the decade established, and every vestige of religion extinguished. The bust of Châlier was then carried through the streets, followed by an immense crowd of assassins and prostitutes, exclaiming, "A bas les aristocrates! Vive la guillotine!" After them came an ass, bearing the gospel, the cross, the communion vases, and all the most sacred emblems of the Christian worship; the procession came to the Place des Terreaux, where an altar was prepared amidst the ruins of that once splendid square. Fouché then exclaimed—"The blood of the wicked can alone appease thy manes! We swear before thy sacred image to avenge thy death; the blood of the aristocrats shall serve for its incense." At the same time a fire was lighted on the altar, and the crucifix and the gospel were committed to the flames; the consecrated bread was trampled under the feet of the mob, and the ass compelled to drink out of the communion-cup the consecrated wine. After

his atheism, his cruelty, and his rapacity. His remarkable character will come to be drawn with more propriety in a future volume, after his extraordinary career has been recounted.—See chap. xcv. § 43; and *Biographie Universelle*, lxi. 293, 295, (FOUCHÉ).

* "Let us be terrible, that we incur not the risk of being feeble. Let us annihilate in our wrath, at a single blow, all rebels, all conspirators, all traitors, to spare ourselves the long agony of punishing like kings. Let us exercise justice after the example of nature: let our vengeance be that of the people; let us strike like the thunderbolt, and let even the ashes of our enemies disappear from the soil of liberty. Let the perfidious and ferocious English be attacked from every side. Let the whole Republic form a volcano to pour devouring lava upon them: may the infamous island which produced those monsters who no longer belong to humanity, be forever buried under the ocean. Adieu! my friend: Tears of joy flow from my eyes: we send this evening two hundred and thirteen rebels to be shot."—FOUCHÉ to COLLOT D'HERBOIS. *Monteur*, Dec. 28, 1793.

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this, the procession, singing indecent songs, traversed the streets, followed by an ambulatory guillotine.

98. The Convention, to expedite the work of destruction, sent a number of the most violent Jacobins from Paris, under the direction of Ronsin and Parrein—the one a starving advocate, and the other a popular orator from the Faubourg St Antoine. They commenced their operations by distributing large sums of money, remitted from the capital for that purpose, among the most violent of the Jacobins.* Under their direction, a Revolutionary tribunal, consisting of seven members, was established, with Parrein for its president. This commission soon gave proofs of its efficiency, by condemning daily eight or ten persons to death, who were executed immediately on leaving the court on a scaffold erected at its doors. A few questions constituted, in general, the whole trial of the accused: "What is your name and profession? What did you do during the siege? Are you denounced?" The slightest confusion, a gesture, a blush, a fit of trembling, a sudden paleness at answering these questions, were sufficient, without any witnesses, to send the accused to the guillotine. Yet, even in these terrible moments, the heroism of the persons brought before the tribunal was often such, that the judges had no small difficulty in finding a pretext for their condemnation. Marie Adrian, a girl of sixteen, had served a cannon during the siege. "How could you," said the president, "brave the fire, and point the gun against the country?" "I did so to defend it," replied the young heroine. She was instantly condemned. Another girl of seventeen was brought before the tribunal, because she would not wear the tricolor cockade. "It is not," said she, "that I hate the cockade; but, as you bear it, it

would dishonour my forehead." She persisted in her refusal, and was sent to the scaffold. "Do you believe in God?" said they to a priest. "A little," replied he, hoping to soften their fury. "Die, and you will discover," was the answer, and he was condemned on the spot. Two brothers of the name of Bruyset were imprisoned, both of the very highest character. The elder had signed some bills to raise funds during the siege for the defence, and the younger was brought to trial by mistake for his brother. They showed him the bill, and asked him if he knew the signature, and if so, if it was his own. "The signature," said he, "is that of Bruyset!" On this generous answer he was sent to death, instead of his brother, who had really signed the instrument. He died cheerfully, recommending his wife and children to the relative whom he had saved.

99. The vast accumulation of prisoners soon exceeded all the means of confinement which Lyons could afford. Their numbers, before many weeks had elapsed, amounted to six thousand. Great numbers of the captives were in consequence shut up in two large vaults, formerly used for storing wine, called *La Mauvaise* and *La Bonne Cure*. Those confined in the former were such as were destined for immediate and certain death; in the latter, those who had any chance of escape. This distinction was so well known that the prisoners sent to the former knew that they had only a few hours to live, and its gloomy walls exhibited inscriptions indicating the feelings which filled the breasts of its inmates. In one place, near a small aperture which admitted a ray of light, was written, "In a hundred and thirty minutes I shall have ceased to exist; I shall have tasted of death: blessed be the stroke, it is the mother of repose." Near the door were inscribed these words—"Barbarous judges! you deceived yourselves in sending me to death; the end of my days is the end of my woes: you are my best friends." In another place were found the words—"In a few minutes I shall be in nonentity: I am wearied of the world: oh, for the sleep of death!" Unable to bear the suspense even of a

* "I have heard from you several times, and note the receipt of fourteen hundred francs in assignats; I will employ the sum in the most fitting manner—that of sustaining courageously the principles of a republican society. There are twenty of us excellent—who have adopted this resolution, and will adhere to it."—ACHARD to GRAVIER; Lyons, 16 Ventose, Ann. 2. *Papiers Incriminés chez ROBESPIERRE*, II. 236.

few hours before their last hour approached, numbers attempted to destroy themselves, and some actually succeeded. One had, with a piece of bottle-glass which he found on the floor, opened veins in every part of the body, and he was bleeding from thirty wounds when the Revolutionary Tribunal caused him to be brought out, deadly pale, and weltering in his blood on his mattress, and placed under the guillotine.

100. The Revolutionary Tribunal, established under such auspices, was not slow in consummating the work of destruction; but, rapid as they were, they were far from coming up to the expectations and desires of the commissioners of the Convention. The scaffold opposite the Hotel de Ville, where the trials were conducted, was kept in ceaseless employment. Around its bloody foundations large quantities of water were daily poured; but they were inadequate to wash away the ensanguined stains, or remove the fetid odour. So noxious did they become, that Dorfeuille, the functionary intrusted with the executions, was obliged to remove it to another situation; where it was placed directly above an open sewer, ten feet deep, which bore the gore away to the Rhone. The washerwomen there were obliged to change their station from the quantity of blood which became mingled with its waters. At length, when the executions had risen to thirty or forty a-day, the guillotine was placed in the middle of the bridge at Morand in the centre of the Rhone, into which the stream of blood at once fell, and into which the headless trunks and severed heads were precipitated. Yet even this terrible slaughter, which went on without intermission for three months, appeared insufficient to the Jacobins. "Convinced, as we are," said Fouché, "that there is not an innocent soul in

the whole city, except such as were loaded with chains by the enemies of the people, we are steeled against every sentiment of mercy; we are resolved that the blood of the patriots shall be revenged in a manner at once prompt and terrible. The decree of the Convention for the destruction of Lyons has been passed, but hardly anything has been done for its execution. The work of demolition goes on too slowly; more rapid destruction is required by republican impatience. The explosion of the mine, or the ravages of fire, can alone express its omnipotence; its will can admit of no control, like the mandates of tyrants; it should resemble the lightning of heaven. We must annihilate at once the enemies of the Republic; that mode of revenging the outraged sovereignty of the people will be infinitely more appalling than the trifling and insufficient work of the guillotine. Often twenty wretches on the same day have undergone punishment, but my impatience is insatiable till all the conspirators have disappeared; popular vengeance calls for the destruction of our whole enemies at one blow; we are preparing the thunder."† In pursuance of these principles, orders were given to the Revolutionary Tribunal to redouble its exertions. "We are dying of fatigue," said the judges and the executioner to Collot d'Herbois. "Republicans," replied he, "the amount of your labours is nothing to mine; burn with the same ardour as I have for your country, and you will soon recover your strength."‡

101. Deeming the daily execution of thirty or forty persons too tardy a dis-

† FOUCHÉ au Comité du Salut Public. *Papiers trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*, ii. 207. *Moniteur*, Nov. 24, 1793.

‡ "Every day there are at least fifty people shot or guillotined."—PELOT au Citoyen GRAVIER; Ville-Affranchie (Lyons), 28 Frimaire, Ann. 2.

"I am gaining in health every day from the destruction of the enemies of our common country. My friend, I assure you, that could not be going on better: every day a dozen are despatched. We begin to find even this despatch too tedious. In a few days you will hear of the despatch of two or three hundred at a time; the demolition of the houses goes on with great spirit."—PELOT to GRAVIER; 13 Frimaire, Ann. 2. *Papiers trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*, ii. 209.

* "The Revolutionary Tribunal follows out its career with advantage; it would certainly require good information, but does not take the trouble to seek it where it could with confidence be looked for: nevertheless seventeen suffered yesterday from the guillotine, to-day again there will be eight, and twenty-one will be shot."—ACHARD to GRAVIER, juré du Tribunal Révolutionnaire; Lyons, 23 Nivôse, Ann. 2. *Papiers trouvés chez ROBESPIERRE*, ii. 251.

play of republican vengeance, Collot d'Herbois prepared a new and simultaneous mode of punishment. Sixty-four captives, of both sexes, were led out at once, tightly bound together, to the Place des Brotteaux; they were arranged in two files, with a deep ditch on each side, which was to be their place of sepulchre, while gendarmes, with uplifted sabres, threatened with instant death whoever moved from the position in which he stood. At the extremity of the file, two cannon loaded with grape were so placed as to enfilade the line; the whole civil and military authorities of Lyons were stationed on eminences on either side; while Fouché and Collot d'Herbois, from the balcony of the hotel on the quay opposite, with their telescopes in their hand directed to the spot, were prepared to enjoy the spectacle. But the ferocity of their persecutors was disappointed by the heroism which most of these victims displayed in their last moments. Seated on the fatal chariots, they embraced each other with transports of enthusiasm, exclaiming—

" Mourir pour la patrie
Est le sort le plus doux,
Le plus digne d'envie."

Many women watched for the hour when their husbands were to pass to execution, precipitated themselves upon the chariot, locked them in their arms, and voluntarily suffered death by their side. Daughters surrendered their honour to save their parents' lives; but the monsters who violated them, adding treachery to crime, led them out to behold the execution of the objects for whom they had submitted to sacrifices worse than death itself. The wretched victims beheld with firmness the awful preparations, and continued singing the patriotic hymns of the Lyonnaise, till the signal was given, and the guns were discharged. Few were so fortunate as to obtain death at the first fire; the greater part were merely mutilated, and fell uttering piercing cries, and beseeching the soldiers to put a period to their sufferings. A frightful shriek, arising from that field of agony, arose into the air, and was heard across the Rhone

in all the neighbouring quarters of Lyons. Broken limbs, torn off by the shot, were scattered in every direction, while the blood flowed in torrents into the ditches on either side of the line. A second and a third discharge were insufficient to complete the work of destruction, till at length the gendarmerie, unable to witness such protracted sufferings, rushed in and despatched the survivors with their sabres. It took two fearful hours, however, to complete the massacre; for the soldiers, unused to murder, were unskilful in the work of destruction. The bodies, when it was at length accomplished, were collected and thrown into the Rhone.

102. On the following day this bloody scene was renewed, on a still greater scale. Two hundred and nine captives, drawn from the prison of Roanne, were brought before the Revolutionary judges at the Hotel de Ville, and, after merely interrogating them as to their names and professions, the lieutenant of the gendarmerie read a sentence, condemning them all to be executed together. In vain several exclaimed that they had been mistaken for others, that they were not the persons condemned. With such precipitance was the affair conducted that two commissaries of the prison were led out along with their captives; their cries, their exclamations, were alike disregarded. In passing the Morand bridge, the error was discovered, upon the prisoners being counted: it was intimated to Collot d'Herbois that there were two too many. "What signifies it," said he, "that there are two too many? If they die to-day, they cannot die to-morrow." The whole were brought to the place of execution, a meadow near the granary of Part Dieu, where they were attached to one cord, made fast to trees at stated intervals, with their hands tied behind their backs, and numerous pickets of soldiers disposed so as by one discharge to destroy them all. At a signal given, the fusillade commenced; but few were killed; the greater part had only a jaw or a limb broken, and, uttering the most piercing cries, broke loose in their agony from the rope, and were cut

down by the gendarmerie in endeavouring to escape. The numbers who survived the discharge rendered the work of destruction a most laborious operation, and several were still breathing on the following day, when their bodies were mingled with quick-lime, and cast into a common grave. Collot d'Herbois and Fouché were witnesses of this butchery from a distance, by means of telescopes which they directed to the spot. The latter went so far as soon after to write to the former, to express his supreme delight at the massacre of two hundred and thirteen Royalists.*

103. All the other fusillades, of which there were several, were conducted in the same manner.† The flower of the population of Lyons, and the adjoining departments, were cut off in these atrocious massacres. One of them was executed under the windows of a hotel on the Quay, where Fouché, with thirty Jacobins and twenty courtesans, were engaged at dinner. They rose from table to enjoy the spectacle. Many persons became insane from such an accumulation of horrors, and were executed raving mad. One man of the name of Lawrencezon, who had his pardon in his pocket, was seized with such a sudden fit of insanity that he could make no use of it, and was hurried away to the scaffold in a swoon, when the pardon dropped out of his pocket. He was taken to the Hotel de Ville, where he was restored to animation. "Am I yet alive?" cried he.

* "And we also combat the enemies of the Republic at Toulon, by showing them the bodies of their accomplices in thousands. Let us extinguish in our rage, by a single blow, all the rebels, all the conspirators, all the traitors. Let us strike like the thunderbolt, and let the ashes even of our enemies disappear from the soil of liberty. Let the Republic be one vast volcano. Adieu! my friend. *Tears of joy flow from my eyes; they bathe my soul.* We have only one mode of celebrating our victories: this evening 213 rebels will be shot."—FOUCHÉ to COLLOT D'HERBOIS, Nov. 8, 1793. LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, vii. 212.

† "The guillotine and the fusillades go on not badly; sixty, eighty, two hundred at a time: and every day care is taken to arrest more, not to leave a vacancy in the prisons."—PELOT au Citoyen GRAVIER, juré national; 24 Primalre, Ann. 2. *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez ROBERPIERRE*, ii. 211.

"Give me back my head: Do you not see that stream of blood? it is over my ankles. I am falling into that gulf of dead bodies: save me, save me!" The bodies of the slain were floated in such numbers down the Rhone that the waters were poisoned, and the danger of contagion at length obliged Collot d'Herbois to commit them to the earth. During the course of five months, upwards of six thousand persons suffered death by the hands of the executioners, and more than double that number were driven into exile. Among those who perished on the scaffold were all the noblest and most virtuous characters of Lyons, all who were distinguished either for generosity, talent, or accomplishment. The delight which these frightful massacres gave to the Revolutionists could not be credited, if not proved by the decisive evidence of their secret correspondence with Robespierre.‡ The engineer Morand, who had recently constructed the celebrated bridge over the Rhone which bore his name, was among the first to suffer; and he was succeeded by a generous merchant, whose only crime consisted in having declared that he would give 500,000 francs to rebuild the Hotel Dieu, the noblest monument of charity in Lyons.

104. These dreadful atrocities excited no feeling of indignation in the Convention. With disgraceful animosity, they were envious of any city which promised to interfere with the despotism of the Parisian populace, and were secretly rejoiced at an excuse for destroying the wealth, spirit, and intelligence which had sprung up with the commercial prosperity of Lyons. "The arts and commerce," said Hébert, "are the greatest enemies of freedom. Paris should be the centre of political authority: no community should be suffered

† "Still more heads, and every day heads fall. *What exquisite pleasure you would have experienced if you had witnessed, the day before yesterday, national justice done upon 200 wretches!* What majesty! What an imposing effect! How many scoundrels have this day bit the dust in the arena of the Brotteaux! How this will cement the Republic!" —ACHARD to GRAVIER; Lyons, 17 Frimaire, Ann. ii. *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez ROBERPIERRE*, ii. 233.

to exist which can pretend to rival the capital." Barère announced the executions to the Convention in the following words: "The corpses of the rebellious Lyonnese, floated down the Rhone, will teach the perfidious citizens of Toulon the fate which awaits them." So little were the Jacobins of Lyons ashamed of their proceedings, that they got gold ornaments wrought into the form of guillotines out of the spoil which they amassed, which were ostentatiously worn by the dissolute females whose society they frequented. One might be led to despair of the fortunes of the species from the recital of such scenes, were not the dignity of human nature asserted by the conduct of many of the prisoners. A child, the son of M. de Rochefort, was led out with his father and three of his relations to be shot. The youth and innocence of the victim softened the hearts of the spectators and soldiers, and, when the fire took place, all fell but the child, who was spared, and his life promised. "I wish death," said he, embracing the lifeless body of his parent. "I am a Royalist: Vive le Roi;" and he fell pierced by seven balls. A young woman who had seen her parents, brothers, and betrothed, cut down the day before in one of the mitrallades, exclaimed, when brought before the judge, "You have killed my father, my brothers, my betrothed. I have no one left in the world to love. My religion forbids me to terminate my existence: put me to death." She was instantly condemned. A young man who had been condemned to be shot with his father, an old man of eighty years of age, found means during the night to escape by a sewer which communicated from the Hotel de Ville to the river. Having made sure of the issue, he returned to bring his aged parent with him. The old man sank from fatigue in the middle of the passage, and entreated his son to escape and leave him to his fate. "No," said the youth, "we will live or die together:" with these words, he put the old man on his shoulders, and had the good fortune to escape with him. A young woman in the last stage of pregnancy, who had combated as a

soldier during the siege, exclaimed, when seated on the fatal chariot, "I regret not life, I regret only the infant I bear in my bosom. The monsters! they would not wait a few days, lest I should give birth to an avenger of freedom." A cry for mercy arose in the crowd; but it was soon stifled by the fall of the guillotine. The unheard-of atrocities were faithfully reported to Robespierre and the Committee of Public Salvation; but they produced no change in their sanguinary policy.*

105. The troops engaged in the siege of Lyons were immediately moved towards Toulon; twelve battalions of the Army of Italy were destined to the same service, and soon forty thousand men were assembled under its walls. It presented, nevertheless, great difficulties to be overcome; the more especially as the English government had sent a body of troops from Gibraltar to co-operate in its defence, and a considerable force of Spaniards, Piedmontese, and Neapolitans, had arrived to aid in defending so important a stronghold from the Republican forces. On the land side Toulon is backed by a ridge of lofty hills, on which, for above a century past, fortifications had stood. Though formidable to the attacking force, however, these fortified posts were not less dangerous to the besieged, if once they

* "Our country districts are stupified. The labourer sows with the certainty of not reaping. The rich hide their gold, and dare not give the poor work. All commerce is at a stand-still. Women, repressing the instinct of nature, curse the day that they became mothers. The dying call for the priest, to hear from his mouth a word of consolation and hope; and the priest is threatened with the guillotine if he goes to console his brother. The churches are spoliated, the altars overthrown, by scoundrels who pretend that they act in the name of the law, while they only act by the orders of scoundrels like themselves. Great God! to what a pitch are we come! All, or nearly all, good citizens blessed the Revolution; now all curse it, and regret the despotism. The crisis is such that we are on the verge of the greatest misfortunes. The bursting of the bomb which is being charged in these parts, will perhaps blow up the whole Convention, if you do not hasten to extinguish it. Reflect, Robespierre, on these truths, which I dare to sign, should I perish for having written them."—GILLET to ROBESPIERRE, Nov. 8, 1793. LA-MARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, vii. 214.

fell into the hands of the enemy, for the greater part of the city and harbour could be reached by their guns. The mount Faron and the Hauteur de Grasse are the principal points of this rocky range ; on their possession depends the maintenance of the place. Shortly after their disembarkation, the English made themselves masters of the defile of Olioules—a rocky pass of great strength, well known to travellers for its savage character, which forms the sole communication between the promontory of Toulon and the mainland of France. An English detachment of six hundred men had driven the Republican posts from this important point ; but the defence having been unwisely intrusted to a Spanish force, Carteaux assailed it in the beginning of September with above five thousand men, and, after a slight resistance, regained the pass. Its occupation being deemed too great a division of the garrison of the town, already much weakened by the defence of the numerous fortified posts in the vicinity of the harbour, no attempt was made to regain the lost ground, and the Republican videttes were pushed up to the external works of Toulon. Carteaux's recompense for this important service was, that he was deprived of his command by the Convention, and Dugommier invested with the direction of the besieging force. Every exertion was made by the allied troops and the inhabitants of Toulon, during the respite afforded by the siege of Lyons, to strengthen the defences of the town ; but the regular force was too small, and composed of too heterogeneous materials, to inspire any well-grounded confidence in their means of resistance. The English troops did not exceed five thousand men, and little reliance could be placed on the motley crowd of eight thousand Spanish, Piedmontese, and Neapolitan soldiers, who composed the remainder of the garrison. The hopes of the inhabitants were principally rested on powerful reinforcements from England and Austria ; but their expectations from both these powers, as usual at that period with all who trusted to British succour, were miserably disappointed. They made the utmost efforts, however,

to strengthen the defences of the place, and in particular endeavoured to render impregnable the Fort Eguillette, placed at the extremity of the promontory which shuts in the lesser harbour, and which, from its similarity to the position of the great fortress of the same name, they called the Little Gibraltar.

106. In the beginning of September Lord Mulgrave arrived, and assumed the command of the whole garrison. The most active operations were immediately commenced for strengthening the outworks on the mountain-range behind the city. The heights of Malbousquet, of Cape Brun, and of Eguillette, were soon covered with works traced out by the French engineers. No sooner had General Dugommier taken the command, and the whole besieging army assembled, than it was resolved to commence an attack on the hill-forts which covered the harbour ; and for this purpose, while a false attack was directed against Cape Brun, the principal effort was to be made for the possession of the mountain of Faron, and the Fort Malbousquet. With this view the breaching batteries were placed under the direction of a young officer of artillery, then chief of battalion, destined to surpass all his predecessors in European history, NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE. Under his able superintendence, the works of the fort soon began to be seriously damaged ; and, to interrupt the operations, a sally was resolved upon from the garrison.

107. On the 30th November the sally was made by three thousand men from the town, to destroy the works on the heights of Arrennes, from which this annoyance was experienced ; while another column, of nearly the same strength, proceeding in the opposite direction, was destined to force the batteries at the gorge of Olioules, and destroy the great park of artillery placed there. Both attacks were at first crowned with some success. The batteries were carried, and the park on the point of being taken, when Dugommier, after haranguing the troops, led them back to the charge, and succeeded in repulsing the assailants. On the side of Arrennes, the sally was at

first equally fortunate—all the enemy's works were carried, and their guns spiked; but the impetuosity of the detachment having led them too far in pursuit of the enemy, they were in their turn attacked by fresh troops, headed by NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, who here commenced his career of victory, and driven back to the city with considerable loss. In this affair, General O'Hara, who had recently arrived from England, was wounded, and Dugommier was twice struck by spent balls, though without experiencing any serious injury.

108. The whole force of the besiegers was now directed against the English redoubt, erected in the centre of the works on the neck of land called Eguillette, and regarded as the key of the defence on that quarter. After battering the forts for a considerable time, the fire of the Republicans became quite incessant during the whole of the 16th of December; and at two o'clock on the morning of the 17th they advanced to the assault. They were received with a tremendous fire of grape and musketry from the works, and soon the ditch was filled with the dead and dying. The column was driven back, and Dugommier, who headed it, gave all over for lost; but fresh troops, continually advancing with great intrepidity, at length overpowered the Spanish soldiers, to whom a part of the line was intrusted, and surrounded the British detachment, nearly three hundred of whom fell while gallantly defending their part of the intrenchments. The possession of this fort by the enemy rendered the further maintenance of the exterior defences impracticable; and in the night the whole allied troops were withdrawn from the promontory to the city of Toulon. Buonaparte had strongly recommended this measure, as the possession of this fort, which commanded the inner harbour, would render the situation of the fleet extremely perilous, and in all probability lead to the evacuation of the city. While this important success was gained on the side of Fort Eguillette, the Republicans were not less fortunate on the other extremity of the line. A little before

daybreak, and shortly after the firing had ceased on the promontory, a general attack was made by the enemy on the whole extensive range of posts which crowned Mount Faron. On the eastern side the Republicans were repulsed; but on the north, where the mountain was nearly eighteen hundred feet in height, steep, rocky, and apparently inaccessible, they succeeded in making good their ascent through paths deemed impracticable. Hardly were the Allies beginning to congratulate themselves on the defeat of what they deemed the main attack, when they beheld the heights above them crowded with glittering battalions, and the tricolor flag displayed from the loftiest summit of the mountain.

109. These conquests, which were projected by the genius of Buonaparte, were decisive of the fate of the place. The garrison, it is true, still consisted of above ten thousand men, and the works of the town itself were as yet uninjured; but the harbour was untenable, as the shot from the heights of Faron and Fort Eguillette ranged over its whole extent. Sir Samuel Hood, alone, warmly insisted upon the propriety of an immediate effort to regain the outworks which had been lost: his advice was overruled by all the other officers, and it was resolved to evacuate the place. Measures were immediately taken to carry this determination into effect. The exterior forts, which still remained in the hands of the Allies, were all abandoned; and information was conveyed to the principal inhabitants, that the means of retreat would be afforded them on board the British squadron, while the fleet was moved to the outer roads beyond the reach of the enemy's fire. But much confusion necessarily ensued with a garrison composed of so many different nations; and the Neapolitans, in particular, fled from their posts, and got on board their ships with so much precipitation, that they incurred the derision of the whole garrison.

110. Terrible were the feelings with which the unfortunate inhabitants regarded the hasty evacuation of their city. To them it was the harbinger of

confiscation, exile, and death—Republican conquest, and the reign of the guillotine. With anxious eyes they watched the embarkation of the British sick and wounded on the morning of the 18th; and when the fatal truth could no longer be concealed, that they were about to be abandoned, despair and anguish wrung every heart. The streets were soon in the most frightful state of confusion; in many, the Jacobins and galley-slaves, who had broken loose, were already firing on the flying groups of women and children who were hurrying to the quay; and the sides of the harbour were soon filled with a piteous crowd, entreating, in the name of everything that was sacred, to be saved from their implacable enemies. No time was lost in taking the unfortunate fugitives on board the vessels appointed for that purpose; an operation of no small labour and difficulty, for their numbers exceeded fourteen thousand.

111. It was resolved in the council that such part of the French fleet as could be got ready for sea, should be sent out under the royalist Admiral Trogoffe, and that the remainder, with all the stores, should be destroyed. This was a service of great danger, for the Republicans were fast pressing on the retreating forces of the besieged, and their shot already began to plunge into the harbour. Sir SIDNEY SMITH,* who here first appeared in arms against Buonaparte, whose destiny he was hereafter so materially to affect, volunteered to conduct the perilous enterprise, and at midnight proceeded to the arsenal to commence the work of destruction. He found the galley-slaves, to the number of six hundred, the greater part of whom were unfettered, inclined to dispute his entrance into the dockyard: but, by disposing a British sloop so that its guns enfiladed the quay, he was able to overawe them, and at the same time restrain the Jacobins, who, in great numbers, and with loud shouts, were assembling round its outer palisades. At eight, a fire-ship was towed into the harbour; at ten the torches were ap-

plied, and the flames arose in every quarter. Notwithstanding the calmness of the night, the fire spread with rapidity, and soon reached the fleet, where, in a short time, fifteen ships of the line, and eight frigates, were blown up or burnt to the water's edge. The volumes of smoke which filled the sky, the flames which burst, as it were, out of the sea, and ascended to the heavens, the red light which illuminated even the most distant mountains, formed, says Buonaparte, a sublime and unique spectacle. About midnight, the *Iris* frigate, with several thousand barrels of powder, blew up with a terrific explosion; and shortly after, the *Montreal*, a fire-ship, experienced the same fate. The burning embers, falling in every direction, and the awful violence of the shocks, quelled for a moment the shouts of the Republican soldiers, who now crowded to the harbour's edge, and beheld, with indignant fury, the resistless progress of the conflagration.

112. No words can do justice to the horrors of the scene which ensued, when the last columns of the allied troops commenced their embarkation. Cries, screams, and lamentations arose in every quarter; the frantic clamour, heard even across the harbour, announced to the soldiers in the Republican camp that the last hope of the Royalists was giving way. The sad remnant of those who had favoured the royal cause, and who had neglected to go off in the first embarkation, came flying to the beach, and invoked, with tears and prayers, the aid of their British friends. Mothers, clasping their babes to their bosoms, helpless children, and decrepid old men, might be seen stretching their hands towards the harbour, shuddering at every sound behind them, and even rushing into the waves to escape the less merciful death which awaited them from their countrymen. Some had the generosity to throw themselves into the sea, to save, by their self-sacrifice, the lives of their parents, in danger of being swamped in the boats. Vast numbers perished from falling into the sea, or by the swamping of boats, into which multitudes crowded, loaded with their most valu-

* See a biography of Sir SIDNEY SMITH, in *fra*, chap. xxvi. § 82.

able effects, or bearing their parents or children on their shoulders. Such as could seize upon boats rushed into them with frantic vehemence, pushed from the beach without oars, and directed their unsteady and dangerous course towards their former protectors. The scene resembled those mournful catastrophes recorded by the historians of antiquity, when the inhabitants of whole cities in Asia Minor or Greece fled to the sea at the approach of their enemies, and steered away by the light of their burning habitations. Sir Sidney Smith, with a degree of humanity worthy of his high character, suspended his retreat till not a single individual who claimed his assistance remained on the strand, though the total number borne away amounted to fourteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

113. The lukewarmness or timidity of the Spanish officers, to whom the destruction of the vessels in the basin before the town had been intrusted, preserved them from destruction, and saved a remnant consisting of seven ships of the line and eleven frigates, to the Republic. These, with five ships of the line, sent round to Rochefort at the commencement of the siege, were all that remained of thirty-one ships of the line, and twenty-five frigates, which were lying in Toulon at the time it fell into the hands of the Allies. Three ships of the line, and three frigates, were brought away untouched, and taken into the English service; the total number captured or destroyed was eighteen ships of the line, nine frigates, and eleven corvettes. The French soldiers beheld with indescribable anguish the destruction of their fleet: all thinking men then foresaw that the war, lighted up between the rival states, could not be extinguished but by the destruction of one of them.

114. The storm which now burst on the heads of the unfortunate Toulonese was truly dreadful. The infuriated soldiers rushed through the gates, and, in their rage, massacred two hundred Jacobins, who had come out to welcome their approach. For twenty-four hours the town was given up to pillage, and such as remained of the wretched

inhabitants were a prey to the brutality of the soldiers, and of the galley-slaves, who were let loose upon the town. A stop was only put to these horrors by the citizens redeeming themselves for the enormous sum of 4,000,000 francs, or £160,000. To the honour of Dugommier, it must be added that he did his utmost, both to check the violence of his soldiers, and to mitigate the severity of the Convention towards the captives; but he could not arrest the cruelty of the government commissioners. A vast multitude of citizens, to the number of several thousands, of every age and sex, perished in a few weeks by the sword or the guillotine; two hundred were daily beheaded for a considerable time; and twelve thousand labourers were hired from the surrounding departments, to demolish the buildings of the city.*

115. On the motion of Barère, it was decreed that the name of Toulon should be changed to that of Port de la Montagne, that the houses should be razed to the foundations, and nothing left but the naval and military establishments. Barras, Fréron, and Robespierre the younger, were chosen to execute the vengeance of the Revolution on the fallen city. Military commissions were immediately formed, the prisons filled, a Revolutionary Tribunal established, and the guillotine put in permanent activity. The inhuman mitrallades of Lyons were imitated with fearful effect: before many days had expired, eight hundred persons had been thus cut off,—a prodigious proportion out of a population not now exceeding ten thousand souls. One of the victims was an old merchant of the name of Hughes, eighty-four years of age, deaf, and almost blind. His only crime was the possession of a fortune of £800,000. He offered all his wealth but 500,000 livres to save his life; the judge, deeming that offer inadequate, sent him to the scaffold, and confiscated the whole. "When I beheld this old

"*Ah goes well: I have demanded 12,000 masons to demolish and raze the city to the ground; every day I take 200 heads; and already 800 Toulonese have been shot.*"—FRÉRON au Comité du Salut Public; December 24, 1793.—*PRUDHOMME*, vi. 118.

man executed," said Napoleon, "I felt as if the end of the world was at hand." Among those struck down in one of the fusillades was a grey-haired man, severely, but not mortally wounded. The executioners, conceiving him dead, retired from the scene of carnage: the persons who succeeded them to strip the dead, passed him by, through accident, in the darkness of the night, and he had strength enough left to raise himself from the ground, and move from the spot. His foot struck against a body, which gave a groan, and, stooping down, he discovered that it was his own son! After the first transports of joy were over, they crept along the ground, and, favoured by the darkness of the night and the inebriety of the guards, had the good fortune to escape, and lived to recount a tale which would have passed for fiction, if experience had not proved, in innumerable instances, that the horrors and vicissitudes of a revolution exceed anything which the imagination of romance can conceive.

116. Regarding these fusillades as too slow a method of gratifying their vengeance, Fréron and the Commissioners of the Convention issued a general order that all who had taken part in the rebellion, or accepted office under Louis XVIII., should repair to the Champ de Mars under pain of death. Deeming prompt obedience the only chance of escaping the denounced penalty, eight thousand persons assembled at the hour appointed in that place. Fréron, Salicetti, Robespierre the younger, and Barras, were there, supported by a large body of troops and a formidable array of artillery; but they were startled at the magnitude of the crowd, and, after a short consultation, delegated the work of destruction to three hundred Jacobin prisoners, who had been confined, during the siege, on board the *Thémistocle*. These infuriate partisans were instantly let loose on the crowd, and seized on their victims as chance, hatred, or caprice, might decide. The persons selected were ranged along a wall opposite to the guns. Among them was an old man of seventy-six, who protested he

was too feeble to have aided the besieged—"March on," was the answer, and soon a frightful discharge of grape-shot mowed down the greater part of the crowd. A voice then exclaimed: "Let all those who are not dead raise themselves up." No sooner did a few do so than a second discharge cut them off also. This frightful scene was continued or renewed till two thousand persons had perished. Among them were great numbers of country people, who had come into Toulon intending to celebrate a fête that had been proclaimed in honour of the Republic, and who had followed the crowd to the Champ de Mars in the belief that it was the place of public festivity. Three persons only escaped from this hideous carnage—an old man, a marine officer, and a youth, whose strength of constitution enabled him to crawl away in the night from a multitude of slain, so great as to render all attempts at burial impossible for some days. Meanwhile Fréron continued his labours; the fusillades were several times repeated; and he boasted, in his letters to the Committee of Public Salvation, that he would continue them till, between the flames and the sword, Toulon and its inhabitants had entirely disappeared! Between the fusillades and the guillotine, and the women and children who fell into the sea in trying to escape to the English ships, the number who perished during and after the siege amounted to fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-five.*

117. Thus terminated this memor-

* "The fusillades are here the order of the day: behold 600 who will never more carry arms against the Republic. The mortality is among the subjects of Louis XVIII. Had it not been for the risk of causing the death of innocent victims, such as infirm women, and patriots who might happen to be in jail, all would have been put to the sword: as in like manner, had it not been for fear of burning the arsenal, and the stores at the port which escaped the English, the whole town would have been given to the flames. But this city, gangrened with Royalists, shall not the less disappear from the soil of liberty. To-morrow and the following days we will proceed with the razing and the fusillades, until not a traitor survives."—FRÉRON au Comité de Salut Public; December 26, 1793. —FRUDHONNE, *Crimes de la Révolution*, vi. 160, 161.

able campaign, the most remarkable in the annals of France, perhaps in the history of the world. From a state of unexampled peril, from the attack of forces which would have crushed Louis XIV. in the plenitude of his power, from civil dissensions which threatened to dismember the state, the Republic emerged triumphant. A revolt, apparently destined to sever the opulent cities of the south from its dominions; a civil war which consumed the vitals of the western provinces; an invasion which had broken through the iron barrier of the northern, and shaken the strength of the eastern frontier, were all defeated. The discomfited English had retired from Toulon; the Prussians in confusion had recrossed the Rhine; the tide of conquest was rolled back in the north; and the valour of the Vendéans irretrievably arrested. For these immense advantages the Convention was indebted to the energy of its measures, the ability of its councils, and the enthusiasm of its subjects. In the convulsion of society, not only wickedness, but talent, had risen to the head of affairs; if history has nothing to show comparable to the crimes which were committed, it has few similar instances of undaunted resolution to commemorate. Impartial justice requires that this praise should be bestowed upon the Committee of Public Salvation: if the cruelty of its internal administration exceeded the worst despotism of the emperors, the dignity of its external conduct rivalled the noblest instances of Roman heroism.

118. In talent, it was evident that the Republicans had, before the close of the campaign, acquired a decided preponderance over their opponents. This was the natural consequence of the concentration of all the ability of France in the military service, and the opening which was afforded to merit in every rank to aspire to the highest situations. Drawn from the fertile mines of the middle classes, the talent which now emerged in every department, from the general to the sentinel, formed the basis of a more energetic and intelligent army than had ever appeared in modern Europe; while the inexhaust-

ible supplies of men which the conscription afforded, raised it to a numerical amount beyond anything hitherto known in the world. After having authorised a levy of three hundred thousand men in spring, the Convention, in the beginning of August, ordered a conscription of twelve hundred thousand more. These immense armaments, which, in ordinary times, could never have been attempted by a regular government, were successively brought into the field during the fervour of a revolution, through the exaltation of spirit which it had produced, and the universal misery which it had engendered. The destruction of commerce, and the closing of all pacific employment, augmented those formidable bands, which issued, as from a fiery volcano, to devastate the surrounding states; and, after the annihilation of all the known sources of credit, the government derived unparalleled resources in the general confiscation of property.

119. As this was a new element, then for the first time introduced into political contests, so all the established governments of Europe were mistaken as to the means of resisting it. They were not aware of the magnitude of the power which was thus roused into action, and hoped to crush it by the same moderate efforts which had been found successful in former wars. While France, accordingly, strained every nerve to recruit its armies, they contented themselves with maintaining their contingents at their former moderate amount, and were astonished when the armies calculated to match two hundred thousand soldiers failed in subduing a million. Hence the rapid series of successes which in every quarter, before the end of the year, signalled the Republican arms; and the explanation of the fact, that the allied forces, which, in the commencement, were everywhere superior, before the close of the campaign were on all sides inferior to their opponents. Never was a more memorable year; the events which occurred during its continuance are pregnant with the most important instruction, both to the soldier and the statesman.

120. I. The first reflection which suggests itself is the remarkable state of debility of the French Republic at an early period of its history, and the facility with which, to all appearance, its forces would have yielded to a vigorous and concentrated attack from the allied arms. Her armies, during the first three months of the campaign, were defeated in every encounter; a single battle, in which the Republican loss did not exceed four thousand men, occasioned the abandonment of all Flanders; the frontiers of France itself were invaded with impunity, and the iron barrier broken through, to an extent never accomplished by Marlborough and Eugene, after successive campaigns at the head of one hundred thousand men. Her army on the Flemish frontier was at length reduced to thirty thousand combatants, and they were in such a state of disorganisation that they could not by any exertions be brought to face the enemy. "The Convention," says Dumourier, "had no other resource but the army escaped from the camp of Famars to that of Cœsar. Had the Duke of York been detached by Cobourg against the camp of Cœsar, with half his forces, the siege of Valenciennes might have been continued with the other half, and the fate of France sealed in that position." In the darkest days of Louis XIV., France was never placed in such peril as after the capture of Valenciennes.

121. II. These considerations are calculated to dispel the popular illusions as to the capability of an enthusiastic population alone to withstand the attacks of a powerful regular army. Notwithstanding the ardour excited by the successful result of the campaign in 1792, and the conquest of Flanders, the Republican levies were, in the beginning of the following campaign, in such a state of disorganisation and weakness, that they were unable to make head against the Austrians in any encounter, and at length remained shut up in intrenched camps, from obvious and admitted inability to keep the field. The enemy by whom they were attacked was by no means formidable, either from activity or con-

duct, and yet was uniformly successful. What would have been the result had the Allies been conducted with vigour and ability—led by a Blücher, a Paskevitch, or a Wellington? By the admission of the Republicans themselves, their forces would have been subdued; the storming of the camp of Cœsar would have overthrown France, and decided the fate of Europe.

122. III. Everything conspires to indicate the ruinous effects which followed the resolution taken at the Congress at Antwerp, to convert the war, heretofore undertaken for the overthrow of the Jacobins, into one of aggression and conquest of France itself. The great objects of the Alliance should have been to have separated the cause of that fearful faction from that of the country, and joined in willing bands, to the standards of the Allies, the heroes of La Vendée and the generous citizens of Lyons. By that resolution they severed them for ever, and at length brought all the subjects of the Republic to range themselves cordially and sincerely round the tricolor flag. The subsequent disasters of the war, the divisions which paralysed the combined powers, the unanimity which strengthened the French, may in a great degree be traced to that unhappy deviation from its original principle. And it is remarkable that victory never again was permanently chained to their standards, till, taught by misfortune, they renounced this selfish policy, and recurred, in the great coalition of 1813, to the generous system which had been renounced at Antwerp twenty years before.

123. IV. The important breathing-time which the delay occasioned by the siege of Valenciennes and Condé afforded to the French, and the immense advantage which they derived from the new levies which they received, and fresh organisation which they acquired during that period, is a signal proof of the vital importance of fortresses in contributing to national defence. Napoleon has not hesitated to ascribe to the four months thus gained the salvation of France. It is to be constantly kept in view, that the republican armies

were then totally unable to keep the field; that behind the frontier fortresses there was neither a defensive position, nor a corps to reinforce them; and that, if driven from their vicinity, the capital was taken, and the war concluded. The successful issue of the invasions of 1814 and 1815 affords no argument against these principles. From Napoleon's heedlessness or disasters, the frontier fortresses were then in great part unarmed and unprovided, and were in consequence passed with impunity; or, on being passed, were left to the observation of comparatively small bodies of the German landwehr. The case of half a million of disciplined men, under consummate leaders, assailing a single state, is not the rule, but the exception.

124. V. The failure of the Allies to take advantage of the debilitated state of their adversaries, is the strongest proof of the erroneous system on which the war was then conducted, and the peculiar ignorance which prevailed as to the mode of combating a revolutionary power. To divide a great army into an extensive chain of posts, and thereby lose all the benefit arising from superiority of force, is generally the weakest mode of conducting hostilities; but to do so with antagonists in a state of revolution is of all things the most absurd. Passion is then predominant with the multitude; and how readily is one passion transformed into another—the fervour of ambition into the agony of fear! By protracting the contest, and conducting the operations on a slow and methodical plan, time is given for the completion of the revolutionary armaments, and the consternation, spread among the people by a succession of disasters, is allowed to subside. Repeatedly, during the early stages of the war, advantages were gained by the Allies, which, if followed up with tolerable vigour, would have become decisive, and as often did subsequent inactivity or caution render them abortive. New, and especially republican levies, easily elated and rendered formidable by victory, are as rapidly depressed by defeat: it is the quality of regular soldiers alone to preserve their firmness in periods of disaster, and present, even

after adverse, the intrepidity which recalls prosperous fortune. The system of attack should be suited to the character of the force by which it is opposed; the methodical campaign, indispensable in presence of veteran troops, is the worst that can be adopted with the ardent but unsteady levies which are brought forward by a revolutionary state.

125. VI. The military establishment of 1792 is the never-ceasing theme of eulogium with the economical British politicians of the present day, and incessant are their efforts to have the forces of the British empire again reduced to that diminutive standard. The result of the first period of the campaign of 1793 may demonstrate how short-sighted, even in a pecuniary point of view, are such niggardly projects. Had Great Britain, instead of twenty thousand, been able to have sent sixty thousand English soldiers to the Continent at that period, what results might have been anticipated from their exertions! Forty thousand native English broke the military strength of Napoleon at Waterloo; and what was the military power of France at the commencement of the war, compared to what was there wielded by that dreaded commander? What would have been gained to Britain had the successes of 1815 come in 1793—the Camp of Cæsar been the field of Waterloo! How many hundreds of thousands required to be sacrificed, how many hundreds of millions expended, before the vantage-ground then held was regained! So true it is, that a nation can never with safety, even to its finances, reduce too low its warlike establishment; that too severe an economy at one time begets too lavish a prodigality at another; and that years of tarnished reputation and wasteful extravagance are required to blot out the effects of a single undue pacific reduction.

126. Bitterly did England experience, in this campaign, the baneful consequences of the imprudent reduction of military force which had followed the close of the American War. With an army at first not exceeding thirty thou-

sand disposable men, what could be achieved against France in the energy of a Revolution? Yet what fair opportunities, never again to recur, were then afforded to crush the hydra in its cradle! If thirty thousand British troops had been added to the Duke of York's army at the siege of Dunkirk, that important fortress would speedily have fallen, and the advance of the allied army have palsied all the efforts of the Convention; if the same force had aided the insurgents of La Vendée, the white flag would have been advanced to the Tuileries; if it had been sent to Toulon, the constitutional throne would have been at once established in all the south of France. The affairs of Napoleon, in the spring of 1814, were not so hopeless as those of the Republic would have been, if such an addition could have been made at that critical moment to the British invading force.

127. This ruinous system of reducing the forces of the country, upon the conclusion of hostilities, is the cause of almost all the discomfitures which tarnish the reputation, and of more than half the debt which now curbs the energies, of Britain. The cause, incident to a free constitution, has been well explained by Dean Tucker. "The patriot and furious anti-courtier always begins with schemes of frugality, and is a zealous supporter of measures of economy. He loudly exclaims against even a small parliamentary army, both on account of its danger and expense. By persevering in these laudable endeavours, he prevents such a number of forces by land and sea from being kept up as are necessary for the common safety of the kingdom. The consequence is, when a war breaks out, new levies are half-formed and half-disciplined, squadrons at sea are half-manned, and the officers mere novices in their business. Ignorance, unskilfulness, and confusion, are unavoidable for a time; the necessary result of which is some defeat received, some stain or dishonour cast upon the arms of Britain. Thus the nation is involved in expenses ten times as great, and made to raise forces twenty times as numerous as were complained of before, till peace is made.

and new schemes of ruinous economy are again called for by a new set of patriots. Thus the patriotic farce goes round, ending in real tragedy to the nation and mankind." It seems hopeless to expect that this popular cry for costly economy will ever cease in pacific periods, because, even with the recent proof of its ruinous effect at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, we have seen it so fiercely raised for the reduction of the noble force which brought it to a glorious termination. It seems the melancholy fate of each successive generation to be instructed by its own and never by its predecessors' errors; and perhaps it is a law of nature, that such causes should, at stated periods, prostrate the strength of free states, and prevent that progressive growth of their power, which might otherwise sink the emulation of independent kingdoms in the slumber of universal dominion.

128. But although this blind popular passion for pacific reduction may be the principal cause of the serious disasters which, for the last century and a half of English history, have attended the first years of hostilities, yet it is not the only one; and it is in vain for any one class of society to throw upon another the whole responsibility for a fault which is, in a great degree, common to all. The aristocracy have also, in every period, been deeply implicated in the causes which, unhappily, so often impair the efficiency of our naval and military establishments. Incessant are the efforts which all the holders of parliamentary influence make, during the tranquillity of peace, to get their connections and dependents elevated to situations which they are frequently incompetent to fill. During the dangers and excitement of war, governments are both compelled by necessity to select the most worthy to discharge momentous and perilous duties, and enabled by the magnitude of their patronage to do so without alienating their parliamentary supporters. But under the limited establishments, and with the comparatively unimportant duties of peace, this is impossible. Reductions on all sides then compel a rigid

attention to influence in the disposal of situations, while the slumber of pacific life affords a prospect of the incapacity of the persons promoted not being discovered, or not becoming productive of public disaster. During the latter years of a long peace, influential imbecility is daily, in the army and navy, mounting more exclusively to the head of affairs; and when hostilities break out, a large proportion of the officers in high command are generally found to be wholly unfit for the duties devolving on them. Thus, while democratic clamour starves down the establishment to a ruinously low standard in point of amount, aristocratic cupidity paralyses the direction, and nullifies the exertions of that part which is allowed to exist. The disasters at the commencement of the war of 1739, during the first three years of that of 1756, during the whole of the American contest, during the first four years of the revolutionary strife, and in the dreadful campaign of Afghanistan in 1840, may all be traced to the combined operation of these causes.

129. Nor is the English system of education and government without an important, and what often proves a disastrous influence on the national fortunes in the commencement, and sometimes through the whole course, of hostilities. No provision is made, in schools or colleges, in general instruction, either for teaching our future statesmen anything connected with their department in the direction of war, or qualifying our future generals to understand the principles or practice of their profession. Young men too often enter the houses of Lords and Commons perfectly initiated in the loves of Dido and Æneas, of Mars and Venus; able to construe Æschylus and write hexameter verses; perhaps skilled in forensic debate, and happy in parliamentary allusions; but as ignorant of the means by which success is to be attained or disaster averted in war, as the child un-

born. Youths are moved from school into the army, able indeed to ride and shoot, and they are soon taught the simple details of military discipline; but for anything like knowledge of the art of war, you must, in general, ascend to the higher officers in the service, to whom it has been taught by experience. Statesmen are raised to the supreme direction of affairs often from talent in speaking, or readiness in reply, rather than from any practical knowledge they possess, either of the civil or military duties with the direction of which they are intrusted. Power in debate is the one thing needful; and in that art the British statesmen are unrivalled in modern times. But power in debate is not statesmanlike wisdom. It is often acquired by habits little conducive to it; and it differs as much from the able direction of an expedition or a campaign, as the skill in a tournament of Amadis de Gaul or Palmerin of England does, from the consummate genius of Wellington or Napoleon. Hence the numerous opportunities of bringing the war to a successful termination which were lost in 1793, from want of military talent and combination in the British government. And to those who reflect on these circumstances, and their illustration in the woeful mismanagement which that campaign exhibits, even when the mighty genius of Pitt was in the direction of affairs, and on the constant examples of similar ignorance of the first principles of warlike combination in government, which every period of our history has exhibited—it will probably occur as the most decisive proof of the virtue and energy which free institutions develop in a community, when duly regulated by aristocratic power, that, despite such obstacles, the British empire has unceasingly advanced, and has now attained an eminence unrivalled since the time when the Roman legions, directed by wisdom and led by valour, conquered the world.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER VIII.

NOTE A, p. 103.

TESTAMENT OF LOUIS XVI.

In the name of the most Holy Trinity—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. To-day, the 25th of December 1792, I, Louis XVI. by name, King of France, having been for four months shut up with my family in the tower of the Temple at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of all intercourse whatever, even with my family, since the 10th of the month; further, being implicated in a process, from which, owing to the passions of men, it is impossible to see the issue, and for which there is no pretext or plea in any existing law—having no witness to my thoughts, and none to whom I can address myself save God; I declare, here in His presence, my last wishes. I leave my soul to God, my Creator. I pray him to receive it in mercy, not to judge it by my merits, but by those of our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered Himself a sacrifice to God his Father, for men, however hardened in sin, and for me the chief of sinners.

I die in the communion of Our Holy Mother the Church, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, who derives her powers in an uninterrupted succession from St Peter, to whom they were intrusted by Jesus Christ. I believe firmly, and I confess to all that is contained in the symbol

and commandments of God and the church, the sacraments and the mysteries which the church teaches, and has always taught: I have never pretended to make myself a judge of the different modes of explaining the dogmas which distract the church of Christ, but I have ever bowed, and, if God accords me life, will ever continue to bow, to the decisions which the ecclesiastical authorities of our Holy Catholic Church give, and will give, conformably to the discipline of the church, as practised since the time of Jesus Christ.

I pity with all my heart our brethren who may be in error; but I do not pretend to judge them, and I love them all not the less in Jesus Christ, with that charity which Christianity enjoins; and I pray God to pardon all my sins: I have sought rigorously to examine them, to hate them, and to humble myself in His presence. Not being able to avail myself of the ministry of a catholic priest, I pray God to receive this my confession, and, above all, my profound repentance for having put my name (although against my will) to acts which may be contrary to the discipline and belief of the catholic church, to which I am ever in heart sincerely united. I pray God to accept my fixed

intention, if he grants me life, to avail myself as soon as possible of the ministry of a catholic priest, to confess to him all my sins, and receive the penitential sacrament.

I pray all those whom I may have offended inadvertently (for I cannot call to mind having wittingly offended any one), or those to whom I may have afforded a bad example, or scandalised, to pardon me the evil which they think I may have done them.

I pray all persons having charity, to unite their prayers to mine for the pardon of my sins.

I pardon, from the heart, all those who, without cause given by me, have become my enemies; and I pray God to pardon them, as well as those who, stimulated by a false, ill-directed zeal, have done me much evil.

I commend to God my wife and children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those connected with me by blood or other ties: I pray God, in an especial manner, to look down with mercy on my wife, my children, and my sister, who have so long suffered with me—to sustain them by His grace, if they are about to lose me, as long as they remain in this perishable world: I recommend my children to my wife; I have never doubted her maternal tenderness.

I recommend her, above all, to make them good Christians and honest men; to bring them up to look upon the splendours of this world (if they are condemned to have experience of them) as only a dangerous and perishable good, and to turn their thoughts to the solid and enduring glory of eternity. I pray my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and to take their mother's place if they should have the misfortune to lose her.

I pray my wife to forgive me all the evils she suffers for my sake, and any vexations I may have caused her since our union; and she may be assured that I remember nothing against her, if she imagines that she thinks she has anything with which to reproach herself.

I enjoin upon my children, very warmly, next to their duty to their God, which must take precedence of everything, to

be always united to each other, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for all her care of them, and in memory of me. I pray them to look upon my sister as a second mother.

I enjoin upon my son, if he has the misfortune to become king, to remember that he must devote himself entirely to the happiness of his fellow-citizens; that he must forget all hatreds and resentments, and particularly everything that concerns the misfortunes and annoyances that I suffer; that he can only insure the happiness of his people by reigning according to the laws; but, at the same time, that a king cannot make himself respected, and do the good his heart wills, unless he has the necessary authority; and that otherwise being cramped in his operations, and inspiring no respect, he is more hurtful than useful.

I recommend my son to befriend all those who have shown attachment to me, as far as circumstances may give him the power to do so; to consider that it is a sacred debt that I have contracted towards the children or relations of those who have died for me, and also to those who have suffered in my cause. I know that there are several persons who were attached to me who have not behaved towards me as they ought to have done, and who have even shown ingratitude; but I pardon them—(often, in the hour of trouble and disturbance, a man is not his own master)—and I request my son only to consider their misfortunes.

I should like here to testify my gratitude to those who have shown a real and disinterested attachment to me: on the one hand, if I was sensibly affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of those who had met with nothing but kindness from me, they themselves, their relations, or friends; on the other, I have experienced the consolation of seeing the attachment and disinterested devotion which many have shown me. I beg them to accept my thanks.

In the present position of affairs, I should fear to compromise them if I spoke more explicitly; but I recommend to my son the care of discovering and rewarding them.

I should think, however, that I was calumniating the feelings of the nation, if I did not openly recommend to my son MM. de Chamilly and Hue, whose real attachment to me induced them to shut themselves up with me in this miserable abode, of which they expected to fall victims. I recommend also to him Cléry, with whose attentions since he has been with me I have every reason to be thankful : as it is he who has remained with me to the end, I request the gentlemen of the Commune to give him my clothes, my books, my watch, my purse, and the other trifling effects which have been left at the disposal of the Commune.

Again, I pardon most willingly those who have acted as my guard, the bad

treatment and discomforts which they thought it necessary to inflict upon me. I have met with some amiable and compassionate hearts ; may they enjoy that tranquillity of mind which their train of thought ought to give them.

I beg MM. de Maleherbes, Tronchet, and de Sèze, to receive my thanks, and this expression of my feeling, for all the trouble and pains they took on my account.

I finish, by declaring before God, and ready to appear in His presence, that I cannot reproach myself with any one of the crimes which have been laid to my charge.

Made in duplicate at the Tower of the Temple, the 25th December 1792.

LOUIS.

END OF VOL. II.